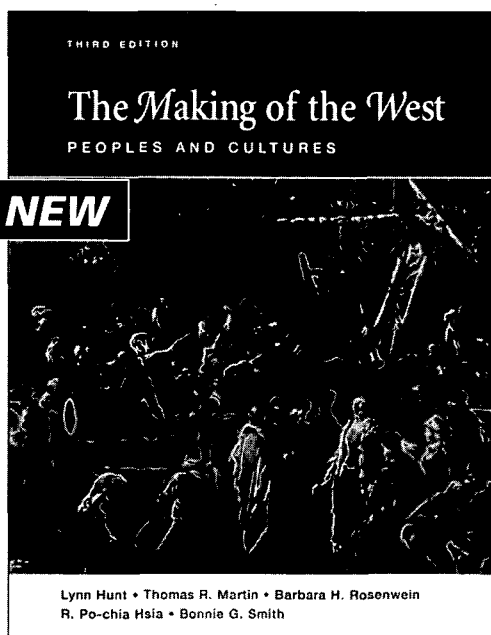


# The American Historical Review



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



**The Making of the West**  
**Peoples and Cultures**  
Third Edition

**Lynn Hunt**, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
**Thomas R. Martin**, *College of the Holy Cross*  
**Barbara H. Rosenwein**, *Loyola University Chicago*  
**R. Po-chia Hsia**, *Pennsylvania State University*  
**Bonnie G. Smith**, *Rutgers University*  
[bedfordstmartins.com/hunt](http://bedfordstmartins.com/hunt)

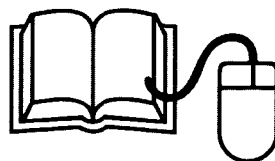
“*The Making of the West* is possibly the best western civ textbook available today. It is a truly balanced book with great breadth that integrates social, cultural and political history. It has real scholarly muscle behind it, but at the same time it is written to spark students’ interest. This is a great textbook that should serve a wide range of students at many different schools.”

— Sara Chapman, *Oakland University (MI)*

## Affordable Options

### The Making of the West e-Book

At about half the price, students get more with our e-books.  
[ebooks.bfwpub.com](http://ebooks.bfwpub.com)



**you get more** [bedfordstmartins.com/history](http://bedfordstmartins.com/history)



---

# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

## Elected Officers

*President:* BARBARA WEINSTEIN, *New York University*  
*President-Elect:* GABRIELLE M. SPIEGEL, *Johns Hopkins University*  
*Vice-Presidents:* ANTHONY T. GRAFTON, *Princeton University, Professional Division*  
TEOFÍLO RUIZ, *University of California at Los Angeles, Research Division*  
KAREN HALTTUNEN, *University of Southern California, Teaching Division*

## Appointed Officers

*Executive Director:* ARNITA A. JONES  
*AHR Editor:* ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER, *Indiana University, Bloomington*  
*Controller:* RANDY NORELL

## Elected Council Members

LINDA K. KERBER  
*University of Iowa*  
*Immediate Past President*

ART GÓMEZ  
*National Park Service*

ALICE KESSLER-HARRIS  
*Columbia University*

ELISE S. LIPKOWITZ  
*Northwestern University*

JESUS FRANCISCO MALARET  
*Sacramento*  
*City College*

MRINALINI SINHA  
*Penn State University*

LARRY WOLFF  
*New York University*

**Cover Illustration:** This depiction of "the manner in which the Portuguese [in Goa] who are of noble descent and wealth have themselves carried about" is one of a series of illustrations of life in Portuguese India created by the Dutch traveler Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611). Linschoten was born in Haarlem and set out on his travels in 1579. Between 1583 and 1589, he worked chiefly for the Dominican Archbishop of Goa, João Vicente da Fonseca. He returned to the Netherlands in 1592, after a sojourn in the Azores. His detailed and illustrated account of Portuguese Asia under Habsburg rule, and more generally of the Iberian overseas empires, was published in Dutch, and was quickly translated into other European languages. It had a significant impact on Dutch plans to challenge the Portuguese in Asia. In "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640" (p. 1359), Sanjay Subrahmanyam reflects on the Iberian empires and the scope and nature of their mutual influence. From *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert [. . .] naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien [. . .]* (Amsterdam, 1596). Signed by the engraver, Jan (or Johannes Baptista) van Doetechem.

## SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

*The American Historical Review* is the official publication of the American Historical Association and appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. *The American Historical Review* is published by The University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 on behalf of the American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (phone 202-544-2422). Our editorial offices are located at Indiana University: *The American Historical Review*, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. Phone: 812-855-7609; fax: 812-855-5827; e-mail: ahr@indiana.edu.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: Contributing Member, \$177 annually; for incomes over \$70,000, \$141; over \$55,000, \$117; over \$45,000, \$105; over \$35,000, \$89; over \$20,000, \$77; under \$20,000, \$42; for students, \$37; for teachers of K–12 (AHA/OHT/SHE) without the *AHR*, \$64; for K–12 with the *AHR*, \$92; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$42; for emeritus and retired historians, \$52; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$52. A life membership is \$2,600. Non-U.S. members add \$20 for postage. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17. Further information on membership is available on the AHA web site, <http://www.historians.org/>, or at the back of the journal, on pages 1(a) and 2(a), immediately preceding the advertisements. Information regarding institutional subscriptions is available on the *AHR* web site, <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/AHR/order.html>.

## GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts may be submitted by e-mail attachment to ahr@indiana.edu. We prefer to receive them in either Microsoft Word or Rich Text Format/RTF; if you use another program, however, we can probably convert it. (Please check with our Production Manager at ahr@indiana.edu or by phone at 812-855-7609.) Manuscripts submitted by postal or courier service should be addressed to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401; please send two paper copies along with an electronic file. The printouts should be double-spaced throughout, with generous margins. The editors prefer to work with manuscripts that are no more than 8,000 words in length, not counting notes, tables, and charts. Please include your full contact information, including your e-mail address, in all correspondence.

No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, the editors expect that its appearance in the *AHR* will precede republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work.

Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage.

**Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.**

Visit our web site at [www.americanhistoricalreview.org](http://www.americanhistoricalreview.org) for policies regarding articles, book reviews, and film reviews and to explore our online journal.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 2007

All rights reserved

**FOR PERMISSION TO REPRINT:** Contact Permissions Coordinator, Journals Division, University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 USA. Fax: 773-834-3489; e-mail: [journalpermissions@press.uchicago.edu](mailto:journalpermissions@press.uchicago.edu).

**FOR INQUIRIES ABOUT ADVERTISING:** Contact Cheryl Jones, Journals Advertising, The University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637. Phone: 773-702-7361; fax: 773-702-0172; e-mail: [j-advertising@press.uchicago.edu](mailto:j-advertising@press.uchicago.edu).

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

---

# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Editor:* ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

*Associate Editor:* SARAH KNOTT

*Reviews Editor:* MOUREEN COULTER

*Articles Editor:* JANE LYLE

*Production Manager:* DAWN OLLILA

*Office Manager:* MARY ANNE THACKER

*Editorial Assistants:* ELIZABETH CAFER DU PLESSIS,  
KEVIN P. COLEMAN, ANDREW M. KOKE, COLLEEN M. MOORE,  
JENNIFER SOVDE, M. BENJAMIN THORNE, JAMIE WARREN

*Advertising Manager:* CHERYL L. JONES,  
*University of Chicago Press*

## Board of Editors

TOBY L. DITZ  
*Johns Hopkins University*

JANET J. EWALD  
*Duke University*

KATHERINE FLEMING  
*New York University*

GARY GERSTLE  
*Vanderbilt University*

LLOYD S. KRAMER  
*University of North  
Carolina, Chapel Hill*

MARY JO MAYNES  
*University of Minnesota*

BENJAMIN NATHANS  
*University of Pennsylvania*

MRINALINI SINHA  
*Pennsylvania State  
University*

DANIEL LORD SMAIL  
*Harvard University*

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR  
*University of  
California, Berkeley*

JEFFREY N. WASSERSTROM  
*University of  
California, Irvine*

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS  
*University of Wisconsin-  
Milwaukee*

## In This Issue

## Articles

xiii

Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas

BY DAVID ELTIS, PHILIP MORGAN, AND DAVID RICHARDSON

1329

Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640

BY SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM

1359

Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public

BY MICHELLE BRATTAIN

1386

## AHR Exchange

INTRODUCTION

1414

Entangled Atlantic Histories: A Response from the Anglo-American Periphery

BY ELIGA H. GOULD

1415

The Core and Peripheries of Our National Narratives: A Response from IH-35

BY JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA

1423

AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence

PARTICIPANTS: PHILIP BENEDICT, NORA BEREND, STEPHEN ELLIS, JEFFREY KAPLAN, USSAMA MAKDISI, AND JACK MILES

1433

## Featured Reviews

ALESSANDRO SCAFI. *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth.*

By A. H. Merrills

1482

KATHERINE PARK and LORRAINE DASTON, editors. *The Cambridge History of Science; Volume 3, Early Modern Science.*

By Margaret J. Osler

1484

HOWARD G. BROWN. *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice, and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon.*

By Robert B. Allen

1487

DAVID A. BELL. *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It.*

By Peter Paret

1489

ROBERT D. CREWS. *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia.*

By Michael Khodarkovsky

1491

ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE. *L'École des Annales: Une histoire intellectuelle;* JONATHAN DEWALD. *Lost Worlds: The Emergence of French Social History, 1815–1970.*

By Steven Englund

1493



## Reviews of Books

## METHODS/THEORY

- CHRISTOPHER BIGSBY. *Remembering and Imagining the Holocaust: The Chain of Memory.*  
By Alexandra Garbarini 1497
- ALEXANDRA GARBARINI. *Numbered Days: Diaries and the Holocaust.*  
By Simone Gigliotti 1498
- A. JAMES GREGOR. *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science.*  
By Michael Mann 1498
- ANTOINETTE BURTON, editor. *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History.*  
By Cathy A. Frierson 1499
- BARBARA BUSH. *Imperialism and Postcolonialism.*  
By Antoinette Burton 1500
- SANDE COHEN. *History out of Joint: Essays on the Use and Abuse of History.*  
By Donald R. Kelley 1501

## COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- ELLIOTT HOROWITZ. *Reckless Rites: Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence.*  
By Shaul Magid 1502
- JACK D. FORBES. *The American Discovery of Europe.*  
By Felipe Fernández-Armesto 1504
- SAMUEL TRUETT. *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands.*  
By F. Arturo Rosales 1504
- LANCE E. DAVIS and STANLEY L. ENGERMAN. *Naval Blockades in Peace and War: An Economic History since 1750.*  
By William R. Thompson 1505
- STEPHEN L. DYSON. *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.*  
By Donald Malcolm Reid 1506
- ELIZABETH BUETTNER. *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India.*  
By Lydia Murdoch 1507
- ERICA B. SIMMONS. *Hadassah and the Zionist Project.*  
By Michael Berkowitz 1508
- DAVID EDGERTON. *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History since 1900.*  
By George Basalla 1509
- JOHN E. LESCH. *The First Miracle Drugs: How the Sulfa Drugs Transformed Medicine.*  
By Gerald N. Grob 1510
- WARWICK ANDERSON. *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines.*  
By Michael Adas 1511
- JOHN KRIGE. *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe.*  
By Jessica Wang 1512
- AMY L. S. STAPLES. *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945-1965.*  
By Marcos Cueto 1513

## ASIA

- JAMES A. MILLWARD. *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang.*  
By Colin Mackerras 1514
- MADELEINE ZELIN. *The Merchants of Zigong: Industrial Entrepreneurship in Early Modern China.*  
By David Faure 1514
- PAUL J. BAILEY. *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century.*  
By Limin Bai 1515
- MICHAEL G. MURDOCK. *Disarming the Allies of Imperialism: Agitation, Manipulation, and the State during China's Nationalist Revolution, 1922-1929.*  
By Edmund S. K. Fung 1516
- MADELEINE YUE DONG. *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories.*  
By Richard Belsky 1517
- STEPHEN C. AVERILL. *Revolution in the Highlands: China's Jinggangshan Base Area.*  
By Odoric Y. K. Wou 1518
- LIU XIAOYUAN. *Reins of Liberation: An Entangled History of Mongolian Independence, Chinese Territoriality, and Great Power Hegemony, 1911-1950.*  
By Alicia Campi 1519
- JANET R. GOODWIN. *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan.*  
By Sabine Frühstück 1520
- RICHARD RUBINGER. *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan.*  
By Mark Lincicome 1521
- MITANI HIROSHI. *Escape from Impasse: The Decision to Open Japan.*  
By George M. Wilson 1521
- BALÁZS SZALONTAI. *Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era: Soviet-DPRK Relations and the Roots of North Korean Despotism, 1953-1964.*  
By Michael J. Seth 1522
- TAMARA LOOS. *Subject Siam: Family, Law, and Colonial Modernity in Thailand.*  
By E. Bruce Reynolds 1523

## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- DONALD FYSON. *Magistrates, Police, and People: Everyday Criminal Justice in Quebec and Lower Canada, 1764-1837.*  
By David R. Murray 1524
- JENNIFER M. HUBBARD. *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Biology, 1898-1939.*  
By Suzanne Zeller 1525
- ANN M. LITTLE. *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England.*  
By Sarah J. Purcell 1526
- ED WHITE. *The Backcountry and the City: Colonization and Conflict in Early America.*  
By Michael Zuckerman 1527
- JEFF BROADWATER. *George Mason: Forgotten Founder.*  
By Jack N. Rakove 1528

- MARTIN BRÜCKNER. *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy and National Identity.*  
By Ricardo Padrón 1529
- GREGORY A. WASELKOV. *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813–1814.*  
By Andrew K. Frank 1530
- MATTHEW WARSHAUER. *Andrew Jackson and the Politics of Martial Law: Nationalism, Civil Liberties, and Partisanship.*  
By Gerald Leonard 1530
- GERARD N. MAGLIOCCA. *Andrew Jackson and the Constitution: The Rise and Fall of Generational Regimes.*  
By Mark Tushnet 1531
- ANDREW M. SCHOCKET. *Founding Corporate Power in Early National Philadelphia.*  
By Andrew Shankman 1532
- BONNIE STEPENOFF. *From French Community to Missouri Town: Ste. Genevieve in the Nineteenth Century.*  
By Edward Watts 1533
- LYNN A. NELSON. *Pharsalia: An Environmental Biography of a Southern Plantation, 1780–1880.*  
By Terry Sharrer 1534
- ROBERT E. KOHLER. *All Creatures: Naturalists, Collectors, and Biodiversity, 1850–1950.*  
By Karl Jacoby 1535
- RICHARD T. STILLSON. *Spreading the Word: A History of Information in the California Gold Rush.*  
By David M. Henkin 1535
- JOHN BENEDICT BUESCHER. *The Remarkable Life of John Murray Spear: Agitator for the Spirit Land.*  
By Ann Braude 1536
- LORRI GLOVER. *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation.*  
By Maurice Wallace 1537
- ANYA JABOUR. *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South.*  
By Cynthia A. Kierner 1538
- DAVID L. LIGHTNER. *Slavery and the Commerce Power: How the Struggle against the Interstate Slave Trade Led to the Civil War.*  
By James A. McMillin 1539
- H. ROBERT BAKER. *The Rescue of Joshua Glover: A Fugitive Slave, the Constitution, and the Coming of the Civil War.*  
By Frederick J. Blue 1540
- BRIAN R. DIRCK, editor. *Lincoln Emancipated: The President and the Politics of Race.*  
By Richard Striner 1541
- JOAN E. CASHIN. *The First Lady of the Confederacy: Varina Davis's Civil War.*  
By LeeAnn Whites 1541
- EDWARD L. AYERS, GARY W. GALLAGHER, and ANDREW J. TORGET, editors. *Crucible of the Civil War: Virginia from Secession to Commemoration.*  
By Bertram Wyatt-Brown 1542
- ROBERT TRACY MCKENZIE. *Lincolmites and Rebels: A Divided Town in the American Civil War.*  
By John Cimprich 1544
- SUSANNAH URAL BRUCE. *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865.*  
By Janet Nolan 1544
- MARK ELLIOTT. *Color-Blind Justice: Albion Tourgée and the Quest for Racial Equality from the Civil War to Plessy v. Ferguson.*  
Mark S. Weiner 1545
- EDWARD J. ROBINSON. *To Save My Race from Abuse: The Life of Samuel Robert Cassius.*  
By Edward J. Blum 1546
- ANDREW L. SLAP. *The Doom of Reconstruction: The Liberal Republicans in the Civil War Era.*  
By Charles W. Calhoun 1547
- KIMBERLY S. JOHNSON. *Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877–1929.*  
By Daniel R. Ernst 1548
- DAG BLANCK. *The Creation of an Ethnic Identity: Being Swedish American in the Augustana Synod, 1860–1917.*  
By Jørn Brøndal 1549
- GREGORY E. SMOAK. *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century.*  
By Lee Irwin 1550
- COLLEEN O'NEILL. *Working the Navajo Way: Labor and Culture in the Twentieth Century.*  
By Melissa L. Meyer 1551
- CHRISTIAN W. McMILLEN. *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Land Case and the Birth of Ethnohistory.*  
By David E. Wilkins 1552
- MATT WRAY. *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness.*  
By Linda Frost 1553
- THOMAS W. ZEILER. *Ambassadors in Pinstripes: The Spalding World Baseball Tour and the Birth of the American Empire*  
By Andrew Morris 1554
- JEFFREY E. ANDERSON. *Conjure in African American Society.*  
By Paul Harvey 1555
- ALAN M. KRAUT and DEBORAH A. KRAUT. *Covenant of Care: Newark Beth Israel Hospital and the Jewish Hospital in America.*  
By Angela D. Danzi 1556
- ELLEN M. UMANSKY. *From Christian Science to Jewish Science: Spiritual Healing and American Jews.*  
By Nathaniel Deutsch 1557
- JEFFREY S. GUROCK. *Judaism's Encounter with American Sports.*  
By Amy Bass 1557
- PAUL BARTON. *Hispanic Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in Texas.*  
By Randi Jones Walker 1558
- JUSTIN NORDSTROM. *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era.*  
By Edward T. Brett 1559
- SHELTON STROMQUIST. *Re-Inventing "The People": The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism.*  
By Robert D. Johnston 1560
- RICHARD SLOTKIN. *Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality.*  
By Gerald E. Shenk 1561
- LORRAINE GATES SCHUYLER. *The Weight of Their Votes: Southern Women and Political Leverage in the 1920s.*  
By J. Douglas Smith 1562

- ARTHUR FRANK WERTHEIM. *Vaudeville Wars: How the Keith-Albee and Orpheum Circuits Controlled the Big-Time and Its Performers.*  
By Kathryn J. Oberdeck 1563
- JOHN RAEBURN. *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography.*  
By Cara A. Finnegan 1564
- GRACE PALLADINO. *Skilled Hands, Strong Spirits: A Century of Building Trades History.*  
By Joseph A. McCartin 1565
- CHARLES F. MCGOVERN. *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945.*  
By Pamela Walker Laird 1566
- JEFFREY M. HORNSTEIN. *A Nation of Realtors: A Cultural History of the Twentieth-Century American Middle Class.*  
By Barbara M. Kelly 1567
- MARK WILD. *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles.*  
By Philip J. Ethington 1568
- DON PARSON. *Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare, and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles.*  
By Kevin Allen Leonard 1568
- KEVIN M. KRUSE. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism.*  
By Allison Dorsey 1569
- HOWARD GILLETTE, JR. *Camden after the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Post-Industrial City.*  
By Eric Avila 1570
- CHRISTOPHER BONASTIA. *Knocking on the Door: The Federal Government's Attempt to Desegregate the Suburbs.*  
By Matthew D. Lassiter 1571
- SIMON WENDT. *The Spirit and the Shotgun: Armed Resistance and the Struggle for Civil Rights.*  
By Steve Estes 1572
- J. TODD MOYE. *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945-1986.*  
By Glenn T. Eskew 1573
- KIMBERLY SPRINGER. *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980.*  
By Christina Greene 1574
- PENIEL E. JOSEPH. *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America.*  
By Emilyle Crosby 1575
- PETER L. HAHN. *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961.*  
By Douglas Little 1576
- EDWARD D. BERKOWITZ. *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies.*  
By John Robert Greene 1576
- HOWARD BRICK. *Transcending Capitalism: Visions of a New Society in Modern American Thought.*  
By David W. Noble 1577
- CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA**
- SUSAN KELLOGG. *Weaving the Past: A History of Latin America's Indigenous Women from the Prehispanic Period to the Present.*  
By Marjorie Becker 1578
- ALAN MCPHERSON, editor. *Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the Caribbean.*  
By Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman 1579
- KAROL K. WEAVER. *Medical Revolutionaries: The Enslaved Healers of Eighteenth-Century Saint Domingue.*  
By David Sowell 1579
- PAUL BUHLE. *Tim Hector: A Caribbean Radical's Story.*  
By Selwyn H. H. Carrington 1580
- NICOLE VON GERMETEN. *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans.*  
By John K. Chance 1581
- CHRIS FRAZER. *Bandit Nation: A History of Outlaws and Cultural Struggle in Mexico, 1810-1920.*  
By Mark Overmyer-Velázquez 1582
- PAUL HART. *Bitter Harvest: The Social Transformation of Morelos, Mexico, and the Origins of the Zapatista Revolution, 1840-1910.*  
By John Tutino 1583
- ELIZABETH DORE. *Myths of Modernity: Peonage and Patriarchy in Nicaragua.*  
By Ann Zulawski 1584
- DAVID MCCREERY. *Frontier Goiás, 1822-1889.*  
By David Block 1585
- DALE TORSTON GRADEN. *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835-1900.*  
By David Baronov 1586
- ANN ZULAWSKI. *Unequal Cures: Public Health and Political Change in Bolivia, 1900-1950.*  
By Teresa A. Meade 1587
- EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL**
- HARRIET I. FLOWER. *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture.*  
By Josiah Osgood 1588
- GREGORY S. ALDRETE. *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome.*  
By Dennis E. Trout 1588
- JEAN-LOUP ABBÉ. *À la conquête des étangs: L'aménagement de l'espace en Languedoc méditerranéen (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle).*  
By Richard C. Hoffmann 1589
- JUDITH A. GREEN. *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy.*  
By Hugh M. Thomas 1591
- FIONA J. GRIFFITHS. *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century.*  
By Anne L. Clark 1591
- IBEN FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT. *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254.*  
By Nils Blomkvist 1592
- BLAKE R. BEATTIE. *Angelus Pacis: The Legation of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, 1326-1334.*  
By Daniel Williman 1593
- F. THOMAS LUONGO. *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena.*  
By Katherine L. Jansen 1594
- CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM. *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond.*  
By Lee Palmer Wandel 1595
- ELIZABETH EVA LEACH. *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages.*  
By Dallas G. Denery II 1596

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- STEPHEN GAUKROGER. *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1210–1685.*  
By Edward Grant 1597
- MATTHEW L. JONES. *The Good Life in the Scientific Revolution: Descartes, Pascal, Leibniz, and the Cultivation of Virtue.*  
By Lisa T. Sarasohn 1598
- GIORGIO RIELLO. *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century.*  
By Daryl M. Hafter 1599
- LIBBY SCHWEBER. *Disciplining Statistics: Demography and Vital Statistics in France and England, 1830–1885.*  
By Andrea Rusnock 1600
- SUSAN GROSS SOLOMON, editor. *Doing Medicine Together: Germany and Russia between the Wars.*  
By Marius Turda 1601
- ULF BRUNNBÄUER, MICHAEL G. ESCH, and HOLM SUNDHAUSSEN, editors. *Definitionsmacht, Utopie, Vergeltung: "Ethnische Säuberungen" im östlichen Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts.*  
By Philipp Ther 1602
- CHARLES BEEM. *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History.*  
By Paul Monod 1603
- JOHN BELLAMY. *Strange, Inhuman Deaths: Murder in Tudor England.*  
By James Sharpe 1604
- DEBORA SHUGER. *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Language in Tudor-Stuart England.*  
By Joad Raymond 1604
- MICHAEL BRYDON. *The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker: An Examination of Responses, 1600–1714.*  
By Charles W. A. Prior 1606
- CHARLES W. A. PRIOR. *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603–1625.*  
By Tom Webster 1606
- DENNIS C. BUSTIN. *Paradox and Perseverance: Hanserd Knollys, Particular Baptist Pioneer in Seventeenth-Century England.*  
By Scott McGinnis 1607
- ANDREW C. THOMPSON. *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688–1756.*  
By Jennifer Mori 1608
- DEIRDRE PALK. *Gender, Crime and Judicial Discretion, 1780–1830.*  
By Allyson N. May 1609
- AKIHITO SUZUKI. *Madness at Home: The Psychiatrist, the Patient, and the Family in England, 1820–1860.*  
By Sonu Shamdasani 1610
- BILLIE MELMAN. *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past, 1800–1953.*  
By Rohan McWilliam 1611
- MARK CONNELLY. *Steady the Buffs! A Regiment, a Region, and the Great War.*  
By Gerard Oram 1612
- JEREMY NUTTALL. *Psychological Socialism: The Labour Party and Qualities of Mind and Character, 1931 to the Present.*  
By Noel Thompson 1613
- STEFAN COLLINI. *Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain.*  
By Susan Pedersen 1614
- CRISTIAN A. ROA-DE-LA-CARRERA. *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism.*  
By Kathleen Myers 1615
- STANLEY G. PAYNE. *The Collapse of the Spanish Republic, 1933–1936: Origins of the Civil War.*  
By Mary Vincent 1616
- HERMAN ROODENBURG. *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic.*  
By Michael Schoenfeldt 1617
- MINEKE BOSCH. *Aletta Jacobs 1854–1929: Een onwrikbaar geloof in rechtvaardigheid.*  
Annemieke van Drenth 1618
- MAARTJE M. ABBENHUIS. *The Art of Staying Neutral: The Netherlands in the First World War, 1914–1918.*  
By Martin Horn 1619
- HENRY C. CLARK. *Compass of Society: Commerce and Absolutism in Old-Regime France.*  
By Gayle K. Brunelle 1619
- EDWARD J. WOELL. *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counterrevolution in Western France, 1774–1914.*  
By James C. Deming 1620
- JEAN-PIERRE JESSENNE. *Les campagnes françaises entre mythe et histoire (XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle).*  
Robert M. Schwartz 1621
- DAVID S. BARNES. *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle against Filth and Germs.*  
By Sharon Marcus 1622
- ELINOR ACCAMPO. *Blessed Motherhood, Bitter Fruit: Nelly Roussel and the Politics of Female Pain in Third Republic France.*  
By Carolyn J. Eichner 1623
- WILLIAM D. IRVINE. *Between Justice and Politics: The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, 1898–1945.*  
By Benjamin F. Martin 1634
- RICHARD VINEN. *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation.*  
By John F. Sweets 1625
- PAUL WARDE. *Ecology, Economy and State Formation in Early Modern Germany.*  
By Mauro Ambrosoli 1626
- JEFFREY HERF. *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust.*  
By David Welch 1627
- WOLF GRUNER. *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße: Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Verfolgung der "Mischehen" 1943.*  
By Nathan Stoltzfus 1628
- DAGMAR BARNOUW. *The War in the Empty Air: Victims, Perpetrators, and Postwar Germans.*  
By Devin O. Pendas 1629
- DEVIN O. PENDAS. *The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963–1965: Genocide, History, and the Limits of the Law.*  
By Lawrence Douglas 1630
- WOLFGANG HARDTWIG and ERHARD SCHÜTZ, editors. *Geschichte für Leser: Populäre Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert.*  
By Peter Lambert 1631
- BÉLA KAPOSSY. *Iselin contra Rousseau: Sociable Patriotism and the History of Mankind.*  
By Johnson Kent Wright 1632



- DAVID M. D'ANDREA. *Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy: The Hospital of Treviso, 1400–1530*.  
By Brian Pullan 1633
- CAMILLA RUSSELL. *Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies of Sixteenth-Century Italy*.  
By William V. Hudon 1634
- PIETER M. JUDSON. *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*.  
By Alon Rachamimov 1635
- GERGELY ROMSICS. *Myth and Remembrance: The Dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in the Memoir Literature of the Austro-Hungarian Political Elite*.  
By Laurence Cole 1636
- ANDRÁS GERO. *Imagined History: Chapters from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Hungarian Symbolic Politics*.  
By Robert Nemes 1637
- PAUL A. HANEBRINK. *In Defense of Christian Hungary: Religion, Nationalism, and Antisemitism, 1890–1944*.  
By Alice Freifeld 1638
- PETER KENEZ. *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary, 1944–1948*.  
By Mark Kramer 1639
- MAGDA TETER. *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era*.  
By Jakub Basista 1640
- MARCI SHORE. *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918–1968*.  
By Robert Blobaum 1641
- JOCHEN BÖHLER. *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg: Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939*.  
By Stephen G. Fritz 1642
- MARTA PETREU. *An Infamous Past: E. M. Cioran and the Rise of Fascism in Romania*.  
By Irina Livezeanu 1643
- ELISABETH KONTOGIORGI. *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees 1922–1930*.  
By Violetta Hionidou 1644
- VALERIE KIVELSON. *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia*.  
By Chester Dunning 1645
- MURRAY FRAME. *School for Citizens: Theatre and Civil Society in Imperial Russia*.  
By Gary Thurston 1646
- WILLIAM C. FULLER, JR. *The Foe Within: Fantasies of Treason and the End of Imperial Russia*.  
By Jamie H. Cockfield 1647
- SARAH DAVIES and JAMES HARRIS, editors. *Stalin: A New History*.  
By Golfo Alexopoulos 1648
- LISA A. KIRSCHENBAUM. *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1995: Myth, Memories, and Monuments*.  
By Cynthia Simmons 1649
- KIRIL TOMOFF. *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939–1953*.  
By Peter Schmelz 1650
- ### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA
- ANTHONY GRAFTON and MEGAN WILLIAMS. *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*.  
By Elizabeth A. Clark 1651
- MEGAN HALE WILLIAMS. *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*.  
By Mark Vessey 1652
- ARTHUR GOLDSCHMIDT, AMY J. JOHNSON, and BARAK A. SALMONI, editors. *Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*.  
By Ralph M. Coury 1652
- JENS HANSSEN. *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Capital*.  
By Ariel Salzmann 1653
- RAZMIK PANOSSIAN. *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*.  
By James R. Russell 1654
- ### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
- JEAN ALLMAN and JOHN PARKER. *Tongaab: The History of a West African God*.  
By Mahir Şaul 1656
- GREGORY MANN. *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century*.  
By Andrew F. Clark 1657
- ANDREW APTER. *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria*.  
By Jonathan Sadowsky 1658
- JEREMIAH I. DIBUA. *Modernization and the Crisis of Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience*.  
By Gloria Chuku 1658

## Collected Essays

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT and DIOGO RAMADA CURTO, editors. *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*. 1660
- ONDINA E. GONZÁLEZ and BIANCA PREMO, editors. *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America*. 1660
- SANDHYA SHUKLA and HEIDI TINSMAN, editors. *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame*. 1660
- PHILLIP BUCKNER and R. DOUGLAS FRANCIS, editors. *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*. 1660
- KEVIN GRANT, PHILIPPA LEVINE, and FRANK TRENTMANN, editors. *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950*. 1661
- MARC S. RODRIGUEZ and ANTHONY T. GRAFTON, editors. *Migration in History: Human Migration in Comparative Perspective*. 1661

NANCY L. GREEN and FRANÇOIS WEIL, editors. *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation.* 1661

BRUCE S. ELLIOTT, DAVID A. GERBER, and SUZANNE M. SINKE, editors. *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants.* 1661

RENÉE WORRINGER, editor. *The Islamic Middle East and Japan: Perceptions, Aspirations, and the Birth of Intra-Asian Modernity.* 1662

## ASIA

BOB TADASHI WAKABAYASHI, editor. *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937–38: Complicating the Picture.* 1662

S. IRFAN HABIB and DHURUV RAINA, editors. *Social History of Science in Colonial India.* 1662

## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

THOMAS AUGST and KENNETH CARPENTER, editors. *Institutions of Reading: The Social Life of Libraries in the United States.* 1662

MANISHA SINHA and PENNY VON ESCHEN, editors. *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History.* 1662

MARCIE COHEN FERRIS and MARK I. GREENBERG, editors. *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History.* 1662

## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

SUSAN SCHROEDER and STAFFORD POOLE, editors. *Religion in New Spain.* 1663

WILL FOWLER and PETER LAMBERT, editors. *Political Violence and the Construction of National Identity in Latin America.* 1663

A. KIM CLARK and MARC BECKER, editors. *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador.* 1663

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PATRICK LITTLE, editor. *The Cromwellian Protectorate.* 1664

HAMISH SCOTT and BRENDAN SIMMS, editors. *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century.* 1664

NATALIE SCHOLZ and CHRISTINA SCHRÖER, editors. *Représentation et pouvoir: La politique symbolique en France (1789–1830).* 1664

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

VIRGINIA H. AKSAN and DANIEL GOFFMAN, editors. *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire.* 1664

H. E. CHEHABI, editor. *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years.* 1665

TOURAJ ATABAKI, editor. *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran.* 1665

Documents and Bibliographies	1666	Index	1677
Other Books Received	1668	Index of Advertisers	44(a)
Communications	1676		

## Topical Table of Contents

Administration  
1517, 1593

Agriculture  
1513, 1534, 1583, 1584, 1621

Animals  
1535, 1596

Anthropology/Archaeology  
1506, 1588

Art/Architecture  
1564, 1617

Biography  
1497, 1498, 1528, 1536, 1541, 1545, 1546, 1580,  
1591, 1594, 1603, 1607, 1618, 1623, 1634, 1636,  
1641, 1643, 1648, 1652

Body  
1520, 1595, 1617

Business/Finance  
1514, 1532, 1563, 1567, 1599

Career/Professions  
1565, 1610

Childhood/Youth  
1507, 1537, 1538, 1557

Class  
1521, 1553, 1560, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1581,  
1613

Colonial/Postcolonial  
1500, 1507, 1523, 1524, 1578, 1581, 1585, 1615,  
1657

Comparative  
1499, 1600, 1601, 1603, 1614

Constitutional  
1528, 1530, 1531, 1540, 1545, 1562

- Consumption/Consumers  
1566
- Crime/Violence  
1524, 1572, 1582, 1604, 1609, 1630
- Cultural  
1550, 1553, 1559, 1564, 1567, 1576, 1588, 1595,  
1596, 1604, 1606, 1617, 1622, 1637, 1641, 1652,  
1658
- Demography  
1600
- Diasporas  
1508, 1555
- Economic  
1514, 1532, 1570, 1576, 1577, 1585, 1599, 1619,  
1656, 1658
- Education/Students  
1515, 1521
- Elites  
1537, 1585, 1588, 1617, 1619, 1636, 1646
- Empire  
1491, 1500, 1521, 1554, 1579, 1615, 1645, 1657
- Environment/Landscape  
1525, 1534, 1535, 1588, 1589, 1626, 1645
- Ethnicity  
1504, 1514, 1518, 1530, 1533, 1544, 1549, 1552,  
1556, 1558, 1561, 1568, 1602, 1635, 1644, 1654
- Exploration/Travel  
1504, 1507, 1535
- Family  
1523, 1538, 1610
- Film/Photography  
1564
- Foreign Relations/Diplomatic  
1504, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1519, 1521, 1522, 1526,  
1527, 1530, 1533, 1535, 1554, 1558, 1576, 1579,  
1585, 1592, 1608, 1619, 1639, 1635, 1653
- Gay/Lesbian  
1574
- Gender  
1515, 1526, 1541, 1578, 1584, 1603, 1609, 1623
- Genocide  
1497, 1498, 1502, 1602, 1628, 1630, 1642
- Geography  
1482
- Health/Disease  
1511, 1557, 1579, 1587, 1600, 1622
- Historiography  
1484, 1487, 1493, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1552,  
1611, 1615, 1632, 1642, 1651, 1652
- Identity  
1529, 1549, 1550, 1553, 1611, 1613, 1636, 1639,  
1641, 1654
- Ideology  
1601, 1634, 1643
- Immigration/Migration  
1504, 1533, 1544, 1549, 1557, 1569, 1644
- Indigenous Peoples  
1491, 1504, 1514, 1519, 1526, 1530, 1550, 1551,  
1552, 1578
- Industry  
1510, 1514, 1570, 1599, 1612
- Institutions  
1499, 1512, 1513, 1516, 1524, 1532, 1548, 1556,  
1565, 1574, 1592, 1593, 1600, 1610, 1633, 1634,  
1640, 1646, 1650, 1658
- Intellectual  
1482, 1501, 1528, 1541, 1557, 1577, 1580, 1591,  
1597, 1598, 1606, 1611, 1613, 1614, 1619, 1632,  
1641, 1643, 1651, 1652
- Journalism  
1535, 1559
- Labor  
1551, 1560, 1565
- Language/Linguistics  
1635
- Legal/Legislative  
1523, 1524, 1530, 1531, 1539, 1540, 1545, 1547,  
1548, 1552, 1571, 1604, 1609, 1626, 1630
- Leisure/Entertainment  
1563, 1631, 1646
- Literature  
1497, 1527, 1596, 1604, 1611, 1614, 1615, 1643
- Local/Regional  
1514, 1518, 1533, 1534, 1537, 1538, 1542, 1544,  
1573, 1583, 1586, 1589, 1592, 1620, 1625, 1656
- Maritime  
1505
- Masculinity  
1537
- Material Culture  
1509, 1599
- Media/Communications  
1627
- Medicine  
1510, 1511, 1555, 1556, 1579, 1587, 1601, 1610,  
1622
- Memory  
1497, 1498, 1588, 1602, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1636,  
1649
- Methods/Theory  
1493, 1499, 1500, 1531
- Military  
1489, 1505, 1509, 1518, 1521, 1530, 1544, 1612,  
1647, 1657

- Music
  - 1596, 1650
- National Histories
  - 1487, 1493, 1529, 1576, 1616, 1629, 1637, 1638, 1639
- Nationalism
  - 1508, 1516, 1522, 1525, 1554, 1561, 1566, 1606, 1608, 1635, 1638, 1640, 1654
- Nobility
  - 1591, 1603
- Peasants
  - 1521, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1621, 1645
- Philanthropy
  - 1508, 1512, 1556, 1633, 1501, 1597, 1598
- Political
  - 1498, 1525, 1528, 1530, 1539, 1541, 1544, 1547, 1548, 1562, 1568, 1569, 1576, 1588, 1591, 1593, 1606, 1608, 1613, 1616, 1623, 1634, 1637, 1648, 1652, 1658
- Print/Print Culture
  - 1498, 1521, 1529, 1535, 1559, 1564, 1591, 1604, 1631, 1651, 1652
- Psychology/Psychiatry
  - 1610
- Public History
  - 1506
- Race/Racism
  - 1507, 1511, 1541, 1545, 1546, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1558, 1561, 1565, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1581, 1627, 1628, 1638
- Radicalism
  - 1536, 1572, 1575, 1580, 1607
- Reform
  - 1560, 1562, 1571, 1634, 1640
- Religion
  - 1491, 1502, 1508, 1536, 1546, 1549, 1550, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1581, 1591, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1620, 1634, 1638, 1640, 1656
- Revolution
  - 1487, 1516, 1518, 1582, 1583, 1620
- Rhetoric/Propaganda
  - 1498, 1566, 1579, 1615, 1627
- Ritual/Celebration
  - 1550, 1656
- Rural
  - 1527, 1559, 1589, 1621, 1626
- Science/Technology
  - 1484, 1506, 1509, 1510, 1512, 1525, 1535, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1597, 1598, 1601
- Sexuality
  - 1520
- Slavery
  - 1539, 1540, 1542, 1579, 1586, 1657
- Social History
  - 1551, 1594, 1614, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1625, 1626, 1633, 1634, 1644
- Social Movements/Resistance
  - 1498, 1536, 1551, 1560, 1561, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1579, 1580, 1582, 1583, 1586, 1618, 1628
- Social Policy
  - 1566, 1568, 1571, 1577, 1587
- Space/Place
  - 1482, 1517, 1529, 1568, 1637, 1645, 1653
- Sports
  - 1554, 1557
- State-Building/States
  - 1519, 1522, 1539, 1547, 1548, 1584, 1602, 1639, 1650
- Terrorism/Espionage
  - 1647
- Theater
  - 1563, 1646
- Trade
  - 1520, 1619
- Urban
  - 1517, 1527, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1588, 1622, 1633, 1649, 1653
- Wars
  - 1489, 1505, 1526, 1530, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1544, 1561, 1576, 1592, 1612, 1616, 1619, 1625, 1629, 1642, 1647, 1649, 1657
- Women
  - 1508, 1515, 1520, 1538, 1541, 1557, 1562, 1574, 1578, 1591, 1594, 1603, 1609, 1618, 1623, 1634
- World
  - 1504, 1509



---

## In This Issue

---

In keeping with current trends in scholarship, the articles in this issue all cross oceans, bridge national boundaries, or take up global themes, highlighting the geographically broad and cosmopolitan vision of many historians. We should hasten to note that what finds its way into our pages is largely determined by the serendipitous nature of the submissions we receive: we certainly do not set out to emphasize one historical approach over others. It is true that we are particularly interested in articles that are wide in their appeal; those which deal with phenomena and experiences across nations and oceans often meet this standard. But there are many ways historians can appeal to a wide range of their peers, and we welcome any and all attempts to do so. In any case, December's issue offers several variations on the theme of transnational history. It contains three articles, an *AHR* Exchange between two of the contributors to the *AHR* Forum that appeared in our June issue, an *AHR* Conversation on "Religious Identities and Violence," six featured reviews, and our usual extensive book review section.

### Articles

In "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas," **David Eltis**, **Philip Morgan**, and **David Richardson** begin by noting that two contrasting models currently dominate interpretations of Atlantic history. One highlights Old World influences to explain the nature of societies and cultures in the Americas. The other assigns primacy to the New World environment. The authors do not seek to challenge these polarities but rather attempt to transcend them. They refuse to emphasize either Old World folkways or New World environments, preferring to consider both. For them, community and cultural formation in the early Americas were the result of many forces. One consequence of this approach, however, is that assigning agency becomes a complex and ambiguous task. In particular, they challenge the arguments of scholars that developments in rice cultivation in the Americas were largely determined by the knowledge and skills of Africans forcibly imported from rice-cultivating areas of precolonial Africa. Their findings will be the subject of an *AHR* Exchange in a future issue.

The blurring of the lines of division between the Spanish and Portuguese empires that helped create a world-encircling empire for the Habsburgs between 1580 and

1640 has not attracted much scholarly attention. In “Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640,” **Sanjay Subrahmanyam** raises a set of issues regarding imperial “connection” going back as far as 1500. In particular, he addresses four questions. First, he examines the distinctions between the imperial models proposed by Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the heart of the matter lies the problem of the allegedly land-bound nature of the Spanish Empire in comparison to the predominantly maritime profile of the Portuguese. Second, he asks whether the distinctions that existed early on in the sixteenth century came to be blurred over time on account of processes of mutual borrowing and imitation, the synchronic version of what is termed *translatio imperii*. Third, he attempts to sort out what part the “Union of the Crowns” played in these processes. Finally, his essay briefly examines how contemporary observers and writers attempt to grapple with these issues. As this involves a vast geographical and institutional canvas, the primary object of analysis here is the world of politico-fiscal and commercial institutions.

In “Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public,” **Michelle Brattain** examines how the concept of race was reconstructed as a biological category, through a history of an international, post-World War II, antiracist public education project sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The project, intended to discredit Nazi-style scientific racism, ultimately produced two collectively authored scientific “statements on race.” The first statement’s claim that race was more “social myth” than “biological fact” was rejected by many scientists, who subsequently forced UNESCO to convene a second panel to revise the statement. The ensuing controversy, Brattain argues, should not be seen as merely an academic or disciplinary concern but was rather a historical artifact of race science itself. In spite of the lack of compelling evidence either confirming or denying racial differences, the UNESCO deliberations revealed the extent to which a belief in race and racial differences was a default assumption that fixed the logical structure of the debate. Although ostensibly antiracist, the postwar reconstruction of race as a natural category left science vulnerable to racist manipulation and enabled later demands for “colorblind” policy. While historians have frequently analyzed archaic constructions of races and racial identities, Brattain argues that they must extend historical analysis to the race category more generally and interrogate its use in historical scholarship. The preservation of race as an ahistorical, natural category, she concludes, whether as reformed by antiracist scientists or unintentionally reconstructed in the work of historians, compromises antiracism and facilitates racism.

## **AHR Exchange**

The AHR Exchange involves **Eliga H. Gould** and **Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra**, two of the participants in our June 2007 AHR Forum, “Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World.” Gould responds to Cañizares-Esguerra’s comments on his article, which, he claims, were critical of his emphasis on the importance of peripheries in under-

standing “entangled” imperial relationships. Cañizares-Esguerra then offers his own version of “entanglement,” arguing that core narratives are more meaningful sites of imperial interaction and exchange than geographic peripheries.

### ***AHR* Conversation**

The *AHR* Conversation, an experiment in scholarly exchange that we initiated last year, focuses on the topic “Religious Identities and Violence.” The *AHR* Editor and six other historians engaged in an online discussion that began in June and ended in early November. Presented here is a transcribed and lightly edited version of that rather extended conversation, which covers a lot of ground: from our different understanding of what we mean by “religion” to the shifting intensity of religious identities over time; from the targets of religious violence to the relationship of historical scholarship to contemporary concerns. The participants and their fields of expertise are **Philip Benedict** (early modern Europe), **Nora Berend** (medieval Europe), **Stephen Ellis** (modern Africa), **Jeffrey Kaplan** (religious studies), **Ussama Makdisi** (modern Middle East), and **Jack Miles** (theology, religion, and contemporary affairs).

**TO BE SOLD** on board the  
Ship *Banne Island*, on Tuesday the 6th  
of May next, at *Ashley-Ferry*; a choice  
cargo of about 250 fine healthy



## **NEGROES,**



just arrived from the  
Windward & Rice Coast.  
—The utmost care has  
already been taken, and  
shall be continued, to keep them free from  
the least danger of being infected with the  
**SMALL-POX**, no boat having been on  
board, and all other communication with  
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

*Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.*

**N. B.** Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the  
**SMALL-POX** in their own Country.

Newspaper advertisement, April 26, 1760, for the sale of slaves at Ashley Ferry, near Charlestown, South Carolina. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. Reproduction number: LC-USZ62-10293 (b&w film copy neg.).



---

## Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas

---

DAVID ELTIS, PHILIP MORGAN, and DAVID RICHARDSON

BROADLY SPEAKING, TWO CONTRASTING MODELS dominate interpretations of Atlantic history. One draws on Old World influences to explain the nature of societies and cultures in the Americas, while the other assigns primacy to the New World environment. One stresses continuities, the other change. The polar extremes are persistence and transience, inheritance and experience. An emphasis on inheritance prioritizes the cultural baggage that migrants brought with them, whereas a focus on experience highlights the physical and social environments, such as climate, natural resources, and settlement processes, that they encountered. In modern parlance, one approach focuses on folkways, the other on factor endowments.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these two viewpoints clashed, and the debate still reverberates in modified form. An emphasis on cultural continuities was the preserve of germ theory historians, such as Herbert Baxter Adams and Edward Eggleston, who stressed what immigrants from Europe brought with them when they crossed the Atlantic. Frederick Jackson Turner most famously challenged this emphasis, arguing that an egalitarian civil society and political democracy were rooted in the expanding frontier and availability of land in temperate North America. In the course of the twentieth century, the frontier thesis gathered considerable strength. Although historians of migration no longer mention the Turner school, the new environment continues to be seen as the dominant influence, whether in terms of physical resources or the evolution of new social identities. In the Black Atlantic, the frontier thesis might seem irrelevant, but there, too, the literature on creolization, stemming most notably from the work of Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, saw the historiographical pendulum swing toward an emphasis on the discontinuity of the transatlantic experience and the critical importance of the New World environment.<sup>1</sup>

The authors acknowledge the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Board of the United Kingdom in collecting the data on which this article is based. They also thank Daniel Barros Domingues da Silva, who assisted with research in Lisbon's Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Maranhão) and commented on an earlier draft of this essay. Other especially helpful readers, to whom we are deeply indebted, were Stephen D. Behrendt, Peter A. Coclanis, S. Max Edelson, Stanley L. Engerman, R. C. Nash, and the members of the University of Georgia's Workshop in Early American History and Culture.

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns* (Baltimore, Md., 1882); Edward Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1901); Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920). For modern work compatible with Turner, one emphasizing resources, the other culture, see, e.g., Jared M. Diamond,

For students of European migration, the dichotomy reemerged when David Hackett Fischer insisted on the primacy of four British regions and their connection to four “cultural hearths” in British America, describing his argument in *Albion’s Seed* as a “modified ‘germ thesis.’” His is a model of cultural diffusion. He termed it an ethnocultural exercise, involving the creation of a taxonomy of customs, ideas, and institutions—or folkways. It requires the identification of a place of origin, a place of destination, and a path between the two. It might be labeled a “transfer-conduit” or “donor-recipient” model. The principal agency of transmission, Fischer argued, was an influential immigrant elite that systematically endeavored to create a regional culture in the Americas in the image of the homeland hearth from which its members had migrated. He mentioned the “iron law of oligarchy,” meaning that “small groups dominate every cultural system.”<sup>2</sup>

Fischer’s diffusion model aroused much criticism, which centered most fundamentally, perhaps, on his failure to explore fully how complex forces in the New World modified the transmitted four regional cultures. Powerful elements in the settlement process—such as material conditions, interactions with other peoples, and environmental possibilities and constraints—shaped and reformulated the inherited regional cultures. Much selection and adjustment then ensued. This whole process seemed undertheorized and underrepresented in Fischer’s lengthy book. It was also constantly changing, his critics alleged; by contrast, they argued, an emphasis on cultural persistence tended to create static and synchronic pictures.<sup>3</sup>

Fischer astutely responded that these polar approaches present false choices. He noted that at one end of a broad spectrum is the stereotypical germ theory, which gives no causal importance to the environment; at the other is an exaggerated frontier thesis, which allows no role for culture. Neither is useful, he maintained. The difficulty is mediating between these two extremes. “To make a strong case for culture is not to deny or even diminish the role of environment,” he said. “The great question is about the linkage of culture and environment.” No simple dichotomizing method is likely to be helpful. The open environment of the New World, he emphasized, should be seen as “a fertile seedbed” for many different cultures, nourishing a dynamic pluralism more complex than any Old World society had ever been. The goal, he now maintained, was to develop a cultural model that would coexist with environmental or ecocultural history. Whether *Albion’s Seed* quite fulfilled these

---

*Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1999), and Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham, N.C., 2002), 361–364, and the literature cited therein. For creolization, see Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1976); Richard Price, “On the Miracle of Creolization,” in Kelvin A. Yelvington, ed., *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora* (Santa Fe, N. Mex., 2006), 113–145; Stephan Palmié, “Creolization and Its Discontents,” *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 35 (2006): 433–456; and Charles Stewart, ed., *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2007).

<sup>2</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 5, 896, and Fischer, “*Albion* and the Critics: Further Evidence and Reflection,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 48 (1991): 260–308.

<sup>3</sup> “Forum: *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America*—A Symposium,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 48 (1991): 224–259. Fischer’s lack of attention to the role of Africans is to be rectified in a forthcoming volume, to be titled *American Plantations: African and European Folkways in the New World*, in his multivolume series “America: A Cultural History.”

prescriptions is doubtful, but Fischer proved a supple defender of a complex cultural mode of analysis.<sup>4</sup>

In some ways, historians of the African American experience have been reprising the debates that raged over Fischer's book. A number of works have made claims consistent with *Albion's Seed*. Michael Gomez's *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, for example, discovers a number of "African ethnic enclaves" in North America. Thus the Chesapeake was the "preserve of the Igbo," West Central Africans were particularly numerous in the lowcountry, and "Bambaras" from Senegambia were "foundational" in Louisiana. Although Gomez argues that Africans and their descendants in North America eventually embraced a collective identity based on race rather than ethnicity—thus emphasizing the role of the New World environment—he sees the persistence of African cultures well into the early nineteenth century. Another study in a similar vein is Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, which also argues that distinct African regional cultures and ethnicities made "major contributions" in "particular places in the Americas." She emphasizes that most of the Africans who were brought to the New World came from only a few ethnic groups, that they clustered in various parts of the Americas, and that the earliest Africans from specific regional cultures often had "a continuing and decisive influence" on their native-born descendants and on those Africans who arrived later.<sup>5</sup>

A tension regarding the question of numbers is present in many such studies. To establish the role of particular African ethnicities in the Americas, the aim is usually to point to majority influence. In late-sixteenth-century Peru, for example, an Upper Guinea influence seems likely, since more than half of all Africans who came to that region were from a twenty-thousand-square-kilometer area stretching from the Lower Casamance to the Kogon rivers. In late-seventeenth-century Brazil, a strong West Central African connection meant that Mbundu and BaKongo slaves were able to re-create specific ritual practices, such as divination ordeals, resort to spirit possession, and funeral ceremonies, that owed much to their homelands. Prominent war captives from the Akan state of Akwamu in the early 1730s later led a slave revolt in Danish St. John; their plans drew on their knowledge of Akwamu statecraft. Similarly, the rebels in the Stono Rebellion of 1739 in South Carolina were probably from Kongo; in that decade, about two-thirds of the Africans arriving in the colony came from West Central Africa, and the dancing, music making, and military strategies of the rebels can probably be attributed to native practices. Yet in other parts of the Americas, as Hall noted, the earliest migrants, who might be tiny minorities

<sup>4</sup> Fischer, "Albion and the Critics," 260–308.

<sup>5</sup> Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 11, 38, 150; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005), xv, 49, 55–79, 168–169. For other examples, see John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (1992; repr., New York, 1998); Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery* (London, 2000); Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds., *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (New York, 2003); José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (Amherst, N.Y., 2004); Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs, eds., *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World* (Bloomington, Ind., 2004); and José C. Curto and Renée Soulodre-La France, eds., *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections during the Slave Trade* (Trenton, N.J., 2005).

overall, could form a charter generation that had undue influence on later arrivals. She argued in an earlier work that a few thousand “Bambara” (she now prefers the term “Bamana”) from Senegambia were central to understanding early Louisiana history. Ira Berlin’s *Many Thousands Gone* valorizes the role of a small number of African creoles on whom Europeans depended to establish their position in the Atlantic. Linda Heywood and John Thornton argue that the founding generation was drawn primarily from West-Central Africa, bearers of a regional culture. In some cases, then, influence is claimed on the basis of a large majority; in others, a small crucial group, a charter generation, is said to have exercised influence disproportionate to their numbers.<sup>6</sup>

Atlantic history has matured to the point where it needs to break out of the straitjacket imposed by the two models that have dominated interpretations of the historiography of the Americas. There is no need either to choose between them or to pass judgment on their appropriateness. Rather than either Old World folkways or New World environments, we need to encompass both and become much more thoroughly Atlantic. Community and cultural formation in the early Americas was a product of many forces. Rather than frame the issue as solely one of transfers and conduits, we should also think of transformations and overlapping circuits. Rather than posit that slaves and planters always acted knowingly, we should entertain the possibility that they often responded to unseen market forces. Rather than assume that migrants remained conservatively attached to traditional ways, we might also view them as experimenters and improvisers. Once such a perspective is adopted, assigning agency becomes a complex and ambiguous task. But only then are we likely to generate an accurate and plausible picture of the foundation of Atlantic societies.

Since the 1970s, what can be termed the “black rice hypothesis” has emerged in ever stronger form in successive books by Peter H. Wood, Daniel C. Littlefield, and Judith A. Carney. The major export crop of eighteenth-century South Carolina and Georgia—rice—is now seen as predominantly a creation of Africans. This African contribution to New World agriculture is epitomized by the arresting title of Carney’s book: *Black Rice*. A direct role for Africans in American history strikes a chord at a time when the national story is becoming less parochial and is increasingly being viewed in an Atlantic or global context. Furthermore, the emphasis on African agency resonates with histories from the bottom up and with subaltern studies in

<sup>6</sup> Stephan Bühnen, “Ethnic Origins of Peruvian Slaves (1548–1650): Figures for Upper Guinea,” *Paideuma* 39 (1993): 57–110; James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), esp. 119–188; Ray A. Kea, “‘When I die, I shall return to my own land’: An ‘Amina’ Slave Rebellion in the Danish West Indies, 1733–1734,” in John Hunwick and Nancy Lawler, eds., *The Cloth of Many Colored Silks: Papers on History and Society Ghanaian and Islamic in Honor of Ivor Wilks* (Evanston, Ill., 1996), 159–193; John K. Thornton, “African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion,” *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1101–1113; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1992), 41–55, 97–118; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 15–92; Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585–1600* (New York, 2007). For recent work on the African diaspora, see Emmanuel Akyeampong, “Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa,” *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 183–215; Isidore Okpewho, Carole Boyce Davies, and Ali A. Mazrui, eds., *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities* (Bloomington, Ind., 2001); Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil* (London, 2001); and Patrick Manning, “Africa and the African Diaspora: New Directions of Study,” *Journal of African History* 44 (2003): 487–506.

general. That South Carolina's rice industry was built not just on slave labor, but also on the slaves' agricultural and technological knowledge, is an exciting and appealing revelation. In a multicultural world, it is reassuring to realize that the black contribution to American life involved more than just backbreaking muscle power. The development of American rice culture, the claim goes, marked the transatlantic migration not only of an important crop but of an "entire cultural system." It was a major African accomplishment.<sup>7</sup>

The basic argument rests on three core elements. First, rice culture was indigenous to Africa and was a practice of long standing. Well before the Europeans arrived, West Africans had developed complex systems of mangrove or tidal floodplain, coastal estuarine, and upland rain-fed forms of rice cultivation. The area of greatest rice specialization centered on the Upper Guinea Coast, that part of the African littoral stretching from present-day Senegal to Liberia, but also reached into the interior, and by the seventeenth century may have extended coastwise to the western Gold Coast.<sup>8</sup> Second, in contrast to the cultivation of most plantation crops in the Americas, notably sugar and tobacco, there was never a period when free—or at least non-slave—labor could be induced to produce rice for export. The workforce engaged in cultivating rice for export was always black, although elsewhere in the world, slave labor was not the norm. Moreover, among communities of Maroon or runaway slaves, rice seems to have often become the major staple and assumed special significance. Finally, putative parallels have emerged between rice cultivation in Africa and its counterparts in the Americas. From land preparation through sowing, weeding, irrigating, threshing, milling, winnowing, and cooking, African practices seemingly left a deep imprint on New World ways of growing and processing the crop.<sup>9</sup>

South Carolina (later joined by Georgia and the Cape Fear region of North Carolina) was the primary, but not the only, rice producer in the Americas. By the late eighteenth century, northeastern Brazil (the present states of Amapá, Pará, and Maranhão) had become a significant center of slave-grown rice for export.<sup>10</sup> There were, then, two key nodal points for commercial rice production in the eighteenth-century

<sup>7</sup> Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974); Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981); Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), xii (quote). In subsequent publications, Carney has extended her analysis of the African origins of American risiculture; see her "'With Grains in Her Hair': Rice in Colonial Brazil," *Slavery and Abolition* 25, no. 1 (2004): 1–27, and "Rice and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Atlantic Passages to Suriname," *Slavery and Abolition* 26, no. 3 (2005): 325–349. For a discussion of the historiographical currents in which Carney's book is favorably mentioned, see Barry Gewen, "Forget the Founding Fathers," *New York Times Book Review*, June 5, 2005, 30–33, esp. 31. For another endorsement, see Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 66–68, 93–94.

<sup>8</sup> Carney, "Rice and Memory in the Age of Enslavement," 332–339, makes the case for the western Gold Coast, but rice growing was highly localized there. Upper Guinea encompassed the three slave-trading regions of Senegambia, the Windward Coast, and Sierra Leone.

<sup>9</sup> Carney, *Black Rice*, 38–39; Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400–1900* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003), 36–39; Roland Portères, "African Cereals: Eleusine, Fonio, Black Fonio, Teff, Brachiaria, Paspalum, Pennisetum, and African Rice," in Jack R. Harlan et al., eds., *Origins of African Plant Domestication* (Paris, 1976), 409–452; A. J. Carpenter, "The History of Rice in Africa," in I. W. Buddenhagen and G. J. Persley, eds., *Rice in Africa* (New York, 1978), 3–10.

<sup>10</sup> By about 1780, Maranhão's rice production met Portugal's entire import demand, and production



Americas, although one was much larger than the other. In addition, the production of rice for subsistence and as a minor plantation crop occurred in many other parts of the New World—Peru, Mexico, the Guianas, Suriname, Cayenne, El Salvador, Jamaica, and Louisiana. Surinamese Maroons grew rice as their primary food crop, and their oral traditions include stories about female ancestors who hid seed rice in their hair when moving either from Africa to Suriname or from plantation to Maroon camp; a rebellion on a Bahian sugar plantation in 1789 involved a demand by predominantly creole slaves to “be able to plant our rice wherever we wish.” In short, rice became widely grown throughout the Americas, and in each case the association with black labor is evident. Rice, notes Carney, was “the signature cereal of the African diaspora.”<sup>11</sup>

If the association of black labor and rice growing now seems widely accepted, the linkage between the rice-growing regions of Africa and those in the Americas is actually tenuous. Such a connection rests on some key claims, all related to flows of enslaved labor from parts of Africa to the Americas. First, and most obvious, Africans from rice-growing areas are said to have been either a significant minority or even a majority of those slaves arriving in New World regions that specialized in rice.<sup>12</sup> Planter preference is largely seen to have shaped slave shipments, at least to those areas that cultivated rice commercially. Second, African agricultural expertise was highly gendered. In some places, rice was solely a women’s crop; in others—usually where more elaborate systems arose for irrigating rice, requiring ditching and banking—a complex division of labor between men and women emerged; but in West Africa, women selected and sowed the seed and later processed and cooked the cereal. Given female expertise, it is claimed, slave arrivals in South Carolina included a higher percentage of women than arrivals in the Caribbean, where sugar was the predominant crop. Third, female slaves bound for American rice-growing areas allegedly commanded higher prices than in other plantation economies. In South Carolina, according to Carney, the labor of female slaves “was valued more on a par with that of male bondsmen than in the slave markets of the West Indies.”<sup>13</sup>

Such claims, if valid, would provide a *prima facie* case for the transfer of African

---

attained its colonial peak in 1787, albeit at a volume less than one-tenth of that of the late colonial British American mainland.

<sup>11</sup> Carney, “‘With Grains in Her Hair,’” 1–27; Judith Carney, “Out of Africa: Colonial Rice History in the Black Atlantic,” in Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, eds., *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2005), 204–220, esp. 219; Richard Price, “Subsistence on the Plantation Periphery: Crops, Cooking, and Labour among Eighteenth-Century Suriname Maroons,” in Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *The Slaves’ Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas* (London, 1991), 107–127, esp. 109, 117; Richard Price, *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 89–90, 129–134; Stuart B. Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana, Ill., 1996), 54, 62. For other places, see Carney, *Black Rice*, 75–78; Hans Sloane, *The Natural History of Jamaica* . . . , 2 vols. (London, 1725), 1: 103; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 10, 59, 122–124, 180. Actually, the so-called Maroon belief that African women came to Suriname with rice in their hair derived from a visitor who spoke not a word of any Maroon language; and the Saramaka Ur-woman who brought rice in her hair for the Maroons carried it from a plantation, not from Africa, and it was commercial rice she was cultivating (communication from Richard Price).

<sup>12</sup> Carney, “Rice and Memory in the Age of Enslavement,” 336–337. Some “geographical corridors” were transatlantic; others are claimed to be intercolonial, linking Brazil and Suriname or Barbados and South Carolina.

<sup>13</sup> Carney, *Black Rice*, 107.



rice-cultivating technologies to the Americas. But they have wider significance, too. With respect to gender, they represent an important caveat to the received wisdom that in the transatlantic traffic, male slaves typically outnumbered, and fetched higher prices than, females. As for commercial rice cultivation in the Americas, they seem to imply African acceptance of or even collaboration with—rather than resistance to—plantation development. At the very least, slaves are depicted as using their rice skills as a bargaining chip in active negotiation with masters. Suggestions, therefore, that rice cultivation in the Americas hinged upon the transfer of rice-growing skills and technologies through the slave trade from Africa challenge some of our most fundamental assumptions about African agency, the patterns and structures of transatlantic slavery, and working conditions on slave plantations. The degree of the African contribution to the development of American rice cultivation therefore merits close investigation.

There is no doubt that African slaves were the primary cultivators of rice and that some introduced Old World customs of sowing, threshing, and winnowing the crop into the New World. However, there is no compelling evidence that African slaves transferred whole agricultural systems to the New World; nor were they the primary players in creating and maintaining rice regimes in the Americas. Rather, a complex set of factors explains the operation of both the slave trade and the plantation system. Critical to the former were African supply conditions, Atlantic trade routes, and mercantile strategies, and to the latter, planter priorities, environmental conditions, and managerial initiatives. In neither case should the primary engine of development be reduced to planter preferences in the one and slave agency in the other.<sup>14</sup>

A REVIEW OF THE AFRICAN COASTAL PROVENANCE of slaves arriving in North America lends little support to the idea that rice planters sought slaves from the rice-growing regions of Africa. In the crucial formative period, prior to 1750, when the foundations of the lowcountry rice economy were laid and when slaves with rice-growing skills might have been expected to be in most demand, only about one-fifth of the region's Africans came from Upper Guinea. Moreover, during the same period, the tobacco-growing Chesapeake region drew on Upper Guinea to almost exactly the same degree as its lowcountry counterpart, while other North American regions received proportionately the largest share—just over half—of their slaves from Upper Guinea. In short, parts of North America other than the lowcountry have as good or an even better claim to be linked to rice-growing areas in Africa. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the relationship between the lowcountry and the rice-growing region of West Africa was weak. (See Table 1.)<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Of course, a subaltern role should be highlighted where it is attested, as in Barbados, where in 1627 about three dozen Arawaks brought from the Dutch colony of Guiana served to “instructe the English” in tobacco growing, and later apparently in cotton processing. Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627–1660* (New York, 2003), 88, 95. Similar acknowledgment from planters regarding their slaves’ knowledge of rice derives from Virginia and Louisiana, but not South Carolina. See Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 100; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 10, 59, 121–122.

<sup>15</sup> The data for Table 1 are taken from a revised version of David Eltis, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson, and Manolo Florentino, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://www.slavevoyages.com> [hereafter TSTD2], which contains records of 306,909 slaves who came directly from Africa into

**Table 1**  
**Proportion of Slaves Arriving in Mainland North American**  
**Regions from Upper Guinea**

	<i>No. of Slaves from Upper Guinea</i>	<i>Slaves from Upper Guinea as % of Arrivals from All of Africa</i>
Before 1751		
Chesapeake	9,897	22.3
South Carolina and Georgia	4,856	21.9
All other regions	4,740	52.4
1751–1775		
Chesapeake	8,771	39.9
South Carolina and Georgia	35,774	58.2
All other regions	2,532	59.5
1776–1800		
South Carolina and Georgia	7,158	50.5
All other U.S. regions	913	65.0
1801–1825		
South Carolina and Georgia	13,886	31.6
All other U.S. regions	1,029	30.5

SOURCE: Calculated from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database [TSTD2], <http://www.slavevoyages.com>.

Perhaps the origins of risiculture in South Carolina can be traced to Barbados, its cultural hearth, since so many of the early settlers and their slaves came from the island? Before 1700, however, only 6 percent of arrivals in Barbados came from Upper Guinea, and many of those were sold again, into the Spanish Americas.<sup>16</sup> After allowing for Upper Guinea slaves who grew millet rather than rice and for the number of children in the slave trade to Barbados, perhaps one out of a hundred slaves in this Barbadian charter generation would have known anything about rice culture. After 1700, a slave route connection between South Carolina and the eastern Caribbean continued. It involved about 10 percent of all slaves arriving in South Carolina between 1700 and 1740. Yet only 7 percent of African arrivals into the British Caribbean during this period came from Upper Guinea.<sup>17</sup> The possibility that

the territories that became the United States. Of these, some indication of the African coastal origins exists for 227,456—more than half of the total number of slaves estimated to have arrived in mainland North America by this route. This high proportion lends confidence to our findings. For the purposes of comparison, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast can be treated as a single broad African region—Upper Guinea—where rice growing was quite prevalent (although by no means uniformly so), and contrasted with a second, even larger, grouping that includes all other known slave embarkation points in Africa, departure points that collectively were less likely to draw on rice-producing areas (indeed, they rarely did so). In this table, the Chesapeake is Virginia and Maryland, the lowcountry is South Carolina and Georgia, and New England, the Mississippi Delta, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and Florida are the “other regions.”

<sup>16</sup> Calculated from TSTD2 using the “Search the Database” function. See also David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000), 246.

<sup>17</sup> Calculated from TSTD2; and see also Gregory O'Malley, “The Intra-American Slave Trade: Forced African Migrations within the Caribbean and from Islands to the Mainland” (paper presented to the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, Pa., 2006). We thank Dr. O'Malley for making his new dataset available to us.

lowcountry planters sought slaves with rice-growing skills via an intercolonial geographical corridor through the British Caribbean seems remote.

Indeed, at the time that South Carolina's rice economy became established, the links between the colony and Africa were tenuous in two major respects. First, before 1715 or so, most slaves arrived in the lowcountry in small shipments from the West Indies. South Carolina, as Wood famously noted, was "a colony of a colony." Not only would very few of these slaves have had much prior knowledge of rice production in Africa, but none of them would have grown the crop in Barbados. Scarce surface water and restricted provision lands made rice cultivation impossible on the island. Second, in early-eighteenth-century South Carolina, Indian slaves constituted the fastest-growing part of the population, and African slaves remained marginal at that time.<sup>18</sup>

After 1750, the connection between South Carolina and Georgia and possible rice-growing regions in Africa became stronger. From 1750 to 1776, nearly three out of every five Africans arriving in the lowcountry came from Upper Guinea. This period also saw an indigo boom in the lowcountry, and many of these Upper Guinea slaves were undoubtedly put to growing indigo rather than rice.<sup>19</sup> The proportion of Upper Guinea slaves arriving in the lowcountry dropped in the last quarter of the century, but they still represented half of all arrivals. At the same time, Upper Guinea also supplied more Africans to other parts of North America than ever before. Two out of every five Africans arriving in the Chesapeake in the third quarter of the eighteenth century were from Upper Guinea; other parts of North America received as large a share of Upper Guinea slaves as did the lowcountry. Indeed, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Upper Guinea was once again proportionately a greater supplier to regions of the United States other than the lowcountry (although the overall numbers were small). Thus after 1750, Upper Guinea was a more significant supplier to all North American regions, not just the lowcountry, than it had ever been before.

In the early nineteenth century, when the lowcountry was the only U.S. region to resort to the African slave trade to any great degree (in one last explosion of slave trading before formal abolition), it was once again receiving only a minority of its Africans from rice-producing areas. Between 1804 and 1807, less than one in three Africans arriving in the lowcountry came from Upper Guinea. Overall, then, with the exception of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the lowcountry did not import a majority of its slaves from rice-producing regions. Other regions in what became the United States had stronger claims to be connected to Upper Guinea than did South Carolina and Georgia.

The Caribbean, which exported no rice, also had greater connections to Upper Guinea than did the lowcountry. The islands received seven times more Africans from rice-growing areas than did South Carolina and Georgia, making the Antilles

<sup>18</sup> Wood, *Black Majority*, 13–34, 143–144. It is impossible to know how many "Negro slaves" were African (a minority, we assume). In the first decade of the eighteenth century, children (presumably native-born) were by far the fastest-growing component of the black slave population: their numbers doubled, while the number of adults rose by 20 percent.

<sup>19</sup> Some Upper Guinea slaves knew indigo in their homelands, but the domestic production of the crop in West Africa was most unlike the plantation production of the dye crop in the lowcountry. Furthermore, even though some Africans were familiar with the crop, planters shifted land and labor to this new cultigen on the basis of changing conditions in the Atlantic economy and new market incentives.

**Table 2**  
**Slaves from Upper Guinea Entering South Carolina, Georgia, and the Caribbean, 1676–1860**

	<i>Before 1751</i>	<i>1751–1775</i>	<i>1776–1800</i>	<i>1801–1860</i>
South Carolina–Georgia	4,856	35,774	7,158	13,886
Upper Guinea captives as % of all slaves	21.9	58.2	50.5	31.4
Caribbean	83,787	192,813	122,507	67,555
Upper Guinea captives as % of all slaves	9.8	23.6	13.5	16.0

SOURCE: Calculated from TSDT2.

easily the most important destination of slaves from Upper Guinea after 1700. (See Table 2.) More significant, the rising importance of Upper Guinea as a source of slaves in the third quarter of the eighteenth century is apparent for both sugar- and rice-growing regions. Between 1751 and 1775, in both the Caribbean and the lowcountry, the proportion of slaves arriving from Upper Guinea more than doubled. Still, the lowcountry and the other major North American plantation regions drew a greater share of their slaves from Upper Guinea than did any other major plantation region of the Americas. Overall, only about one in every six slaves coming into the Caribbean was from Upper Guinea.<sup>20</sup>

South Carolina planters did not seek slaves from Upper Guinea in order to develop rice production. Once planters learned how to use land and water to grow rice—something they had achieved by the early eighteenth century, and without a critical mass of Africans to teach them—increasing numbers of rice growers were not vital to their success. The post-1750 surge of Africans who may have had some knowledge of rice cultivation can be explained without reference to planter preference and was not necessary to rice's development. Perhaps, from their homeland memories, Africans contributed the hollow logs or trunks that regulated the flow of water between rivers and fields as lowcountry planters shifted from swampland to tidal irrigation in the post-1750 period, but then again Europeans knew much about draining and embanking wetlands, and they, too, employed hollow logs. Furthermore, lowcountry planters soon adopted hanging floodgates, known only to European agriculture. The natural growth of the slave population in South Carolina after about 1750 also facilitated intergenerational transfers of rice-growing skills within the province's labor force. This development alleviated any possible dependence on African incomers just when slaves from Upper Guinea became increasingly abundant. Among the complex mix of factors that shaped the Atlantic slave trade and established the major links between Africa and the Americas, planter preferences for slaves from particular African regions played a minor role.<sup>21</sup>

North American mainland markets for slaves were always peripheral to the transatlantic slave-delivery system. Between 1650 and 1780, they accounted for less than 7 percent of the slaves carried across the Atlantic, and probably no vessel in this era

<sup>20</sup> Calculated from TSTD2.

<sup>21</sup> Carney, *Black Rice*, 89–97; S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 74–76.

brought slaves to the mainland without first calling at a Caribbean island—usually Barbados or Antigua—to check out alternative marketing prospects. When slave traders planned a transatlantic expedition, they juggled a variety of factors, which included trading patterns in Africa, seasonal fluctuations in harvests in both Africa and the Americas, slave resistance patterns, international wars, and credit links between slave-trading regions on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>22</sup>

Buyers of slaves in the Americas wanted a cheap supply of undifferentiated labor for field work, and transatlantic suppliers sought locations in Africa where they could obtain large numbers of slaves quickly and at reasonable cost. Buyer preferences for peoples from particular regions in Africa could be exercised only in the largest markets of the Caribbean, such as Barbados, Jamaica, and St. Domingue, where vessels from all parts of Africa arrived in large numbers. Even in these places, planter preferences were not central. Slave traders could obtain the largest volume of slaves in the shortest period of time on the Slave Coast of the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, West-Central Africa, and to a lesser extent the Gold Coast, all regions where rice was not a dominant crop. The large slave vessels from these regions first targeted major markets in the Caribbean and then moved to the fringe areas if necessary. Even then, it was well known that only the most prosperous of these secondary markets—say, Charleston after 1750—could absorb large numbers of slaves at one time. Slave trading in Upper Guinea, which lay to the north of the major slave provenance zones, required smaller vessels (and a strategy of buying small groups of slaves at scattered locations) able to supply regions in the Americas that could not easily sell the numbers per vessel carried from the major markets farther south. Before 1750, therefore, a link emerged between secondary markets in Africa and secondary markets in the Americas based on trading conditions in the Old World and the inability of North American mainland planters to compete with the sugar barons of the Caribbean. But such a link applied to both the Chesapeake and the lowcountry and had little to do with rice-growing skills.<sup>23</sup>

After 1750, a new, and as yet poorly understood, set of conditions reshaped the supply of slaves, the effect of which was greatly to increase the loading times of vessels trading in all the major African slave provenance zones.<sup>24</sup> In response, more

<sup>22</sup> For three excellent discussions of the forces shaping the direction of and fluctuations in the transatlantic slave trade, see Lorena S. Walsh, "Mercantile Strategies, Credit Networks, and Labor Supply in the Colonial Chesapeake in Trans-Atlantic Perspective," in David Eltis, Frank Lewis, and Kenneth Sokoloff, eds., *Slavery in the Development of the Americas* (New York, 2004), 89–119; Stephen D. Behrendt, "Markets, Transaction Cycles and Profits: Merchant Decision-Making in the British Slave Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58 (2001): 171–204; and Behrendt, "Seasonality, African Trade and Atlantic History" (paper delivered to the International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, Harvard University, June 21, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> If one is looking for food-based connections between the Chesapeake and South Carolina in the Americas and Upper Guinea in Africa, then animal protein would be a promising candidate. It was more available to slaves in North America than in the islands; and it was also a major feature of diets in Upper Guinea, which lay outside regions in sub-Saharan Africa where the animal-destroying tsetse fly lived. The Royal African Company's factors in Kingston noted as they resold a group of slaves recently arrived from the Gambia into the intra-American slave trade that Jamaican planters "have noe esteeme for those sorts of negroes [Gambia] who are used to eat soo much flesh in their own country that they seldom proove well under a dyet except it be for house negroes." Hender Molesworth, Charles Penhallow, and Walter Ridding, April 7, 1684, T70/16, fol. 80, British National Archives [hereafter BNA].

<sup>24</sup> David Eltis and David Richardson, "Productivity in the Transatlantic Slave Trade," *Explorations in Economic History* 32 (1995): 465–484.



vessels began to seek slaves in Upper Guinea than had previously been the case. Minor suppliers during the era when rice cultivation was beginning, Upper Guinea locales now became more important. In fact, from the broadest perspective, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast were important in relative terms only in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when their share of total slave departures from Africa jumped from just 9 percent before 1750 to 22 percent in 1751–1775. Thereafter, it fell back to 12 percent after 1775 and to under 10 percent in the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Bulking centers emerged on Bance (or Bunce) Island and the Iles de Los, and they began to offer loading rates that attracted larger slave vessels. Moreover, in 1759–1779, the British occupied French Senegal, thereby helping to increase the flow of slaves from Senegambia to British America in this period. The number of British vessels obtaining slaves in Upper Guinea in the third quarter of the eighteenth century was close to three times the long-run average. This transformation in trading conditions in Africa largely explains why the share of slaves from Upper Guinea arriving in South Carolina rose from just over one in five before 1751 to nearly three in five after mid-century (and to two in five in the Chesapeake). That this surge had nothing whatsoever to do with rice cultivation is suggested by the destinations of most slaves leaving Upper Guinea, which were places in the Americas not associated with commercial rice growing. Before the nineteenth century, American rice-producing regions received only one-fifth of the slaves leaving the rice-producing regions of Africa. Sugar-growing regions in the Caribbean absorbed far more slaves from Upper Guinea than North (and for that matter South) American rice-growing regions. Thus the explanation for patterns of slave provenance from Upper Guinea most probably lies in Africa rather than in the Americas.

Outside South Carolina and Georgia, Brazil was the only other part of the Americas that produced rice efficiently enough to justify shipping it to transatlantic markets—mainly Portugal. Production in Brazil centered on Maranhão and to a lesser extent Pará in the northeast. At first glance, Maranhão and Pará in Amazonia appear to offer more support for the “black rice” hypothesis than does the lowcountry. Maranhão began to export rice in the late 1760s and remained the principal source of exports in the colonial period, while from the 1760s to about 1810, almost two out of every three African slaves brought into Pará and Maranhão came from Upper Guinea. (See Table 3.) In fact, all but a few hundred embarked at Cacheu and Bissau. Upper Guinea Africans were negligible among arrivals to all other Brazilian regions. On a cursory glance, then, a reasonable congruence between the growth of rice cultivation and a predominance of Africans from rice-producing regions emerged in northeastern Brazil.

Yet on closer investigation, the link between rice growing in northeastern Brazil and Upper Guinea proves flimsy. Rice played a minor role in the so-called “agricultural renaissance” of Brazil in the second half of the eighteenth century. Rice exports were small compared to those from the lowcountry. After expanding rapidly in the 1770s, exports from Amazonia leveled out at around 11 million pounds of rice per year after 1785. (See Table 4.) By contrast, annual exports from the lowcountry were seven times this amount between 1770 and 1774, and after falling during the

<sup>25</sup> Calculated from TSTD2.



**Table 3**  
**Proportion of Slaves Arriving in Different Regions of Brazil from Upper Guinea**

	<i>No. of Slaves from Rice-Growing Regions</i>	<i>Slaves from Rice-Growing Regions as % of Arrivals from All of Africa</i>
Before 1751		
Brazil north of Pernambuco	683	49.5
All other Brazilian regions	9,520	1.5
1751–1775		
Brazil north of Pernambuco	16,786	76.7
All other Brazilian regions	448	0.2
1776–1800		
Brazil north of Pernambuco	26,449	67.7
All other Brazilian regions	591	0.2
1801–1825		
Brazil north of Pernambuco	26,202	47.9
All other Brazilian regions	2,596	0.3
1826–1850		
Brazil north of Pernambuco	2,215	30.4
All other Brazilian regions	4,521	0.7

SOURCE: Calculated from TSDT2.

**Table 4**  
**African Origins of Slaves Arriving in Northeast Brazil from Africa and Rice Exports from Northeast Brazil, Prior to 1810**

	<i>Upper Guinea</i>	<i>Gold Coast to Southeast Africa</i>	<i>Total Slaves of Known Origin</i>	<i>Column 1/Column 3 as %</i>	<i>Annual Rice Exports in Millions of Pounds</i>
Pre-1756	1,975	698	2,673	73.9	0.0
1756–1760	2,008	1,742	3,750	53.5	0.0
1761–1765	3,393	3,367	6,760	50.2	0.0
1766–1770	5,280	0	5,280	100.0	0.1
1771–1775	4,812	0	4,812	100.0	1.8
1776–1780	5,168	1,938	7,106	72.7	5.8
1781–1785	4,088	881	4,969	82.3	8.2
1786–1790	6,089	3,676	9,765	62.2	11.1
1791–1795	7,415	2,568	9,983	73.7	-
1796–1800	3,889	3,582	7,471	52.1	11.2
1801–1805	6,106	9,381	15,487	39.4	8.9
1806–1810	9,989	3,630	13,619	73.3	13.5
Pre-1756–1810	60,212	31,463	91,675	65.7	-

SOURCES: For slaves, calculated from TSDT2; for rice, Dauril Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750–1808," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge, 1984), 601–660, supplemented by Maranhão, cx. 45, doc. 4415; cx. 47, doc. 4595; cx. 50, doc. 4905; cx. 55, doc. 5166; cx. 61, doc. 5567; cx. 73, doc. 6288; cx. 79, doc. 6718; cx. 84, doc. 7086; cx. 86, doc. 7179; cx. 89, doc. 7404; cx. 93, doc. 7680, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon.

Revolutionary War, they quickly recovered to previous levels.<sup>26</sup> Rice was not even the major crop of Amazonia. In Pará, cacao was far more important, and many of the slaves taken there were destined for the interior provinces of Mata Grosso and Goiás rather than the local market. Between 1760 and 1810 in Maranhão, the explosive growth of cotton rather than rice transformed a largely subsistence economy into one with a significant export sector. Cotton accounted for 80 and 75 percent, respectively, of Maranhão's exports in 1796 and 1806, and cacao for more than half of the much smaller sum of exports from Pará. Rice, unfortunately, cannot be disentangled from the category "foodstuffs" in the colonial export returns, but if it could, it would not have represented as much as 10 percent of exports from either port; it always lagged behind cotton and cacao.<sup>27</sup> Slave arrivals in Amazonia had been only occasional before 1760.<sup>28</sup> The region was highly unusual in the Americas for having a chartered company—the Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão—that imported slaves after 1755 as part of an attempt to kick-start commodity exports. Slave arrivals reached almost 1,000 annually in the late 1750s, and then rose steadily to nearly 4,000 a year by the early 1800s. They went to work primarily on plantations growing cotton, not rice.<sup>29</sup>

The majority of the slaves arriving in Amazonia after 1755 came from Senegambia, where some of them would have been familiar with rice cultivation, but the winds, ocean currents, and geography of the Atlantic ensured that Amazonia would always draw on Upper Guinea whatever the nature of the crop. From the late seventeenth century, when occasional direct shipments of slaves from Africa began, down to the first export of small amounts of rice in 1767, almost half the slaves coming into Amazonia were from Upper Guinea. A variety of red rice native to the Americas was grown in Maranhão in the first half of the eighteenth century (called *arroz da terra* or *arroz vermelho* by the Portuguese), but during this period Brazil actually imported some rice from South Carolina via Lisbon.<sup>30</sup> The trigger for an export-based risiculture in Maranhão was the Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão's introduction of a new strain of rice from South Carolina in the late 1760s, not the arrival of slaves from Upper Guinea.<sup>31</sup> While the proportion arriving from Upper Guinea increased initially along with rice exports, this regional share also began to decline quickly as rice exports entered their most expansive phase. After 1820, only about a quarter of Amazonia's slaves came from Upper Guinea.

As in the case of South Carolina, the patterns of forced African migration into Amazonia are best explained by what was happening on the African coast. Amazonia, like South Carolina and Georgia, provided a peripheral market for slaves in

<sup>26</sup> South Carolina alone exported an average of 41 million pounds annually between 1785 and 1789; calculated from *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C., 1976), pt. 2, 1192. Barrels converted to pounds at 525 pounds to the barrel.

<sup>27</sup> José Jobson de A. Arruda, *O Brasil no comércio colonial* (São Paulo, 1980), Table 28. Valuations of exports survive only for 1796 and 1806.

<sup>28</sup> See TSTD2, which confirms the earlier assessment of Colin M. MacLachlan, "African Slave Trade and Economic Development in Amazonia, 1700–1800," in Robert Brent Toplin, ed., *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America* (Westport, Conn., 1974), 112–145, esp. 115–120.

<sup>29</sup> Dauril Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750–1808," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, 11 vols., vol. 2: *Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge, 1984), 601–660.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 639.

<sup>31</sup> Manuel Nunes Dias, *Fomento e mercantilismo: A Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão (1755–1778)*, 2 vols. (Belém, 1970), 1: 433–434.

the Atlantic as a whole. It faced the same tightening of slave supplies as its northern rivals in the 1760s and 1770s. Like South Carolina and Georgia, Maranhão and Pará responded to the higher prices induced by extended waits on the coast by resorting to second-tier embarkation regions. For all plantation areas in the Americas north of Pernambuco, but especially the marginal ones, regions such as Upper Guinea became more important at this time than they had been previously. The American Revolutionary War, which temporarily curtailed British slaving but barely affected Portugal, and then the massive St. Domingue slave revolt, which crippled the French trade, reduced the pressures on the African coast. This opportunity allowed marginal plantation areas, such as Amazonia, to reenter the prime slave markets in Africa, thereby easing their dependence on Upper Guinea. For Amazonia, this development accelerated in the nineteenth century as the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1810 and subsequent initiatives saw the British navy gradually attempt to shut down the slave trade to Brazil. These efforts initially focused on slave supply centers north of the Equator, including Upper Guinea, and while they were less than wholly successful, they helped to shift the center of gravity of slave trading southward. Thus transatlantic connections between Amazonia and Upper Guinea were forged by geography, subjected to supply conditions in Africa, and broken, or at least seriously attenuated, by British naval and diplomatic action after 1820. Planters looking for slave laborers familiar with rice-growing techniques had little influence.

For a third region of the Americas—Suriname—the focus of the “black rice” argument switches from rice as an export staple to rice as a subsistence crop. Rice thereby becomes an important part of the system that generated exports rather than the export itself. In part, this shift of emphasis is necessary because rice was never an important export from Suriname in the era of the slave trade. Rice became a major foodstuff in first English and then, after 1667, Dutch Suriname because slaves carried risiculture with them from Brazil in 1654 when their Dutch owners were expelled from Pernambuco. One-quarter of slave arrivals in early Brazil, it is argued, originated in Upper Guinea, and rice was the preferred cereal in much of the new Portuguese colony. Fresh infusions of African rice consumers and women skilled in rice production are said to have arrived in Suriname via the Dutch slave trade, not just from the Upper Guinea Coast, but from the Gold Coast, many of whose inhabitants had begun eating rice as the result of a risiculture located at Axim.<sup>32</sup>

There is an evidentiary base for only a small part of this narrative. There are no records of any slaves from African rice-growing regions in Brazil before the Dutch conquest. Between 1574 and 1630, the African origins are known for only sixteen slaving voyages that arrived in Pernambuco and Bahia. All sailed from Angola and São Tomé. More important, the picture of early Portuguese slave trading in Africa now emerging from the work of a new generation of scholars is at odds with the Upper Guinea focus. Before 1570, Portuguese slave traders certainly centered their slave-trading efforts on the African coast at São Tomé and the Cape Verde Islands, with the latter drawing heavily on Senegambia, but the Portuguese took the Cape Verde Island slaves to New Spain and the Caribbean, not to Brazil. The first slaving voyage direct from Africa to Brazil (probably Pernambuco) likely occurred only in

<sup>32</sup> Carney, “Rice and Memory in the Age of Enslavement,” 325–348.

1560, and by this time the Portuguese had already begun to concentrate on Angola, albeit after sending the slaves first to São Tomé. From 1636 to 1651, the Dutch introduced a few slaves into Pernambuco from the Gold Coast, but none at all from Upper Guinea. After 1654, the old concentration on slaves originating in Africa south of the Equator was apparently reestablished.<sup>33</sup>

Between 1667 and 1730, Dutch Suriname drew on rice-growing regions in Africa no more than had Brazil prior to 1667. The few slaves brought over by the Dutch who originated on the Gold Coast (less than 2 percent of the Dutch slave traffic) did not come from the western parts of the region around Axim, but from farther east. Had they acquired a taste for rice distributed along the coast by Axim's rice producers? As Carney rightly notes, "Rice and millet dominated the grains that were traded," but Ray Kea's estimate of Axim's rice exports of 100 tons a year would have provided 0.5 lbs of rice per day for a mere 1,000 people. In short, rice was trivial compared to millet. There is neither hard evidence nor much probability that people with rice-growing skills arrived in Suriname on Dutch slave ships at this time. As for the provisioning of slave ships, no known slaver left the Gold Coast provisioned mainly with rice. Anomabu was the main provisioning center on the Gold Coast long before it also became the main embarkation point in the region for slaves.<sup>34</sup> It supplied only millet (or "corn" to the English). Carney concedes that the share of slaves coming from the Gold Coast to Suriname before 1700 was small (although there were enough "to provide a critical mass for effecting the transfer of the knowledge and skills necessary to the cereal's introduction"). Leaving aside the 98 percent of slaves who must have had preferences for foods other than rice, there is no evidence that the small remainder had any "memory" of rice, while there is a great deal of circumstantial evidence that they did not.<sup>35</sup>

Of course rice came to Suriname. Carney cites two pieces of evidence to support its early introduction. In 1665, Major John Scott reported that it was among sixteen commodities grown there. In 1687, there was a small shipment of rice from Suriname to Holland. Thereafter there were no further exports until 1783. But who among Africans could have introduced rice in seventeenth-century Suriname, given the

<sup>33</sup> António de Almeida Mendes, "The Slave Trade to the Spanish Americas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Reassessment," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, Conn., forthcoming), chap. 2; and Daniel Barros Dominguez da Silva and David Eltis, "The Volume, Organizational Base, and Coastal Origins of Transatlantic Slave Arrivals into Pernambuco," *ibid.*, chap. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Carney, "Rice and Memory in the Age of Enslavement," 338 (quote), 339 (reliance on Kea). From the many dozens of references to corn as provisions for vessels, forts, and African communities in the correspondence from the factors of the Royal African Company in both the T70 series of the BNA and the Rawlinson Papers at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, we will cite just four: Richard Thelwall, Anamaboe, May 1683, c745, 190; James Nightingale, Anamabo, February 23, 1688, c747, fol. 185; RAC to Nich Buckeridge, Howsley Freeman, and Sam Willis, Cape Coast Castle, September 21, 1699, T70/51, fol. 25; and the account book T70/958, 19–24, which contains accounts for ships leaving Cape Coast and Whydah in 1723 with corn "for use of negroes." Albert van Dantzig, ed., *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at the Hague* (Accra, 1978), 26, 29, 47, refers to "milho" or millet, but not to rice.

<sup>35</sup> Carney, "Rice and Memory in the Age of Enslavement," 343. Rice continued to have little impact on the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the mid-1790s, with the new settlement of Sierra Leone highly dependent on a coastal trade for provisions, the commercial agent of the Sierra Leone Company compiled a detailed list of places of trade and the produce they offered between Cape Mount and Gabon. Rice was available only on the Windward Coast. See Philip Misevich, "The Sierra Leone Hinterland and the Provisioning of Early Freetown, 1792–1803" (forthcoming).

slave trade evidence? We simply do not know. What we do know is that Africans with rice-growing skills likely did not arrive in Suriname until after the removal of the Dutch West India Company's monopoly in 1730. Dutch slave traders began to draw some slaves from the Windward Coast at that point (6,077 out of 39,190 from known regions), and then more heavily after 1750, as one-third of all Suriname arrivals came from this region between 1751 and 1775. This development corresponds with the first written evidence of Maroon dependence on rice as a subsistence crop. Maroon oral histories might be used to date its introduction to 1693 (when a slave revolt occurred), but recently collected oral history seems a tenuous basis for pinpointing an event in 1693.<sup>36</sup>

The mix of peoples in the New World depended on a combination of African supply, winds and ocean currents, and strategies of competing European shippers. Preferences of the ultimate buyers and, of course, sellers of human beings inevitably influenced this as any other transaction, but such preferences have garnered too much attention from historians of the Americas. Planters in South Carolina, Georgia, Amazonia, and Suriname formed a tiny part of the overall transatlantic market for slaves, even the market for slaves from Upper Guinea. It is not even evident that their preferences actually were for slaves from Upper Guinea. In any event, they were subject to trends beyond their control—in particular, the pattern that saw the rise and then decline of Upper Guinea in the transatlantic slave trade—which affected all buyers. Poorly understood though this pattern may be, it had nothing to do with the ability of the region's slaves to grow rice.

IN FACT, THE UPPER GUINEA COAST was never uniformly committed to rice production. The northernmost section, Senegambia (the area between and including the Senegal and Gambia rivers), was primarily a millet-producing region. True, Mandinka practiced a form of paddy rice agriculture along the Gambia River before the Europeans arrived, but in the Senegal River Valley, slave traders calculated the subsistence not in rice but in millet (two pounds a day). The ability of this region to export slaves was closely linked to millet production. William Littleton, who traded in the Gambia for eleven years, explained that the typical strategy of ship captains was to purchase "all the Grain we can," and he first singled out "Country Corn" or millet—and then rice. When asked whether ships could procure a "sufficient quantity of Guinea corn" for the Middle Passage, he replied, "Seldom a sufficient quantity of that alone." Similarly, another ship captain, who traded in Saint-Louis in the 1770s, observed that "Those ships going to the West Indies with Slaves were supplied by the Blacks with large quantities of corn [millet], which the Slaves preferred to any other kind of provision." In 1788, the Company of Senegal even had to ship in rice and flour from France to Saint-Louis and Gorée because of a grain shortage in the region.<sup>37</sup>

Even in the coastal Guinea-Conakry and Guinea-Bissau parts of the Upper

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 327–329, 337. The slave trade data from 1730–1775 is calculated from TSTD2.

<sup>37</sup> James F. Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860* (Cambridge, 1993), 50–52, 60–61, 79–87, 119, 134–138, 140; George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo., 1993), 89.



Guinea Coast, which are usually assumed to be predominantly rice-growing areas, rice cultivation was only a part of agricultural activities—and often a small part until well into the eighteenth century. Earlier, the Balanta of Guinea-Bissau, as Walter Hawthorne demonstrates, cultivated beans, pumpkins, maize, and yams. They switched to paddy rice production for a number of reasons: the superior yield of the crop; access to the iron tools needed for ditching and embankment, which came via increased transatlantic trade; and the general rise in violence, which encouraged a movement into terrain that offered better protection. Ironically, the transatlantic slave trade facilitated the Balanta's transformation into rice farmers, but those Balanta shipped to the Americas before about the third quarter of the eighteenth century would have known little about rice cultivation. Notably, then, the nature of rice cultivation changed on both sides of the Atlantic over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

Were rice farmers, especially those along the coast, particularly vulnerable to European slavers because they were sedentary and because of their proximity to European navigational routes? Many rice farmers were swept into slavery, of course, but others, such as the Diola (or Jola), managed to survive the era's violence largely because they inhabited inaccessible wetlands. As Robert Baum points out, "the Diola are considered the best wet rice cultivators in West Africa," and the evidence for their long-standing cultivation of rice in the well-watered coastal plain bisected by the Casamance River stretches over two millennia. The Diola even sold rice paddies in order to ransom relatives who had been captured by slave raiders before they were sold into slavery. The Baga-Sitem in the Rio Nunez region—a subgroup of the Baga peoples, who generally inhabited mangrove islands located between Guinea-Bissau and Iles de Los and who were said by one traveler in 1793 to be "very expert in Cultivating rice and in quite a Different manner to any of the Nations on the Windward Coast"—neither held slaves nor sold them. The Baga-Sitem and Diola were unlikely, then, to have been major sources of rice expertise in the Americas. Rather, slave raiding forced some decentralized societies to migrate to isolated swamps, where they reorganized their traditional cropping system from yams to irrigated rice. Such societies were not necessarily victims but resisted incursions of powerful state armies by moving into the riverine, marshy, tsetse fly-infested areas of the coast, where the inhospitable landscape provided something of a sanctuary. There they built defensive households and fortified villages and armed themselves. Rice cultivation did not necessarily make them "easy prey."<sup>39</sup>

Evidence of provisioning on slave ships is especially useful for yielding clues

<sup>38</sup> Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves*, 36, 152–154. The role of European iron should not be underestimated. In 1729, William Charles, a Royal African Company factor in Sierra Leone, visited an area after a long absence and noted that people were complaining of having had no trade in months. The reason: "The natives of the country have most need for Iron, to make Axes, Hoes & other tools for cutting down the Woods & Cleaning the Grounds to make Lugares for rice." "Abstract of Most Occurrences in the District of Sierra Leone," March 25, 1729, T70/1465, fol. 104, BNA.

<sup>39</sup> Olga F. Linares, "Deferring to Trade in Slaves: The Jola of Casamance, Senegal in Historical Perspective," *History in Africa* 14 (1987): 113–139; and see also Linares, "From Tidal Swamp to Inland Valley: On the Social Organization of Wet Rice Cultivation among the Diola of Senegal," *Africa* 51, no. 2 (1981): 557–595; Robert M. Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade: Diola Religion and Society in Precolonial Senegambia* (New York, 1999), 28–29, 108–129; Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves*, 96; Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (Oxford, 1970), 20–22, 112; Bruce L. Mouser, "Who and Where Were the Baga? European Perceptions from 1793 to 1821," *History in Africa*



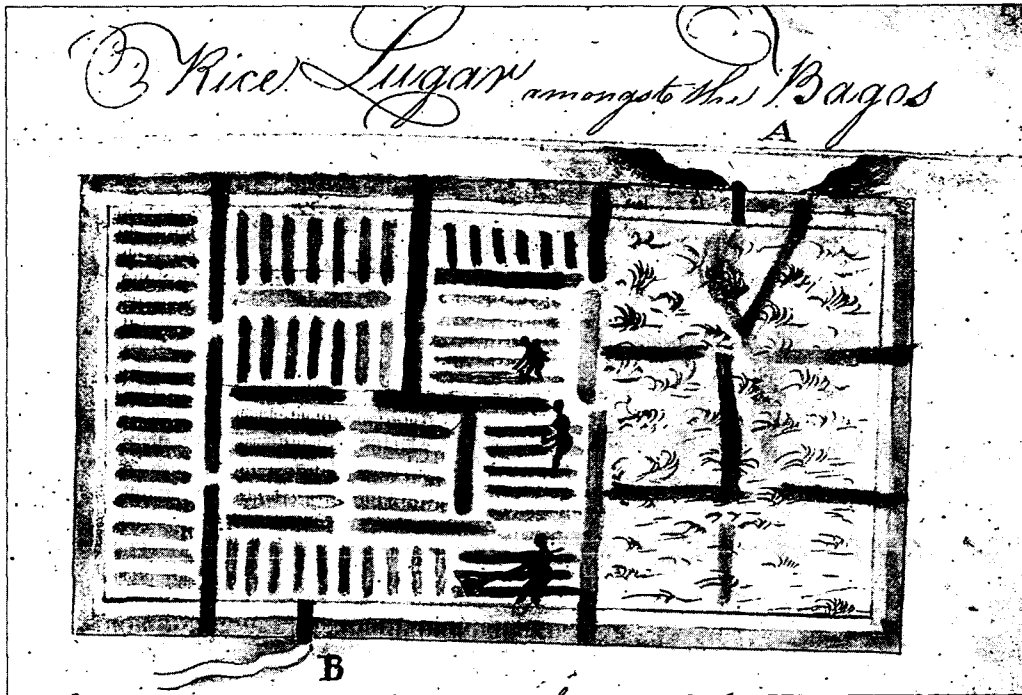


FIGURE 1: Baga women, one with a child on her back, transplant rice so dexterously “as to plant fifty roots singly in one minute” in “Lugars” or “flat low swamps.” But, as the observer of this scene emphasized, the Baga cultivated rice differently from any other group on the Windward Coast. From the log of the slave ship *Sandown*, p. 55, September 24, 1793. Reprinted by permission of the National Maritime Museum, London.

about the agricultural priorities of particular African regions. Part of the strategy for keeping valuable property alive on the transatlantic crossing was to ensure that slaves received food to which they were accustomed. Yams fed many more Africans on the Middle Passage than did rice, but even in rice-producing areas, other cereals (millet initially, and then maize in some places) were important provisions on slave ships. For twenty Royal African Company vessels that visited the Gambia and Sierra Leone between 1679 and 1688, the amount of rice and millet carried can be ascertained. Twelve of the twenty ships loaded both rice and millet, six millet alone, and only two just rice. In overall weight, millet formed 70 percent and rice 30 percent of the total provisions on these ships. All the rice on these ships was “clean” (that is, milled), as was almost all the millet; only three ships carried small quantities of millet in the husk. From this evidence, women did not mill rice on the Middle Passage, and whatever pounding by mortar and pestle occurred was more likely of millet. Indeed, the term for a domestic female slave in the Senegal River region was *pileuse* (“pounder of millet”).<sup>40</sup>

29 (2002): 337–364; Mouser, ed., *A Slaving Voyage to Africa and Jamaica: The Log of the Sandown, 1793–1794* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), 75–76; Carney, *Black Rice*, 29.

<sup>40</sup> Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce*, 121–122. For the suggestion that women milled rice on the Atlantic crossing, see Carney, *Black Rice*, 142–143, 146–147, and Carney, “Out of Africa,” 212–214. For the RAC ships, see T70/938, 15, 101; T70/939, 38fr, 106; T70/941, 15b, 32b, 47fr, 53f, 89; T70/942, 61, 61b, 62; T70/943, 8, 20, 35, 53; T70/944, 9, 10, 23; T70/960, 68, BNA. The per capita

For all these reasons, the number and percentage of Africans with rice-growing experience must have been far below the total number of slaves leaving Upper Guinea, as revealed in Tables 1 through 3. Indeed, the proportion of Upper Guinea Africans with rice-growing skills was especially minimal during the years when rice-culture became established in the lowcountry. "Upper Guinea" and "rice-growing regions" are far from synonymous.

Mercantile advertising of ships that transported enslaved Africans also reveals, in a somewhat refracted manner, contemporary perceptions of Africa's coastal regions. While references to the "Grain Coast" (meaning not cereals but Melegueta pepper) date from 1752, the first explicit association between an African region and the cultivation of rice came six years later. The merchant firm Austin and Laurens described the origins of the slave ship *Betsey* as the "Windward and Rice Coast." Thereafter, "Rice Coast" or "rice country" gradually supplanted "Grain Coast" (although the latter was still frequent) as a common designation for Upper Guinea locales. Thus in 1760, a merchant firm advertised a ship as having "200 fine Rice Coast Negroes from Sierra Leon"; the following year, two ships arrived from "Bance-Island on the Rice-Coast"; in 1769, merchants described Cape Mount on the Windward Coast as "a rice country" or as "the centre of a Rice Country"; and two years later, Gambia merited the ubiquitous term "a rice country."<sup>41</sup>

Significantly, it was a London merchant involved in the African slave trade, although one interested in settling in the lowcountry, who made one of the earliest and most explicit references to African regional rice cultivation. In 1764, he thought that if slaves were brought to the lowcountry "from the Windward Coast where they cultivate rice they may be soon trained to plantation business." Of course, he may have meant no more than that a prior agricultural background would be useful for a prospective plantation hand. Yet, notably, he singled out African rice planting as a useful precondition, much as his Charleston counterparts were doing at roughly the same time.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, the most explicit advertisements about African rice-producing origins were produced after the American Revolution and appear as enthusiastic—and quite possibly misleading—merchandising. Thus in 1784, one merchant extrava-

---

amount in these twenty cases ranged from about a third to three-quarters of a hundredweight, with the average at half a hundredweight, or about 56 pounds per slave. Admittedly, it would be good to have more than twenty cases, but these are more numerous than the few scattered references in Carney, *Black Rice*, 72. In addition to the four references mentioned by Carney (not all of which are to actual slave shipments), Edelson in *Plantation Enterprise*, 62–63, mentions the testimony of Captain Robert Heatley, who traded slaves from the Gambia during the 1780s and provisioned his slave ships with "Guinea Corn, Rice, and Cuss-Cuss." Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council . . .* (London, 1789), n.p., image 123, ECCO.

<sup>41</sup> William Stone, *South Carolina Gazette* [hereafter *SCG*], May 11, 1752; Austin and Laurens, *ibid.*, August 11, 1758; Da Costa and Farr, *ibid.*, October 18, 1760; News, *ibid.*, September 12, 1761, as cited in Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1935), 4: 379; Thomas Loughton and Roger Smith, *SCG*, March 23, 1769; Brewton, Dooley, and Brewton, *ibid.*, May 4, 1769; Andrew Lord, *ibid.*, September 5, 1771. For a description of rice growing around Cape Mount in the 1640s, see Paul Richards, "Culture and Community Values in the Selection and Maintenance of African Rice," in Stephen B. Brush and Doreen Stabinsky, eds., *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People and Intellectual Property Rights* (Washington, D.C., 1996), 209–229, esp. 213–216.

<sup>42</sup> Sketch of a plan that Richard Oswald proposed to follow in settling a plantation in East Florida, May 24, 1764, bundle 517, papers of James Grant of Ballindalloch, Ballindalloch Castle, Scotland.

gantly praised a shipment of Africans from the Gambia as “well acquainted with the cultivation of Indigo, Rice, and Tobacco,” while a pair of merchants described their “Gambia Negroes” as “universally reckoned the best that can be imported, they being perfectly tractable, accustomed to labour, and well acquainted with the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco.” In the following year, another merchant said that Gambian slaves knew how to cultivate rice and “are naturally industrious,” and yet another described two vessels from the “Windward and Gold Coast[s]” as containing Africans who “have been accustomed to the planting of rice” or “accustomed to the planting of both rice and corn.” Such claims probably no more reflected the particular skills of slaves than did some of the ethnic labels that slave factors attached to them. Twenty years later, during the final flourish of slave imports into South Carolina, merchants did not mention the rice-growing skills of Africans. Having been deemed so obvious, perhaps they no longer merited attention; or possibly exuberant advertising had become counterproductive.<sup>43</sup>

The coastal region of origin of African slaves is an extremely imprecise indicator of risiculture. Slaves arriving in the Americas from Upper Guinea were more likely to be familiar with rice than those coming from other regions, but on many of the vessels from Upper Guinea, there must have been few, if any, slaves with expertise in rice cultivation, especially in the embryonic phase of the American rice industry.

GENDER IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT in the “black rice” hypothesis. Rice cultivation in Africa was typically a female activity, and the transatlantic transfer of African rice-growing technologies allegedly meant that high concentrations of females were brought in from Upper Guinea, and that a higher value was placed on female labor in American rice-growing regions than elsewhere. We can test both of these claims by placing the composition of arrivals in South Carolina and Amazonia into a wider Atlantic perspective and by comparing slave prices in South Carolina with those in other parts of British America. Once more, the “black rice” argument is found wanting.

There is no evidence for the claim that the lowcountry imported a higher than usual percentage of women. Before 1776, the proportion of males among the lowcountry’s incoming Africans was 69 percent, a little higher than the proportion for the Chesapeake (68 percent) and all other North American regions (67 percent). (See Table 5.) Furthermore, in an even broader context, the lowcountry imported fewer females than did the Caribbean, where before 1776 the male ratio was just 62 percent. Moreover, the proportion of males among Africans arriving in the lowcountry from Upper Guinea was slightly higher (71 percent) than that from all other African regions (67 percent). (See Table 6.) The data on age are somewhat thinner than those for sex, but the breakdown for eighteen separate batches of arrivals before

<sup>43</sup> George Garner, *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, May 6, 1784; James and Edward Penman, *SCG*, September 18, 1784; Robert Hazlehurst and Co., *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*, May 30, 1785; A. Pleym, *ibid.*, July 7 and August 25, 1785. See also W. Macleod & Co., *ibid.*, July 12, 1785, who described their Gambia slaves in the following way: “The superiority of those negroes to any imported into this State (being accustomed to the planting of rice in their own country) is so well known as to render it unnecessary to enumerate any of their qualifications.” Newspaper advertisements for African sales in 1804–1807 reveal none of the earlier marketing gambits.

**Table 5**  
**Male Ratios of Slaves Arriving in the North American Mainland by**  
**Broad Region of Disembarkation before 1776**

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>No. of vessels</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>No. of slaves</i>
Chesapeake	0.683	22	0.169	3,408
South Carolina and Georgia	0.693	13	0.141	1,404
All other regions	0.674	14	0.147	2,776
Total	0.683	49	0.152	7,588

SOURCE: Calculated from TSDT2.

**Table 6**  
**Male Ratios of Slaves Arriving in South Carolina and Georgia before 1808 by**  
**Broad African Region of Embarkation**

	<i>No. of vessels</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Upper Guinea	13	0.140	0.711
All other African regions	12	0.087	0.670
All African regions	25	0.123	0.692

SOURCE: Calculated from TSDT2.

1776 indicates that one-third of the females were classed as girls. In other words, only about one in every five slaves arriving in South Carolina and Charleston was a woman. Brazil and the Caribbean, by contrast, took in more women (between one in three and one in four) and fewer children. Perhaps some of the girls coming into Charleston and Savannah knew something about growing rice, but the "black rice" hypothesis suggests that women should have constituted a large proportion of slaves entering the lowcountry relative to other places. That simply was not the case.

Did lowcountry merchants seek women workers? According to Robert Pringle in 1741, "full Grown Men & Women [were] most fitt for this market," although he was prepared to concede three years later that a "parcel" of slaves from the West Indies comprising mainly "Boys & Girls of about 15 or 16 years of Age of which 2/3 Boys & 1/3 Girls" might do well.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, in 1756, Henry Laurens, of the firm Austin and Laurens, noted that "tall able young People tempt many of our Folks to buy when they are in no real need of them," provided they are "very good & in full Flesh" and that the group "is composed of at least 2/3d males." Africans must be "young robust People," Laurens emphasized, and "Males sell to much more advantage than the Females."<sup>45</sup> A good shipment should be at least two-thirds men between the ages of 18 and 25, he stated; the rest could be young women between the ages of 14 and 18. After reporting that most of the prime males from a shipload of slaves from Sierra Leone had sold for good prices, he added that the women had proved much harder to sell, "many of them [being] good People but nobody comes near to Ask the price." A shipment from the Gambia was "not well assorted," he

<sup>44</sup> Walter B. Edgar, ed., *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, 2 vols. (Columbia, S.C., 1972), 1: 284, 2: 684.

<sup>45</sup> Henry Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, ed. Philip M. Hamer, 16 vols. (Columbia, S.C., 1968–2003), vol. 2: Nov. 1, 1755–Dec. 31, 1758, 358, 455.

**Table 7**  
**Sex Ratios of Slaves Arriving in Northeast Brazil from Possible Rice-Growing Regions in Africa Compared to Sex Ratios of Slaves Arriving in All of the Americas from All Parts of Africa, 1761–1800**

	<i>Northeast Brazil from Upper Guinea</i>		<i>All of the Americas from All Parts of Africa</i>	
	<i>Male Ratios</i>	<i>Sample Size (slaves)</i>	<i>Male Ratios</i>	<i>Sample Size (slaves)</i>
1761–1765	0.688	2,225	0.622	19,237
1766–1770	0.573	2,687	0.607	90,155
1771–1775	0.600	3,172	0.610	30,484
1776–1780	0.602	2,470	0.633	28,564
1781–1785	0.632	1,464	0.625	41,264
1786–1790	-	-	0.625	53,601
1791–1795	-	-	0.638	120,423
1796–1800	0.742	945	0.677	51,087
1761–1800	0.621	12,963	0.630	434,815

SOURCE: Calculated from TSDT2.

declared, because it contained “more Women than Men & more Boys & Girls than are usual in Gambia Cargoes.”<sup>46</sup> Nothing here suggests that women were favored over men in South Carolina.

The shift to tidal rice agriculture later in the eighteenth century strengthened this pattern further. The work demands of clearing swampland, digging ditches, and building embankments were extraordinarily onerous. Ditchers were expected to dig about six hundred cubic feet a day in the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth from five hundred to seven hundred square feet. Slaves moved at least five hundred cubic yards of river swamp for every acre of rice field in order to construct a vast series of banks, dams, canals, ditches, and drains. Planters regarded men and boys as best equipped to handle this intensive labor. They allocated spades and axes almost entirely to men.<sup>47</sup>

The gender balance among Africans taken to Amazonia was not much different from that in South Carolina. The proportion of females disembarked in Amazonia in the second half of the eighteenth century was above the long-term average for the transatlantic slave trade in all periods—and was greater than the share into the low-country—but in the years 1760 to 1810, it was no different for Amazonia than for the rest of the Americas, most of which was growing sugar at this time. (See Table 7.) Moreover, one-third of the females were classed as girls, not women—again, a ratio little different from that in the rest of the Americas.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps Amazonian

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 2: 265; vol. 1: Sept. 11, 1746–Oct. 31, 1755, 294–295; 2: 321.

<sup>47</sup> Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 227–276; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 155–159; cf. Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2004), 163.

<sup>48</sup> Calculated from TSTD2. We have yet to discover any direct statements by Amazonian buyers of their preferences for slaves, but good data on slave arrivals exist. Indeed, Amazonia data on sex ratios of slave arrivals are even better than those for British North America. Table 7 reveals the male ratios for nearly 13,000 slaves who disembarked in Maranhão and Pará in the period when rice was expanding



planters would have preferred more females, but after 1760 they received no more women proportionately than did other American planters.

On the African side, too, a gap exists between what historians have imagined must have happened to gender relations and the patterns revealed by the transatlantic slave trade. Where paddy rice production took hold in Africa, the main requirement was large amounts of well-organized group labor. Thus, communities engaged in such agriculture came to rely on their strongest members: young males. Agricultural labor in such circumstances, Walter Hawthorne argues, became "masculinized." Consequently, he suggests, the percentage of female slave exports from the coastal zone of Upper Guinea was considerably higher than from most parts of Africa. Men were especially valuable in the coastal zone; women and younger children tended to be relatively expendable. But such seems not to have been the case among the Africans coming into the lowcountry. Rather, the pattern there fits more with what James Searing argues happened in Senegambia—namely, women and children generally were in the majority among captives in wars and raids and seem to have been retained domestically because they were easier to control and would in future reproduce. This local demand for female slaves helps to explain why slaves exported from Upper Guinea were predominantly male.<sup>49</sup>

Once arrived in the rice-growing areas of the Americas, did female slaves nevertheless typically command higher prices than in other plantation economies? Was the labor of female slaves in South Carolina valued more equally with that of males than in the slave markets of the West Indies? Once again, the available evidence suggests otherwise. South Carolina planters evaluated slaves in the same way that most purchasers did in the eighteenth-century Americas. In Charleston, slave factors almost invariably used prices of prime male slaves as their yardstick. For example, in 1755, Henry Laurens claimed that the difference in price between men and women was "never less than £3 sterling per head, sometimes £6" and added, "young Lads from 13 to 15 Years of age wont bring so much as Men by 5 or £6 sterling." These claims were echoed in further comments in 1757, when he noted that "generally 5 or £6 sterling per head" separated the prices of men and women.<sup>50</sup>

Actual slave sales confirm these contemporary observations. (See Table 8.) Prices were typically £5 and £8 sterling higher for males than for females. This difference translates, as column 6 of Table 8 shows, into a prime woman selling on average for only 84 percent of a prime male, with no differences apparent between the single Angola vessel and the others coming from Upper Guinea. The sex-based slave price differential in South Carolina in the mid-eighteenth century was, moreover, almost identical to the 84 percent ratio found in a large number of sales in Barbados between 1680 and 1723, when, of course, the dominant crop was sugar,<sup>51</sup> and similar to those

---

most rapidly. This sample constitutes about 20 percent of the slaves arriving in Amazonia from Africa in these years. It is compared with the equivalent ratios for 435,000 slaves carried across the Atlantic to all parts of the Americas in the same period. The information on girls comes from a sample of eighty-five vessels.

<sup>49</sup> Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves*, 4–15, 121, 137–138, 142, 152, 167–168; Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce*, 53.

<sup>50</sup> Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 2: 294–295, 455.

<sup>51</sup> David Galenson, *Traders, Planters and Slaves: Market Behavior in Early English America* (Cambridge, 1986), 63. We have uncovered only two itemized accounts of sales of whole shiploads of slaves



**Table 8**  
**Prices of Prime Men and Women Slaves Sold from Six Slave Vessels**  
**Arriving in Charleston, 1756–1784**

<i>Name of Vessel</i> (voyageid in TSTD2)	<i>Year</i>	<i>African Origin</i>	<i>Price for Prime Men<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Price for Prime Women<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Ratio of Women's to Men's Price</i>
Orrel (90515)	1755	Gambia	42.1	36.4	0.864
Africa (17384)	1756	Calabar	36.4	34.8	0.824
Carlisle (75234) <sup>2</sup>	1756	Gambia	36.4	28.6	0.784
Hare (36187) <sup>3</sup>	1756	Sierra Leone	36.4	31.4	0.863
St. Andrew (77252)	1756	Gambia	33.6	28.6	0.851
Comte de Nord <sup>4</sup> (80917)	1784	Angola	69.1	59.3	0.858
All vessels					0.841

## NOTES:

<sup>1</sup> Where slaves prices are reported in bands (e.g., £280–£300 per male local currency), the midpoint of the band is used, and all prices have been converted to sterling.

<sup>2</sup> Some slaves from Bance Island.

<sup>3</sup> Includes all prices for individual men and women where these are distinguishable in the accounts.

<sup>4</sup> Data are for slaves sold in the first one-third of the accounts only, following the method of David Galenson, *Traders, Planters and Slaves: Market Behavior in Early English America* (Cambridge, 1986).

SOURCES: Comte du Nord from Exchequer, E219/377, BNA; all others from Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 1: 327; 2: 178–179, 246, 256–258, 303, 316.

in the nineteenth-century United States cotton South and the Cuban sugar economy.<sup>52</sup> Sex-based slave price differentials in colonial South Carolina were comparable to those observed for other parts of the slave Americas that produced no rice whatsoever.

WITHOUT THE CAPITAL, ENTREPRENEURSHIP, ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY, and drive for profit of European and European-American merchants and planters, rice would never have been an important crop in the Americas. European planters were avid experimenters. As early as 1704, as S. Max Edelson notes, one South Carolina resident recalled seeing “some planters, who were essaying to make rice grow.” Colonists brought their experience in controlling and channeling water, used in milling and field irrigation, to place a distinctive English stamp on their plantation landscape. They also were interested in water-control schemes emanating from other parts of Europe (especially the Netherlands and northwest Italy) as well as from China. Their use of irrigation reservoirs, apparently without African precedents,

arriving in South Carolina in the mid-eighteenth century; one is from Sierra Leone, the other from Angola. In addition to these itemized accounts, however, there are reports of prices of prime male and female slaves sold from at least four other shiploads of slaves. Combining these sources produces the evidence on prime male and female price differentials shown in Table 8 (sterling conversions at the rate of £7 currency = £1 sterling).

<sup>52</sup> Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1974), 1: 75–77; Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Herbert S. Klein, and Stanley L. Engerman, “The Level and Structure of Slave Prices on Cuban Plantations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Some Comparative Perspectives,” *American Historical Review* 88, no. 5 (December 1983): 1201–1218.

shows that non-English influences extended well beyond the refinement of essentially African technologies. African technology was not so much vital as allowable in low-country risiculture. It was not a sufficient condition for rice cultivation in the Americas, and conceivably it was not even necessary. Technological transfers are always complex, including a broad "managerial" role and on-site, "shop-floor," labor-inspired adjustments and modifications. The rice regime owed much to improvisation; it was a hybrid, synthetic rather than European or African in character.<sup>53</sup>

This emphasis on experimentation and improvisation is at odds with a basic thrust of the "black rice" hypothesis, in which the preference of slaves for rice as part of their diet, it is argued, was crucial in leading them to grow the crop for their own subsistence in the Americas. Thus, risiculture and ultimately the export of rice originated in the tenacity of slaves in growing their traditional staple, and European managers would not have experimented with rice cultivation had it not been for their African tutors. There is an essential conservatism, even ethnodeterminism, at the core of this argument. Africans clung tenaciously to their traditional food preferences. But is it not possible that they were as much improvisers and experimenters as Europeans?<sup>54</sup>

Those who argue for an African origin for rice cultivation in the Americas also focus almost exclusively on issues of supply and ignore the demand side of the industry. The prices that rice commanded and the marketing process are critical to understanding the rise of the lowcountry rice industry. R. C. Nash demonstrates that rice was "a poverty crop," a substitute for bread cereals when bread prices rose. Demand for rice thus hinged on European harvests. Given its bulk, shipping costs were vital; freight per ton in the rice trade, as Russell R. Menard has shown, dropped significantly over the course of the eighteenth century—farther than occurred in the sugar or the slave trade. Marketing of rice was also important. As Kenneth Morgan concludes, "flexibility, initiative, and cooperation on the part of merchants, shippers, correspondents, and factors were necessary to cope with elaborate legal practices, complex shipping patterns, rapid price fluctuations, shifting demand, and the varied uses of rice in different markets." In all of these ways, demand, shipping, and marketing were indispensable to the success of the rice industry.<sup>55</sup>

If supply was more important than demand, the key factors were determined much more by whites than by blacks. As Nash shows, both extensive growth—simply

<sup>53</sup> Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise*, 56. His chapter 2 is the most thorough and persuasive account of the varied origins of rice production in the lowcountry. Peter Coclanis also made suggestions along these lines to us. Angela Lakwete's *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America* (Baltimore, Md., 2003), esp. 1–46, provides a good model of the complex origins and varied roots of both cotton cultivation and the gin. Technological transfers regarding rice cultivation and processing can be seen as analogous to those described by Lakwete.

<sup>54</sup> Carney, *Black Rice*, 105, 140, 154.

<sup>55</sup> R. C. Nash, "South Carolina and the Atlantic Economy in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Economic History Review*, n.s., 45 (1992): 677–702, esp. 682; Russell R. Menard, "Transport Costs and Long Range Trade, 1300–1800: Was There a European 'Transport Revolution' in the Early Modern Era?" in James D. Tracy, ed., *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires* (Cambridge, 1991), 268–271; and Kenneth Morgan, "The Organization of the Colonial American Rice Trade," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 52 (1995): 433–452, esp. 435. See also Peter A. Coclanis, "Distant Thunder: The Creation of a World Market in Rice and the Transformation It Wrought," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 4 (October 1993): 1050–1078, for further confirmation on the nature of European demand for rice in this period, and Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670–1920* (New York, 1989).

putting more land and capital into production—and intensive growth, or using resources more efficiently, occurred in the lowcountry rice industry. Exports per slave increased as rice planters secured significant productivity gains by increasing the intensity of their slaves' work effort, by making technical improvements in cultivation (particularly the resort to tidal irrigation) and processing (the greater use of machinery), and by increasing the size of their plantations with consequent returns to scale. Planters dictated these improvements.<sup>56</sup>

The importance of plantation organization to the emergence of rice as a dominant export crop gains special credence if alternatives are considered. The major demand for exported rice lay in northern Europe, but after 1730, an important segment of the product went to southern Europe, an area much closer to the rice-growing areas of Africa than to South Carolina. A strong commodity trade already existed between Europe and Upper Guinea, including Senegalese gum arabic, a raw material needed in the cloth-printing industry, and a dyewood called camwood (from the Temne word for "red"), which the English considered the best in the world. It was the *raison d'être* of the Royal African Company factory at Sherboro, and probably accounted for more export earnings than did slaves for the Sierra Leone region as a whole until the 1730s. If Senegambia was the major West African region where a substantial commodity traffic survived throughout the slave trade era, Sierra Leone exhibited an only slightly less pronounced pattern. If all that was necessary for a society to develop a successful export culture was indigenous technology and an abundant labor supply, why would European merchants—who were always seeking ways to cut costs—not have eliminated perhaps two-thirds of their transportation charges and shipped rice from the Gambia rather than from South Carolina? Such rice could have been grown and marketed by Africans without European input or even on European-run plantations. It could have been shipped back to Europe on the many vessels that traded directly for camwood and gum.<sup>57</sup>

The answer, of course, is that before the French invasions in the later nineteenth century, Europeans could never impose their will on the indigenous populations of West Africa. As for the absence of the second option—an indigenous African industry rivaling that of gum—Africans may not have been interested; after all, they already produced most of what they needed, and Europeans could offer little that was essential to African lives. Of course, an Atlantic trade—in gum and hides and in earlier times gold, as well as slaves—did exist, but it required few European resources. Rice was different. It hinged on an intensely exploitative plantation system that could not exist

<sup>56</sup> See esp. Nash, "South Carolina and the Atlantic Economy," 677–702. For more on the South Carolina rice industry, see Henry C. Dethloff, *A History of the American Rice Industry, 1685–1985* (College Station, Tex., 1988), and James M. Clifton, "The Rice Industry in Colonial America," *Agricultural History* 55 (1981): 266–283. For productivity gains in the eighteenth century, see David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis, and David Richardson, "Slave Prices, the African Slave Trade and Productivity Growth in Eighteenth Century South Carolina," *Journal of Economic History* 66 (2006): 1054–1065. For an alternative view, see Peter Mancall, John L. Rosenbloom, and Thomas Weiss, "Slave Prices and the South Carolina Economy, 1722–1809," *Journal of Economic History* 61 (2001): 616–639.

<sup>57</sup> For Senegambia's commodity trade throughout the slave trade era, see both volumes of Philip Curtin's *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, Wis., 1975). The history of the dyewood trade in the Sierra Leone and Sherboro region has yet to be written, but for the importance of camwood, see the early T70 volumes, which include correspondence from the RAC factor at Bance Island and Sherboro.

in Africa. The American environment—especially, we may hypothesize, the capitalistic mentalité of planters—was essential to a rice-based export sector.<sup>58</sup>

In the same way that it is best not to underestimate the Euro-American contribution to shaping the rice industry, African expertise should not be exaggerated as the key bargaining chip in securing supposedly less severe working conditions. Carney poses an apt question: “Why would West African slaves transfer to planters a sophisticated agricultural system, based on the cultivation of rice, that would in turn impose upon them unrelenting toil throughout the year?” Her answer is that knowledge of rice cultivation enabled slaves arriving in South Carolina to enjoy greater autonomy from their owners than was possible for other crops. Task labor introduced a degree of freedom into slavery’s oppression, as slaves traded skills for autonomy. Is this convincing? Why would planters make such a bargain? Why would they secure for all succeeding generations of slaves the protections of a customary labor system?<sup>59</sup>

Does it not make more sense that task labor arose less from an implicit or explicit bargain than from a variety of factors such as lower supervisory costs and some inherent characteristics of the rice crop? As Peter A. Coclanis puts it, “the prominence of the task system in the area was due to, first and foremost, the planters of rice,” who “held a near monopoly on state-sanctioned violence . . . and were thus unlikely to respect any traditions inimical to their interests or to be consistently outwitted or outbargained by an outgunned and, apparently, divided slave labor force.” Rice planters no doubt appropriated some knowledge from their slaves, “to which they added insights of their own,” Coclanis notes, “in establishing and legitimating a compensation system that allowed them to produce great quantities of rice with slave labor in a sickly climate, while minimizing their own supervisory and opportunity costs.”<sup>60</sup> Even the task system could not protect Carolina slaves from almost ceaseless labor. In the hands of white capitalistic planters, risiculture became increasingly commercialized for emerging international markets. Slavery in South Carolina was hardly less demanding than slavery in the Chesapeake.

AFRICANS HAD A MASSIVE IMPACT ON THE ATLANTIC WORLD that went far beyond lives of unrelenting labor on American plantations. Like all migrants, both coerced and free, they carried knowledge of how to live, including how to produce, that helped make the societies of the Americas different from those of both Europe and, indeed, Africa. In lowcountry rice production, there is no question that some slaves introduced into the Americas a distinctively African sowing style, pressing a hole with the heel and covering the rice seed with the foot; that they hand-processed rice using an African-style mortar and pestle; and that they fanned rice with African-style

<sup>58</sup> The example of sorghum, about which Africans had much more exclusive knowledge than they did about rice, is also relevant. The reason sorghum did not take off as an Atlantic crop had nothing to do with African knowledge and everything to do with Euro-American entrepreneurialism. Sorghum did not command the interest among Euro-Americans that rice did.

<sup>59</sup> Carney, *Black Rice*, 98 (quote), 99–101.

<sup>60</sup> Peter A. Coclanis, “How the Low Country was Taken to Task: Slave-Labor Organization in Coastal South Carolina and Georgia,” in Robert Louis Paquette and Louis Ferleger, eds., *Slavery, Secession, and Southern History* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000), 59–78, which, in addition to crediting rice planters as the primary actors in the origins of the task system, also surveys previous explanations for its development.

coiled grass baskets. As slaves planted, hulled, and winnowed—accompanied by their distinctive songs—they incorporated African folkways into their routines. But these “survivals” do not amount to “an entire agricultural complex.”<sup>61</sup>

Furthermore, a close look at the slave trade from an Atlantic perspective suggests no evidence that the rice culture of South Carolina, Georgia, Amazonia, and Suriname was any more dependent on skills imported from Africa than were its tobacco and sugar counterparts in the Chesapeake, the Caribbean, and Brazil. The evolving transatlantic connections, the age and sex composition of the slave trade, the broad shifts over time in transatlantic slaving patterns, and the structure of slave prices are all largely explained without reference to a supposed desire on the part of rice planters for slaves with rice-growing expertise developed in Africa. Lowcountry rice cultivation would have followed a similar trajectory if the slave trade had drawn exclusively on Angola.

Interpretations such as those presented in *Black Rice* are drawn by tracking migrants from one side of the Atlantic to the other, and tracing cultural connections between the societies they left behind and the societies to which they subsequently contributed. Historians engaged in such an exercise are unlikely to conclude that such links are unimportant. More fundamentally, such an approach discourages giving due weight to influences that are unseen or that cannot be linked to the Old World roots of the group being studied. The New World environment—as much sociopolitical as ecological, for what was basically at issue is who had the power to transform the plantation economy and reorient it to new crops—contributed much to the development of risiculture in the Americas. Slaves arrived in the Americas with certain skills, perhaps the most important of which was their basic farming knowledge, and some of them contributed ideas about rice cultivation. Nevertheless, planters held the reins of power, had access to capital, experimented keenly, and in essence called the shots. A desire to celebrate an African accomplishment in the New World should not obscure the elementary power dynamics involved in the institution of slavery. Most important of all, a larger Atlantic economy and culture had enormous influence over those highly peripheral areas that concentrated on growing rice. Sugar ultimately set the terms for most other activities in the Americas.

For the most part, interpretations of the re-peopling of the New World continue to observe the old fault line that separates Old World cultural continuities from local environmental influences in the Americas. The “black rice” hypothesis belongs to the former, or folkways, end of this interpretive continuum. But in contrast to most studies that are similarly positioned, whether their subject is European free or African coerced transatlantic migration, the supporters of the “black rice” thesis cannot base their case on high-volume migration from the Old World culture that spawned the influence (Upper Guinea) to the New World society that it shaped (South Carolina and Amazonia). Rather, they must posit a charter-generation argument in which founding migrants have an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. The possibility of a single enslaved African woman carrying a few grains of rice in her hair can become all that is necessary to sustain the thesis. Admittedly, there are some instances in Atlantic history—the Yoruba and Spanish come to mind—where spe-

<sup>61</sup> Carney, *Black Rice*, 167.



cific diasporas probably had an influence on the Americas that belied the size of their respective migrant flows (in both relative and absolute terms). But in the case of the peoples from rice-growing areas of Africa taken to the early lowcountry and Amazonia, the numbers are so small, the gender composition so strongly male, and the alternative explanations for such a connection so numerous and persuasive that continued acceptance of the “black rice” argument is problematic. More broadly, a genuinely Atlantic perspective should integrate all forces—seen and unseen, relating to both inheritance and experience—into an account of the forging of communities and cultures in the Americas. Atlantic history was the result of the creolization of peoples from four continents. It was much more than the sum of particular bilateral transatlantic connections.

---

**David Eltis** is Robert W. Woodruff Professor of History at Emory University, Atlanta. He is the co-compiler of the revised edition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, shortly to become available on an open-access website at <http://www.slavevoyages.org>. He is also the author of *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000), co-author of *Atlas of Transatlantic Slavery*, and co-editor of and contributor to *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (both forthcoming in 2008 from Yale University Press).

**Philip Morgan** is Harry C. Black Professor, Department of History, at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and co-editor with Sean Hawkins of *Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2004), and with Christopher L. Brown of *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* (Yale University Press, 2006). He is currently working on a survey of the early modern Caribbean, as well as a study of eighteenth-century Jamaica.

**David Richardson** is Professor of Economic History and Director of the Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation, the University of Hull, UK. He has written extensively on the Atlantic slave trade. He is the co-author of *Atlas of Transatlantic Slavery* and co-editor of and contributor to *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (both forthcoming in 2008 from Yale University Press).



---

# Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640

---

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM

America bores open all her mines,  
and unearths her silver and her treasure,  
to hand them over to our own Spain,  
which enjoys the world's best in every measure,  
from Europe, Libya, Asia, by way of San Lúcar,  
and through Manila, despite the Chinaman's displeasure.

Bernardo de Balbuena, *Grandeza mexicana* (1604)<sup>1</sup>

THE EARLY MODERN WORLD WAS FOR THE MOST PART A PATCHWORK of competing and intertwined empires, punctuated by the odd interloper in the form of a nascent “nation-state.” At the time of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the real contours of the political map of the world were as follows: from east to west, a China that had just been conquered by the Qing, who would make an expansive push westward; then the vast Mughal Empire, from the hills of Burma to Afghanistan; the Ottoman Empire, whose writ still effectively ran from Basra to Central Europe and Morocco; the Russian Empire, by then extending well into Siberia and parts of Central Asia; the limited rump of the Holy Roman Empire in Central Europe; the burgeoning commercial empires of England and the Netherlands in both Asia and America; and, last but not least, the still-extensive spread of the great empires of Spain and Portugal.<sup>2</sup> Other states could also make some claim to imperial status, including Munhumutapa in southeastern Africa, the Burma of the Toungoo Dynasty, and Safavid Iran. The crucial point, however, is not just that these empires existed, but that they recognized one another, and as a consequence they often borrowed symbols, ideas, and institutions across recognizable boundaries. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Habsburg

Earlier versions of this essay were presented in Madrid, at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, and at the seminar on “Critical Luso-Hispanisms” at the University of California, Los Angeles. I am grateful for comments and suggestions from Perry Anderson, Roger Chartier, Antonio Feros, Caroline Ford, Serge Gruzinski, Anna More, Anthony Pagden, and Kevin Terraciano, as well as the detailed comments of the referees and editors of the *AHR*.

<sup>1</sup> Luis Adolfo Domínguez, *La grandeza mexicana y Compendio apologético en alabanza de la poesía* (Mexico City, 1990), 118, as cited and discussed in Serge Gruzinski, “Passeurs y elites ‘católicas’ en las Cuatro Partes del Mundo: Los inicios ibéricos de la mundialización (1580–1640),” in Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy and Carmen Salazar-Soler, eds., *Passeurs, mediadores culturales y agentes de la primera globalización en el mundo ibérico, siglos XVI–XIX* (Lima, 2005), 25–27. The somewhat free translation is mine.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent general consideration, see John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire* (London, 2007), as well as the succinct *longue durée* view in Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration, and Conquest, from Greece to the Present* (New York, 2001).

ruler Charles V and the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver explicitly vied for the same status as universal ruler, sharing a set of ambitions and horizons; that same notion of shared symbols and horizons was held by the Mughal ruler Jahangir (r. 1605–1627) and his neighbor to the west, Shah ‘Abbas of Iran (r. 1587–1629). The idea of *translatio imperii*, the transfer of imperial models and notions, which is usually deployed in the diachronic sense of an orderly temporal succession of empires, could thus equally be seen as having a synchronic counterpart in the sense of movement across a group of competing empires.<sup>3</sup>

On the face of it, it is not surprising that there was communication between the early modern Portuguese and Spanish empires. For one thing, there is the obvious matter of the “Union of the Crowns” between Spain and Portugal in 1580–1581, through which Philip II of Spain became the ruler of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire, a state of affairs that continued under his successors Philip III and Philip IV until the “Restoration” of the House of Braganza in 1640. However, at his ceremonial acclamation by the estates at the Cortes of Tomar in 1581, Philip assured his Portuguese constituency that the two kingdoms, and the two empires, would be kept administratively and conceptually separate in the spirit of the Treaty of Tordesillas, which had been signed between Castile and Portugal in 1494 and was further ratified by the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529.<sup>4</sup> These treaties were meant carefully to demarcate the spheres in which Portugal and Spain would construct their overseas empires, the first drawing an imaginary vertical line in the Atlantic, and the second defining an anti-meridian on the other side of the globe in the Pacific Ocean. The Cortes of Tomar attempted an ambitious application of what John H. Elliott has described in a classic essay as the principle of “composite monarchies,” which was in wide use in early modern Europe, and in accordance with which a ruler could separately rule distinct kingdoms without establishing an evident hierarchy between them. However, was it quite so simple to move from this notion to the idea of a “composite empire”?<sup>5</sup>

The blurring of the lines of division that helped create a world-encircling empire (whether unitary or composite) for the Spanish Habsburgs between 1580 and 1640 has not attracted as much attention as one might expect. The reasons for this are

<sup>3</sup> The classic work on the subject is Werner Goetz, *Translatio imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958). For specific early modern case studies, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 401–427; Michel Mazzaoui, ed., *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> The political events are surveyed in Ronald Cueto, “1580 and All That . . . : Philip II and the Politics of the Portuguese Succession,” *Portuguese Studies* 8 (1992): 150–169. See also the important consideration by Geoffrey Parker, “David or Goliath? Philip II and His World in the 1580s,” in Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker, eds., *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge, 1995), 245–266. Philip II himself, however, was quite ambiguous about what was being proposed, suggesting at one point that “the entire Traffic of all that has been discovered, in the East as in the West, will be common to the two nations of Castile and Portugal”; he also considered moving the *Casa de Contratación* to Lisbon from Seville.

<sup>5</sup> J. H. Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48–71. Also relevant is Elliott, “The Spanish Monarchy and the Kingdom of Portugal, 1580–1640,” in Mark Greengrass, ed., *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1991). An intriguing comparison comes to us in the period after 1688, when William of the House of Orange came to rule England (initially with his wife Mary), thus creating the theoretical possibility of an Anglo-Dutch “composite monarchy” and concomitant empire until his death in 1702; cf. Jonathan I. Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991).

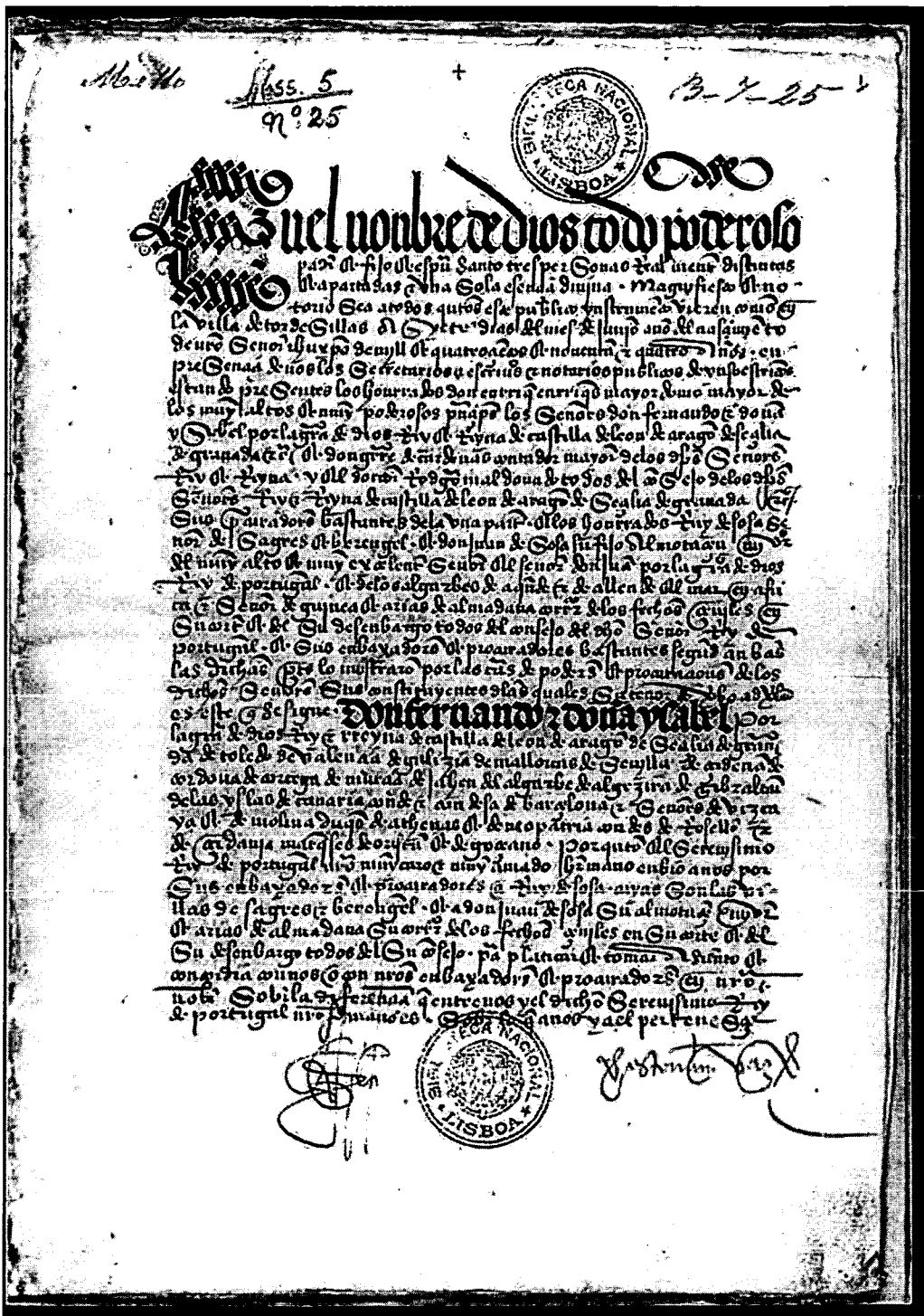


FIGURE 1: Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) between the Catholic monarchs of Castile and Aragon and Dom João II of Portugal. Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.

not difficult to trace, and lie in an obstinate historiographical separation that has long dogged studies of the Iberian empires, as well as a tendency to reify the two imperial models in order to make the contrasts between them all the more stark.<sup>6</sup> While certain issues of imperial “connection” have become increasingly common in the study of modern empires, they are less frequently applied to the early modern world. Four specific questions merit particular attention here. First, how distinct were the imperial models proposed by Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what were the key institutional bases for those distinctions? At the heart of the matter lies the problem of the allegedly land-bound nature of the Spanish Empire in comparison to the predominantly maritime profile of the Portuguese. Second, were the distinctions that existed in the early sixteenth century blurred over time through processes of mutual borrowing and imitation, the synchronic version of *translatio imperii*? Third, what part did the “Union of the Crowns” play in these processes? And finally, how did contemporary observers and writers attempt to grapple with these issues? This is admittedly a vast geographical and institutional canvas, and it is therefore necessary to focus on some issues to the exclusion of others. The primary object of analysis here will be the world of politico-fiscal and commercial institutions. This is not to deny the importance of other aspects, whether the actions of the religious and missionary orders (such as the Jesuits), problems of mutual artistic and architectural influences across the empires, or indeed the complex monetary and banking flows that linked the two empires, to take three rather diverse examples. No doubt future researchers will return to these questions of imperial connection and mutual borrowing with other such spheres of analysis in mind.<sup>7</sup>

THE BEGINNINGS OF CASTILIAN AND PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS EXPANSION date back to the early fifteenth century, with the Spanish colonization of the Canaries, on the one hand, and the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in North Africa and the occupation of the Madeira and Azores archipelagoes, on the other. However, these outposts, as well as the initial Portuguese efforts to build a network of trade (including slave trade) in West Africa, constitute something less than an empire, even if the experience of encounters there shaped later Iberian comportment in significant ways.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This is apparent in two classic works that appeared at much the same time, presenting parallel histories of the two empires: C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York, 1969), and J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (New York, 1966), both published as part of the same series, “The History of Human Society,” edited by J. H. Plumb. For a highly reified view of the functioning of different European overseas empires, see also the much-cited work by Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> On Iberian missions overseas, see, for example, Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent, eds., *Missions religieuses modernes: “Notre lieu est le monde”* (Rome, 2007), and earlier Pascale Girard, *Les religieux occidentaux en Chine à l’époque moderne: Essai d’analyse textuelle comparée* (Lisbon, 2000). On Iberian overseas banking systems and their connections, see James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626–1650* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983), and Margarita Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos: Mercaderes, banqueros y el estado en el Perú virreinal, 1600–1700* (Lima, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands after the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1982); T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago, 1972). For a long history of the Portuguese presence at Elmina, see, for example, Joseph Bato’ora Ballong-Wen-Mewuda, *São Jorge da Mina, 1482–1637: La vie d’un comptoir portugais en Afrique occidentale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1993);



It can therefore be said that the Spanish and Portuguese empires as articulated entities actually came into existence at roughly the same time, at the turn of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, their careers had both interesting parallels and flagrant differences, and they also faced challenges from at least some of the same forces in the seventeenth century. The question does remain of how these matters must be configured as a problem for research. This is especially so because, despite the facility with which most researchers can move back and forth between Spanish and Portuguese, the two empires tend to be studied separately, in terms of both their institutional locations and their intellectual moorings. Rare is the Spanish historian who devotes more than a small part of his or her activities to the study of the Portuguese overseas empire; and equally rare is the Portuguese historian who addresses any Spanish question other than the Union of the Crowns and the problematic phase from 1580 to 1640 when the two empires were notionally united under a single lineage of monarchs. Perhaps this is why the task usually falls in large part to historians who are located in neither of these competing Iberian national spaces.<sup>9</sup>

Yet a glance back at the sixteenth century reveals that attempts to treat the two empires as part of the same movement were not unknown even then. Notable among these works is the *Tratado dos Descobrimentos* (Treatise on the Discoveries) of António Galvão, which appeared in print in the early 1560s, some two decades before the takeover of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire by Philip II.<sup>10</sup> In the *Tratado*, Galvão commences with a look at the world of the ancients, but even in his second part—where his focus is largely on the “moderns”—he casts his net wide enough to speak in the same breath, indeed often on the same page, of Hernán Cortés and Afonso de Albuquerque, Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus. But it is equally true that Galvão was something of an exception. Far more common in the sixteenth century were texts such as those of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, João de Barros, Francisco López de Gómara, and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, which focused on only one of the two empires. This reflected the political crucible within which the historiographical enterprise itself was conceived and executed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>11</sup>

---

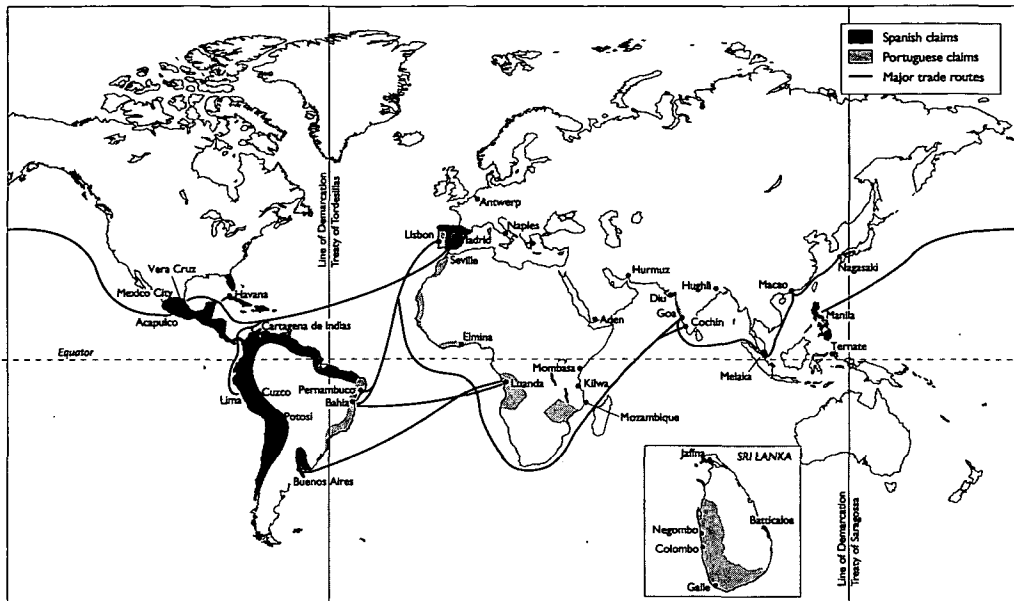
and for a valuable accounting of the early Portuguese slave trade, see Ivana Elbl, “The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450–1521,” *Journal of African History* 38, no. 1 (1997): 31–75.

<sup>9</sup> Thus, the otherwise excellent work of Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes: Política, cultura, representações (1580–1668)* (Lisbon, 2000), is quite typical in saying almost nothing about overseas questions. See also Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Le Portugal au temps du Comte-Duc d’Olivares, 1621–1640: Le conflit de juridictions comme exercice de la politique* (Madrid, 2001), and Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Portugal na monarquia hispânica, 1580–1640* (Lisbon, 2001). For a rare attempt by a Spanish historian to analyze these issues in an evenhanded manner, see Juan Gil, “Balance de la Unión Ibérica: Éxitos y Fracasos,” in Maria da Graça M. Ventura, ed., *A União ibérica e o mundo atlântico* (Lisbon, 1997), 367–383. On the other hand, the specter of primitive Portuguese nationalism still haunts the overall framing of (although not all the contributions in) Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, eds., *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2007). A pioneering effort in relation to this question is Stuart B. Schwartz, “Luso-Spanish Relations in Hapsburg Brazil, 1580–1640,” *The Americas* 25, no. 1 (1968): 33–48. For another recent and important exercise by a non-Iberian historian, see Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d’une mondialisation* (Paris, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> António Galvão, *Tratado dos descobrimentos*, ed. Visconde de Lagoa and Elaine Sanceau, 4th ed. (Oporto, 1987). For an analysis, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “As quarto partes vistas das Molucas: Breve re-leitura de António Galvão,” in Godoy and Salazar-Soler, *Passeurs, mediadores culturais y agentes de la primera globalización*, 713–730.

<sup>11</sup> See Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*,





The Iberian overseas empires in 1600. Map drawn by William Nelson.

But let us return to an earlier time, the 1480s and 1490s. To be sure, the fifteenth century saw the creation of militarized outposts in North Africa, the occupation and settlement of the Atlantic islands, and the beginnings of trade (and, concomitantly, some hostilities) in West Africa. But to speak of these three processes either individually or taken together as an “empire” in the Spanish or the Portuguese case is frankly to exaggerate. We must turn, then, to the moment defined by Bartolomeu Dias and Christopher Columbus, when the Cape of Good Hope had been rounded, and the Atlantic was soon to be traversed. This was a time when Portugal and Castile seemed on the face of it to be very closely linked, when the conspirators against the monarch at the court of the Portuguese ruler Dom João II sought and found refuge in the Castilian court once they were exposed, and equally when some similar traffic existed in the other direction. Notoriously, the first viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, Dom Francisco de Almeida, had spent time at the siege of Granada, while prominent Spanish men such as Sancho de Tovar could be found captaining ships on the early Portuguese expeditions to Asia.<sup>12</sup> The Portuguese career of Christopher Columbus

ed. M. Lopes de Almeida, 2 vols. (Oporto, 1975); João de Barros, *Da Ásia, Décadas I–IV* (fac. ed., Lisbon, 1973); Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1922); Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1959). For a preliminary discussion, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century,” *Representations* 91 (2005): 26–57.

<sup>12</sup> Thus, in Cochin, Almeida is reported to have spoken at length with the envoy from Gujarat, an Andalusian Muslim called Sidi ‘Ali, of the “good old days of the war of Granada”; see Jean Aubin, *Le Latin et l’Astrolabe, III: Études inédites sur le règne de D. Manuel, 1495–1521* (Paris, 2006), 367. The title of viceroy that Almeida assumed after arriving in Asia (his initial title was of *capitão-mór*) derived from the usage in Aragon. On Almeida and his career, see also the conventional account in Joaquim Candeias Silva, *O fundador do “Estado Português da Índia” D. Francisco de Almeida, 1457 (?)–1510* (Lisbon, 1996). For an overview of the early phase of the Portuguese case, see most recently Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400–1668* (London, 2005), 36–59.

cannot be reconstructed in its entirety, of course, because we lack precise documentation, but we do know that his maritime and cartographic knowledge came at least in part from his in-laws the Perestrelos, whose association with the Portuguese colonization of Madeira is a matter of record. Again, notoriously, on his painful return voyage from the Caribbean, Columbus did put in at Lisbon and was received by Dom João II before he actually returned to Spain to be welcomed by his new patrons, the Catholic monarchs. If one attempts to reconstruct the names and affiliations of those who participated in the first phase of the Spanish project in the Caribbean (through to, say, 1510), one can easily see that a significant proportion of them were, in fact, Portuguese.<sup>13</sup>

What this means, in effect, is that in terms of personnel, skills, and—very probably—ideological presuppositions, not much separated the Spaniards and the Portuguese as they embarked on their respective empire-building missions in 1500. Joachimite apocalyptic rumblings, the projected conquest of Jerusalem (“para ir a conquistar la Casa Sancta”), the obsession with Moors and mosques—all were to be found as much in the writings of Columbus as in those of Afonso de Albuquerque.<sup>14</sup> On his fourth voyage, Columbus encountered a rare Native American vessel off the coast of Honduras, and was at once struck by the fact that the women were partly veiled, in the manner of the “Moors.” A Muslim threat that haunted Gama and Cabral also seemed to cause Cortés some concern in Mexico.<sup>15</sup> Admittedly, there were also differences between the two nascent empires. It might be said that Portugal was poor at the time, but Ferdinand and Isabel seemed rather strapped for cash as well. On the other hand, the kingdoms under the rule of the Catholic monarchs had a significantly larger population than the one ruled over by Dom Manuel in 1500, by a ratio of perhaps four (or, in some measures, nearly five) to one. Table 1 compares the populations of the two Iberian powers in about 1530.

Spain’s more substantial human resources were surely a key to some of the obvious differences that asserted themselves by 1550, but another clue can be found in the somewhat different impact on the two societies of the long and painful business of *reconquista*. Even before the first expeditions to Mexico, which began in the middle years of the 1510s, the Spanish enterprise in the Caribbean was far more preoccupied with the possession and exploitation of landed resources than were the Portuguese in Asia. Again, the role of purely pragmatic considerations is perhaps not to be neglected. Where the Portuguese in Asia by the time of the second expedition of

<sup>13</sup> Henry H. Keith, “New World Interlopers: The Portuguese in the Spanish West Indies, from the Discovery to 1640,” *The Americas* 25, no. 4 (1969): 360–371. Keith cites the earlier, classic essay by Lewis Hanke, “The Portuguese in Spanish America, with Special Reference to the Villa Imperial de Potosí,” *Revista de Historia de América* 51 (1961): 1–48. It should be noted, however, that in the early phase in the Caribbean, the Portuguese were almost certainly excluded from the *encomiendas*, and played a more commercial role; see Juan Pérez de Tudela, *Las armadas de Indias y los orígenes de la política de colonización (1492–1505)* (Madrid, 1956), 247–249.

<sup>14</sup> Cristóbal Colón, *Textos y documentos completos*, ed. Consuelo Varela and Juan Gil (Madrid, 1992), 181. For the standard accounts of his career, see Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (New York, 1992), and Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus* (New York, 1991).

<sup>15</sup> Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde: De la découverte à la conquête* (Paris, 1991), 281. For the remarks by Cortés, see Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. and ed. Anthony Pagden, intro. by J. H. Elliott (New Haven, Conn., 1986); see also the comments in Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, *De l’idolâtrie: Une archéologie des sciences religieuses* (Paris, 1988), 11–22.

Table 1

Spain		Portugal	
Region	Population	Region	Population
Castile	4,513,000	Trás-os-Montes	178,000
Catalonia	312,000	Entre Douro e Minho	275,000
Valencia	300,000	Beira	334,000
Aragon	290,000	Estremadura	262,000
Navarre	152,000	Entre Tejo e Guadiana	244,000
Alava	50,000	Algarve	44,000
Others	132,000	Lisbon	65,000
Total	5,749,000	Total	1,402,000

SOURCES: For Spain, A. W. Lovett, *Early Habsburg Spain, 1517–1598* (Oxford, 1986), 245–247, quoting Felipe Ruiz Martín, “La población española al comienzo de los tiempos modernos,” *Cuadernos de Historia* (Madrid) 1 (1967): 189–202. For Portugal, Orlando Ribeiro et al., *Geografia de Portugal*, vol. 3: *O povo português* (Lisbon, 1987), 735.

Vasco da Gama (1502–1503) found that there were rich possibilities in corsair activities, and in drawing resources more generally from the extensive networks of oceanic trade there, preexistent trade in the Caribbean was simply not of sufficient scale or intensity to provide a stable and taxable resource for the Spaniards. This gives us a sense of why the Spaniards moved very early on to reinvent the *encomienda* in a Caribbean context, with the disastrous consequences for indigenous populations of which we are aware from the writings of Las Casas and others.<sup>16</sup>

This institution had been of great significance in the Estremadura in the context of the *reconquista*, and we know that this particular region of Spain was especially well represented among the first generations of *conquistadores* in America. It was thus that the *encomienda* came into existence in Spanish America, more as an institution created by pressure “from below” than as a simple act of royal policy. Both Columbus on Hispaniola and later Cortés in Mexico were clearly obliged by rumblings from within the ranks of their supporters to put this institution into place, however reluctant the Crown may have been to do so. Once in place, the institution and its complex of subsidiary usages followed an implacable logic. In the 1960s, James Lockhart eloquently characterized the *encomienda* as “the basic instrument of Spanish exploitation of Indian labor and produce in the conquest period,” and while noting that it was not in fact a “grant of land” but rather “a royal grant, in reward for meritorious service at arms, of the right to enjoy the tributes of Indians within a certain boundary,” he made it equally clear that the *encomenderos*, “leaping over technicalities, made their *encomiendas* the basis of great estates even if they did not legally own the land.”<sup>17</sup> In view of the fact that, in the absence of taxable indigenous trade, the Spaniards decided to organize their enterprise to produce resources (whether agricultural goods or minerals), this institution and its complementary counterpart the *repartimiento* must have seemed to provide a familiar and comforting matrix to those involved in defining the enterprise on the ground.

In contrast, the Portuguese setup in Asia by 1510 was characterized by a quite

<sup>16</sup> Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1986), 119–145.

<sup>17</sup> James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison, Wis., 1968), 11.

different set of institutions. At the heart of the matter was a tension between a centralizing Crown, with ambitions of operating a substantial monopoly over Cape Route trade (quite unlike the contractual system of the Spanish *Casa de Contratación*), and captains and nobles who saw the Indian Ocean as a space over which they could judiciously combine raiding and private trade. In 1510, there was no custom-house in Portuguese Asia that was worthy of the name, but the institution of the *cartaz* (the navicert) had already emerged as a means of controlling and taxing the trade of Asian vessels.<sup>18</sup> We witness on the one hand the strategy of seeking out key points and crucial centers from which the sea-lanes could be controlled (the plan of the governor Afonso de Albuquerque [1509–1515], who conquered Goa, Melaka, and Hormuz in quick succession between 1510 and 1514), and on the other hand a view, often associated with the family of Vasco da Gama, that the Crown should define itself as a mere carapace under which great families and their clients could trade and raid with impunity. But partisans of neither view seemed to think it necessary or even possible to transpose the *sesmarias*, *comendas*, and agrarian-fiscal institutions held by the great military orders in southern Portugal to the context of Asia.<sup>19</sup>

By the mid-1520s, this distinction between Spaniards and Portuguese was seemingly set, and it is this contrast that became almost frozen in the historiography. For with the conquest of Mexico, the land-oriented destiny of the Spanish Empire was established beyond doubt, even though the conquest itself obviously had a serendipitous quality to it. Despite its previously disastrous career, first on Hispaniola and then on Cuba, the *encomienda* came to enjoy a new lease on life as an organizing institution, which continued into the conquest of Peru. Millions of new souls were now available there to be brought into the Christian fold, an occasion to invent a fresh alliance between missionaries and military-fiscal elites. This can be contrasted with the situation in Portuguese Asia at much the same time, shortly after the death of the viceroy Vasco da Gama (in December 1524) and the takeover of the government by the governor Dom Henrique de Meneses. Whereas the Spaniards were enjoying the fruits of their conquest and western triumph (and the native populations of Mexico were often dying around them like flies), the government in Goa was in the throes of a crisis of another sort.<sup>20</sup> The Ottoman threat had begun to manifest itself in the western Indian Ocean, and the Ottoman authorities in Egypt were even beginning to commission reports on the extent and nature of Portuguese maritime power. Those Portuguese maritime resources were now stretched very thin across the Indian Ocean, as a contemporary document such as the anonymous *Lembrança das Cousas da Índia* (Memorial on India Affairs, written in 1525) demonstrates.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, "Portuguese Control over the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal: A Comparative Study," in Denys Lombard and Om Prakash, eds., *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal, 1500–1800* (New Delhi, 1999), 115–162.

<sup>19</sup> For the place of such institutions in southern Portugal, see, for example, Joaquim A. Romero Magalhães, *Para o estudo do Algarve económico durante o século XVI* (Lisbon, 1970).

<sup>20</sup> On the demographic consequences of the conquest of the Americas, see the recent synthesis by Massimo Livi Bacci, *Conquista: La distruzione degli indios americani* (Bologna, 2005).

<sup>21</sup> Michel Lesure, "Un document ottoman de 1525 sur l'Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge," *Mare Luso-Indicum* 3 (1976): 137–160. For the most recent reconsideration of the nature and extent of Ottoman ambitions, see Giancarlo Casale, "The Ottoman Administration of the Spice Trade in the Sixteenth-Century Red Sea and Persian Gulf," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 2 (2006): 170–198. On the Portuguese end, see "Lembrança d'algumas cousas que sam passadas em Malaqua, e assy nas outras partes da Imdea," in R. J. de Lima Felner, ed., *Subsídios para a história*

Older and quite grandiose plans to build a coastal fortress near Canton in south-eastern China had been summarily abandoned, and a few years later, in 1529, the notoriously surly grandee Dom Jaime, Duke of Bragança, would even suggest that most of the Portuguese fortresses in Asia should be abandoned so that the available resources could be concentrated in North Africa. The Venetian ambassador to Charles V, Gasparo Contarini, had begun to hint broadly to his principals that the Portuguese enterprise in Asia was on its last legs, a prediction that few would have ventured to make in 1525 with regard to Spanish America. Moreover, in the late 1520s, a substantial dispute broke out between two rival contenders for the governorship of the *Estado da Índia*, which very nearly led to a civil war in the streets of Goa, Melaka, and Cochin.<sup>22</sup>

And yet the 1530s witnessed no real collapse in the Portuguese overseas enterprise. Instead, we see deeper penetration into Brazil with the system of captaincies, or *capitanias*; the first sense of a new direction in Asia under the governorship of Nuno da Cunha; and a somewhat different balance with regard to the place of maritime trade in the whole. In the 1530s and early 1540s, several significant changes were implemented in Portuguese Asia as a matter of royal or gubernatorial initiative, and other questions were hotly debated. We can gain a measure of these debates from the extensive documentation that has come down to us from the 1540s on two substantive questions. One, considered at some length in councils in Lisbon itself, is the status of the North African fortresses: Should they be preserved, shored up, or simply abandoned? The second, debated largely at the time of the governorship in Asia of Dom João de Castro, concerns the status of trade, in particular the pepper trade. Should it be opened up to all comers, or maintained as a royal monopoly? More generally, how significant was such trade to the continued well-being of the whole overseas enterprise? There was also the specific issue of trade with the great urban center of Basra at the head of the Persian Gulf, which since 1546 had fallen under direct Ottoman control. Should such trade be allowed, and if so, under what conditions? Most of these discussions proved inconclusive, with the exception of the North African debate, as a consequence of which some Portuguese outposts were in fact abandoned. However, the large numbers of written "opinions" (or *pareceres*) generated by the "pepper question" do bring out the clear tension between an older generation of participants in the *Estado*, whose argument can be summarized in pithy phrases such as "Pepper should be a sacred thing," and others who seemed to do

---

*da Índia Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1868). This anonymous text should be read with others that are unpublished in the same volume of the Coleção de São Vicente (vol. 11), in the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo, Lisbon [henceforth IANTT], which provide a useful view of matters in the *Estado da Índia* in about 1525.

<sup>22</sup> For the struggle of the 1520s, see Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Um caso de luta pelo poder e a sua interpretação n'Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon, 1976). On Dom Jaime's remarks, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Making India Gama: The Project of Dom Aires da Gama (1519) and Its Meaning," *Mare Liberum* 16 (1998): 33–55. On the Venetians and their views, see "Relazione di Gasparo Contarini," in Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, 1st ser., vol. 2 (Florence, 1840), 49. Contarini's diagnosis is far more surprising than that of his predecessor Vincenzo Quirini in 1506, since at that time the Portuguese *Estado* was indeed fragile; see "Relazione delle Indie Orientali di Vincenzo Quirini nel 1506," in Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, vol. 15 (Florence, 1863), 3–19. For the circumstances of Quirini's report, see Aubin, *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe*, III, 451.



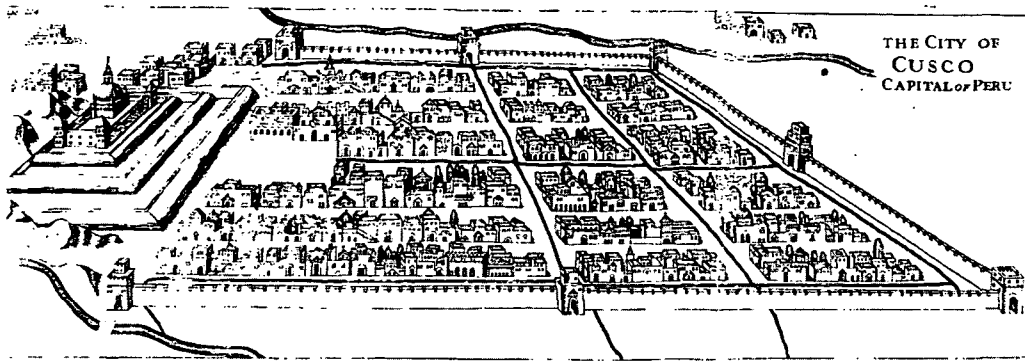


FIGURE 2: Depiction of the city of Cuzco. From Pedro de Cieza de León, *The Seventeen Years Travels of Peter de Cieza, through the Mighty Kingdom of Peru, and the Large Provinces of Cartagena and Popayan in South America: . . . Now First Translated from the Spanish, and Illustrated . . .* (London, 1709). Gale Group, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 204–205 (between).

far more than rehearse the old position favoring Portuguese private trade and denigrating the existence of a Crown monopoly on certain products. It is to these newer voices that we shall presently turn.<sup>23</sup>

But first it may be worthwhile to point, if only briefly, to the significance of studies of factionalism in both Iberian empires in the sixteenth century. Historians of the Spanish Empire both in the Caribbean and on the mainland have long insisted on the continuities between factional struggles in Iberia and those in the empire. This was visible from the time of Columbus, whose main supporters were tied to him in close clientelistic relations, and whose opponents saw the opposition between themselves and the “Admiral of the Mosquitoes” in the same terms. Similar factional struggles could be found in the Mexican viceroyalty, and their most flagrant manifestations were of course in Peru, in the bloody conflicts that characterized the bizarre and seemingly extravagant actions of the extended Pizarro clan in the 1530s and 1540s. Portuguese Asia appears to have been similarly characterized by the persistence of *bandos*, which can be seen notoriously in the extended struggle between the followers of Pêro Mascarenhas and those of Lopo Vaz de Sampaio in the late 1520s, and indeed in almost every subsequent succession to the post of governor. To be sure, this view of the Iberian imperial enterprises has had its opponents in the historiography, among both neo-Marxist analysts, who see “faction” and “class” as mutually exclusive vectors of analysis, and Portuguese and Spanish nationalist historians, who tend to insist on the solidarity of all those engaged in the great and laudable “enterprise” of expansion. However, the 1530s and 1540s were an interesting period, when studies of faction can be conjugated with other explanatory factors to produce certain suggestive hypotheses about how and why shifts in policies and institutional practices came about.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For North Africa, see Maria Leonor Garcia da Cruz, “As controvérsias no tempo de D. João III sobre a política portuguesa no Norte da África,” 2 pts., *Mare Liberum* 13 (1997): 123–199 and 14 (1997): 117–198. A discussion of the “pepper question” can be found in Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, *A questão da pimenta em meados do século XVI* (Lisbon, 1998). On Basra, see Dejanirah Potache, “The Commercial Relations between Basrah and Goa in the Sixteenth Century,” *Studia* 48 (1989): 145–162.

<sup>24</sup> Bernard and Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, 353–362, 492–496, on the question of *banderías*. For a recent reinterpretation of the Pizarros, see Rafael Varón Gabai, *Francisco Pizarro and His*

A major problem to be resolved concerns a set of shifts in the functioning of the Portuguese overseas empire that have usually been viewed in artificial isolation from one another. The first was the attempt to penetrate deeper into the Brazilian interior through the new system of captaincies. A number of explanations have been offered for this change in connection with Brazil, which had remained a largely dormant part of the Portuguese overseas portfolio since its "discovery" in 1500; one of these would look to rivalry with the Spaniards, who were progressively creeping down into the Andes and had recently found the great silver source at Potosí, while another would insist on the growing nervousness of the Portuguese court in the face of the increased interest in the area shown by Normandy-based mariners and entrepreneurs such as Jean Ango (as manifested in various expeditions off the Brazilian coast, including those of the Verrazzano brothers), and thus pose the issue in such defensive terms.<sup>25</sup> A second shift appears in the form of a new desire to consolidate territories in western India, whether by extending the limits of the territory of Goa itself (at the expense of the Sultanate of Bijapur) or through the acquisitions in the mid-1530s in the so-called "Northern Province," in the broad region of Chaul, Bassein, and Bombay that had earlier been controlled by the Sultanate of Gujarat.<sup>26</sup> A third move, manifestly less successful than the first two, was the renewed search for sources of gold in Southeast Asia (notably the expedition of Jerónimo de Figueiredo in 1544 to the area of Mergui and farther south), as well as opportunistic schemes to attack interior temples in India and Sri Lanka with the intention of seizing their wealth. The aborted expedition against the great Tirumala-Tirupati temple in 1543 is an example of this last impulse. Now, all of these issues can be viewed in isolation from one another, as has indeed often been the case in the historiography. However, a significant clue to what lay behind these actions is the fact that almost all of them seem to be associated with a single figure, Martim Afonso de Sousa. Sousa was apparently close both to the reigning Portuguese monarch, Dom João III, and to his minister the Count of Castanheira, but he also had extensive dealings with Castile through his wife's family, and had equally served in the Italian campaigns of the Catholic monarchs.<sup>27</sup> It is thus not improbable that he knew a fair amount about the

---

*Brothers: The Illusion of Power in Sixteenth-Century Peru*, trans. Javier Flores Espinoza (Norman, Okla., 1997).

<sup>25</sup> For an overview, see Jorge Couto, *A construção do Brasil: Ameríndios, portugueses e africanos, do início do povoamento a finais de quinhentos* (Lisbon, 1995), 209–235. On rivalry with the French, see Michel Mollat du Jourdin and Jacques Habert, *Giovanni et Girolamo Verrazano, navigateurs de François Ier: Dossiers de voyages* (Paris, 1982); see also Luís de Matos, *Les Portugais en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Etudes et documents* (Coimbra, 1952). For the relationship between the discovery of the silver at Potosí and Portuguese projects in Brazil, see Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Visão do paraíso: Os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *O Estado da Índia e a Província do Norte*, special issue, *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995). Particularly valuable for evaluating the early importance of this acquisition is the "Tombo do Estado da Índia" of Simão Botelho (1554), reproduced in Felner, *Subsídios para a história da Índia*. There is a rather confused discussion of this text in Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Les finances de l'État portugais des Indes Orientales (1517–1635)* (Paris, 1982), 50–69, owing to the author's unfortunate lack of familiarity with the history of Indo-Persian fiscal institutions.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. "Brevíssima e summaria relação que fez da sua vida e obra o grande Martim Affonso de Sousa," in Luís de Albuquerque and Margarida Caeiro, eds., *Martim Afonso de Sousa: Cartas* (Lisbon, 1989). On the Southeast Asian expedition of Jerónimo de Figueiredo, see IANTT, *Gavetas*, 8: 8–43, "Verdadeira enformação das cousas da Índia," in António da Silva Rego, ed., *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, vol. 3 (Lisbon, 1963), 218–234. On Tirupati, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "An Eastern El-Dorado: The

## Portrait du combat entre les sauvages Toïoupinambouls &amp; Margajas Ameriquains.



Ce portrait se doit mettre entre le feuillet 204. & 205. apres Q. liij.

FIGURE 3: A depiction of the combat between Tupinambás and Marcajás. The text is a byproduct of Franco-Brazilian rivalry for Brazil. From Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique* (Geneva, 1578).

successes of Cortés in Mexico, and we know that by 1530, many in Portugal and the Portuguese court were aware that their own overseas enterprise was now distinctly less successful than that of the Spaniards. Whereas in 1515 most Portuguese courtiers would have answered confidently that they had gotten the better of the Catholic monarchs in the negotiations of Tordesillas (1494), the mood in Portugal was rather more somber by the time of the diplomatic dealings at Badajoz-Elvas or Saragossa in the mid- to late 1520s.<sup>28</sup>

Can we legitimately speculate that the moves both in Brazil and in the *provincia do Norte* in India were part of a groundswell to create an *encomienda*-like institution in the Portuguese imperial context? The *aforamento* (itself deriving from the term *foro*, “land rent”) was implemented in a piecemeal fashion, then went on to have a career (sometimes under the variant name of the *prazo*) in both East Africa and Sri Lanka, but its beginnings can be clearly seen at this moment. For petty noblemen

Tirumala-Tirupati Temple-Complex in Early European Views and Ambitions, 1540–1660,” in David Shulman, ed., *Syllables of Sky: Studies in South Indian Civilization in Honour of Velcheru Narayana Rao* (Delhi, 1995), 338–390.

<sup>28</sup> This is discussed at length in several valuable papers in Avelino Teixeira da Mota, ed., *A viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas* (Lisbon, 1975).

and old soldiers who were fatigued by the endless coastal patrols and tiresome minor skirmishes that were the main official activity that the *Estado da Índia* seemed to support, this was a happy solution. In those years, such men were beginning to grumble about constantly having one foot in the water (“um pé na água”), and one of them went so far as to write to the king in the 1540s that if the wars and occasions for real glory were too few, it was not really their fault (“que as guerras sejam poucas, não havemos nisso culpa”).<sup>29</sup> Another possible contributor to this pressure was the fact that a certain number of renegade Portuguese captains had by the 1530s begun to accept grants of territory from other Asian states, including the Sultanates of the Deccan. The *aforamento* and its holder, the *foreiro*, thus lay somewhere between the far more prosperous rumor of the American *encomienda* and the *encomendero*, and the neighboring prebendal institutions of the Indo-Persian *iqṭāʿ* and *muqāṣā*, the fruits of which men such as Sancho Pires and Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho gradually came to enjoy in the Deccan, once they had entered the pay of the sultans of Bijapur or Ahmadnagar. This was not the same lifestyle that we associate with the far more common profile of the Portuguese private trader (or *casado*) in the context of Indian Ocean commerce.<sup>30</sup>

However, the true “terrestrial turn” was yet to come in the Portuguese Empire, and it would not happen until at least mid-century. Indeed, the first glimmer did not appear until after 1570, with the creation of a plantation economy in Brazil, and the deeper penetration into both Angola and the East African territories of the *rios de Cuama* (the Zambezi Valley) from the time of the Barreto-Homem expeditions. Despite the inflection provided by Martim Afonso de Sousa, the open frontier for the Portuguese in the 1540s remained largely a maritime one, and the most significant processes of the 1550s and 1560s were the move toward the Far East, the founding of the City of the Name of God of Macau, and the opening of the China-Japan trade to Portuguese entrepreneurs. The possibility of overturning large continental polities, as had been done with the Mexica or the Incas, was not considered to be within the realm of feasibility in the Asia of the 1540s or 1550s. Whatever internal difficulties the Ming polity in China faced at this point, it was usually seen as still sufficiently powerful to deal contemptuously with any Portuguese threat. Indeed, paradoxically, the only substantial polity that the Portuguese *Estado* seems to have eyed as a potential target at this time was the southern Indian state of Vijayanagara, which had in fact been one of its allies in the initial phase to about 1520. But speculation in this direction was quickly quashed in the 1540s, and even later—in the mid-1560s—when Vijayanagara was dealt an appreciable blow by its immediate northern neighbors, the Portuguese could gain no more from the process than a few additional coastal footholds and fortresses in western India. In the Asian context, the Portuguese faced a constant threat throughout the sixteenth century from resilient indigenous polities: the Ottomans in the 1520s, the Burmese Toungoo state at mid-century, and the Mughals and Safavids as the century drew to a close.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Letter from Cristóvão da Costa to Dom João III, November 12, 1544, in Luís de Albuquerque and José Pereira da Costa, “Cartas de ‘Serviços’ da Índia (1500–1550),” *Mare Liberum* 1 (1990): 349.

<sup>30</sup> Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, “Exiles and Renegades in Early Sixteenth Century Portuguese Asia,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 23, no. 3 (1986): 249–262. On the case of Coutinho, see also Elaine Sanceau, ed., *Colecção de São Lourenço*, vol. 3 (Lisbon, 1983), 256–257, 399.

<sup>31</sup> Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves, *Um porto entre dois impérios: Estudos sobre Macau e as relações*



Perhaps the proponents of change were also held back by the prestigious voices that had recently spoken out against it. In a letter from Goa to the king Dom João III in 1539, the future governor of the *Estado da Índia*, Dom João de Castro (who was also an accomplished intellectual and courtier), emphasized what he defined as the essential character of the Portuguese presence in Asia:

I would like to act as a seal to stamp documents and set them out in the Torre de Tombo of Lisbon, to affirm that in no circumstances should the Portuguese enter as much as a hand-span into the interior [*pela terra dentro*] of India, because nothing keeps the peace and conserves our friendship with the kings and lords of India except that they believe and consider it most certain that we are content with the sea, and that we have no plans, nor do we imagine that we will ever come to desire their lands.<sup>32</sup>

So far as we are aware, neither the king nor the majority of his council disagreed with Dom João de Castro's vision at the time.

Be that as it may, and whatever differences of style and substance separated them, the two Iberian empires in the mid-sixteenth century were not spaces that were truly isolated from one another. The former captain of the Moluccan fortress of Ternate António Galvão certainly knew his Spanish chroniclers, and João de Barros and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda were clearly read in both Spain and the Spanish Empire. Some significant works on Portuguese Asia were even published in Spain, including Martín Fernández de Figueroa's early account of his sojourn in Asia, and Cristóvão da Costa's later account of medicinal plants and products to be found in the East Indies.<sup>33</sup> There was a great deal of intermingling between the two courts, with a significant pro-Spanish group playing a role in the court of Dom João III around his Habsburg wife, as well as his younger brother, the Infante Dom Luís; while a number of prominent Portuguese, including Vasco da Gama's own son Estêvão da Gama (after an extensive career in Portuguese Asia), eventually left Portugal to gravitate to the Habsburg monarchy.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, the possibility of penetrating Asia from across the Pacific had not been abandoned by the Spaniards with Magellan, or even with the later Treaty of Saragossa. News of China appeared periodically in Peru and Mexico in the middle decades of the century, and the eventual decision to settle Manila in the 1560s set the seal on a long series of more speculative projects, beginning with Cortés's own claim to Charles V that he would go about the conquest of the Moluccas "in such a manner that Your Majesty will not have to obtain the spices through exchange, as the king of Portugal does, but can

*lusio-chinesas* (Macau, 1999). Here I return to a thesis that was first set out schematically by the Portuguese historian Luís Filipe Thomaz in a 1985 essay, reprinted as "A estrutura política e administrativa do Estado da Índia no século XVI," in Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon, 1994), 207–243. For an earlier approach to this problem, see also Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (London, 1993).

<sup>32</sup> The letter appears in Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Cartas de D. João de Castro a D. João III* (Lisbon, 1989), 12.

<sup>33</sup> For a facsimile edition and translation of *Conquista de las Indias de Persia e Arabia* (Salamanca, 1512), see *A Spaniard in the Portuguese Indies: The Narrative of Martín Fernández de Figueroa*, ed. James B. McKenna (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Cristóvão da Costa, *Tractado de las drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales con sus plantas debuxadas al bivo por Christoual Acosta; en el qual se verifica mucho de lo que escrivio el doctor Garcia de Orta* (Burgos, 1578).

<sup>34</sup> Aude Viaud, ed., *Correspondance d'un ambassadeur Castillan au Portugal dans les années 1530: Lope Hurtado de Mendoza* (Paris, 2001).



instead possess them for himself." It would be an error to think that, having acquired massive territories, the agents of the Spanish monarchy abandoned all thoughts of profit from long-distance trade. Thus even if it was generally admitted by 1550 that the Spanish overseas empire dwarfed its Portuguese counterpart, the latter still possessed some attributes and possibilities that the former coveted. Most notable of these was the access to Asian markets and Asian products, a dream that was to continue to drive the other European rivals of the Iberians in the late sixteenth century, including the French, the English, and the Dutch.<sup>35</sup>

THUS THE UNION OF THE CROWNS DID NOT NECESSARILY MARK a major discontinuity in terms of relations between the two Iberian empires. By the 1550s, the "Spanish example" was always there before the Portuguese Crown, even if only as an unattainable dream and possibility. When institutional reform was suggested in the functioning of the Portuguese Empire, the Spanish counterexample was always available and frequently cited. We see this most clearly in the relationship between the Portuguese *Casa da Índia* and the Spanish *Casa de Contratación*, which were initially conceived as two different strategies for managing transcontinental trade. While the Spanish Crown retained for itself a supervisory role, and also needed to keep the trade across the Atlantic alive for strategic reasons—to supply garrisons and settlements, and to send officials, missionaries, and others across the ocean—its view of trade itself was one in which the monarchy would not participate fully. In contrast, although there had been periodic activity by private entities on the Cape Route from its very inception (notably by Florentine ship owners and entrepreneurs), the ideal situation for the Portuguese Crown was one in which private participation would take place in a context dominated financially and otherwise by the *Fazenda Real* (Royal Treasury).<sup>36</sup> To be sure, certain important nobles and officials would be allowed liberty chests (*agasalhados*); equally, returning fleets from Asia would carry freight goods both for some passengers and for other traders. But the crucial trade, in pepper and spices, would remain with the *Casa da Índia*, itself dominated by a factor (*feitor*) named by the Crown. Asian goods would then be distributed to other factories in Europe (such as Antwerp) from the *Casa*, with the intention that direct profits would flow from there to the Portuguese Crown.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> For Cortés's claims, see Hernán Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, ed. M. Hernández Sánchez-Barba (Mexico, 1963), 320.

<sup>36</sup> On the *Casa da Índia*, see Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz, *Regimento da Casa da Índia: Manuscrito do século XVII existente no Arquivo Geral de Simancas*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1992). The contrast between the two trading systems forms the implicit background to the chapter titled "Da origem das viagens da Índia, e do modo per que correrom nos tempos passados, e correm no presente," fols. 76–82, in the anonymous text from about 1582, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 3217, titled "Livro das Cidades, e Fortalezas, que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da Índia, e das capitánias, e mais cargos que nellas há, e da importância delles," published in a facsimile edition by Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz in *Studia*, no. 6 (1960). The text is dedicated to Philip II and was intended to inform him about his new Asian possessions, and the trade networks there. It is in some ways comparable to, but in others distinct from, the slightly later text (dating to about 1607) of Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão, *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda e real patrimonio dos reinos de Portugal, Índia, e ilhas adjacentes e outras particularidades, ordenado por Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão, secretario de el-Rei Filipe II, copiado fielmente do manuscrito original e impresso por ordem do governo de Sua Magestade* (Lisbon, 1859).

<sup>37</sup> C. R. Boxer, *From Lisbon to Goa, 1500–1750: Studies in Portuguese Maritime Enterprise* (London,

By the late 1560s, however, at roughly the time when the Portuguese monarch Dom Sebastião assumed direct rule upon reaching majority, significant changes were wrought in this system. A system closer to the Spanish contract (*asiento*) arrangement was put into place, with regard to both trade and shipping. Later, in the 1570s, a formal contract arrangement was proposed to various consortia, which the Danish historian Niels Steensgaard rather extravagantly used to indict the entire Portuguese experience on the Cape Route as a mere “redistributive enterprise,” despite his admission that “until 1570, it was the rule that the Crown’s own people looked after the Asian side of the pepper trade.”<sup>38</sup> This new arrangement brought in groups such as the Fuggers and Welsers from South Germany, who had long dealt with Spanish America, as well as Italian entrepreneurs such as the Milanese Giovan Battista Rovellasco. Under the aegis of this arrangement, the contractors sent powerful agents to Asia to organize trade on the Cape Route, including such prominent men as the Augsburg Ferdinand Cron and the Florentine intellectual Filippo Sassetti.<sup>39</sup>

Here, too, we observe a situation in which, from the initial existence of two distinct models, the Portuguese seem eventually to have gravitated to the model of the *Casa de Contratación*. Later attacks on their ships, notably by the Dutch, forced them to return in the early seventeenth century to direct Crown control over trade on the Cape Route. But the change, such as it was, began before the Union of the Crowns. Indeed, the brief period of direct rule by Dom Sebastião was significant for a number of changes or attempted changes in institutional management in the Portuguese Empire.<sup>40</sup> The period marked the beginnings of the major phase of sugar-based economic expansion in Brazil, and the growing and concomitant trade there in slaves from West Africa. It was also notable for a proposal to subdivide Portuguese Asia into three sections, with separate governors: the first, a maritime enterprise centered

1984); Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1982), 3: 43–79. This is not to deny the involvement of Italian (and especially Florentine) merchants in the Cape Route from the very outset, for which see Marco Spallanzani, *Mercanti Fiorentini nell'Asia portoghese (1500–1525)* (Florence, 1997).

<sup>38</sup> Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago, 1974), 95–103. Steensgaard’s position was discussed in Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Luís Filipe Thomaz, “Evolution of Empire: The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean during the Sixteenth Century,” in James D. Tracy, ed., *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1350–1750* (New York, 1991), 298–331.

<sup>39</sup> On Cron, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “An Augsburger in Ásia Portuguesa: Further Light on the Commercial World of Ferdinand Cron, 1587–1624,” in R. Ptak and D. Rothermund, eds., *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400–1750* (Stuttgart, 1991), 401–425; Hermann Kellenbenz, “From Melchior Manlich to Ferdinand Cron: German Levantine and Oriental Trade Relations (Second Half of XVIth and Beginning of XVIIth C.),” *Journal of European Economic History* 19, no. 3 (1990): 611–622. On Sassetti, see Filippo Sassetti, *Lettere da vari paesi, 1570–1588*, ed. Vanni Bramanti (Milan, 1970); Jean Boutier, “Les habits de l’Indiático: Filippo Sassetti entre Cochín et Goa (1583–1588),” in *Découvertes et explorateurs: Actes du colloque international, Bordeaux, 12–14 juin 1992* (Paris, 1994), 157–166. On the Fuggers, see the classic work by Hermann Kellenbenz, *Los Fugger en España y Portugal hasta 1560*, trans. Manuel Prieto Vilas (Salamanca, 2000).

<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, the 1570s remain understudied as a period of transition. For the period when D. Sebastião was a minor, see the detailed but somewhat problematic study by Maria do Rosário de Sampaio Themudo Barata de Azevedo Cruz, *As regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião: Elementos para uma história estrutural*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1992). Also helpful to an extent is Luís Filipe Thomaz, “A crise de 1565–1575 na história do Estado da Índia,” *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995): 481–520. A significant document is the instructions given by D. Sebastião to the departing viceroy, Conde de Atouguia, October 1577, in IANTT, Coleção São Vicente, vol. 12, 9–11. For a valuable overview, see also Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *D. Sebastião* (Lisbon, 2006).

on Melaka; the second, a mixed operation centered on India and Sri Lanka, but also involving trade on the Cape Route; and the third, a new frontier to be opened up from Mozambique for the penetration of East Africa. In this view, the first of these zones would approximate the Caribbean space of the Spaniards, while the other two would correspond respectively perhaps to Nueva España and Tierra Firme. In view of the renewed attempts at colonizing territory in northern Sri Lanka at the time of the viceroyalty of Dom Constantino de Bragança in about 1560, we can arguably see an attempt here to revive the notions of Martim Afonso de Sousa by other means.<sup>41</sup>

At the same time, in the decade preceding the Union of the Crowns, there had also been an attempt to redefine (or even efface) the boundaries between the two overseas empires, this one from the Spanish end. This was the move across the Pacific, undertaken during the viceroyalty of Juan de Velasco in Mexico, to test the treaty boundaries between the two empires, and to attempt to open up the space of trade with East Asia. The Spanish fleet was led by Miguel López de Legazpi in 1564–1565; Legazpi would later be named the first Spanish governor of the Philippines, having eventually managed—after an initial lack of success in first Cebu and then Panay—to found the Spanish city of Manila on the site of an earlier Muslim settlement that had been ruled by a certain Raja Sulaiman. The precise nature of Spanish motives in this enterprise remains open to debate. That the Philippines were regarded as merely a space for further Spanish territorial expansion does not seem to be a particularly credible argument, even if the territories and populations of the archipelago were not exactly negligible. Certainly, some of the institutional apparatus that had been “perfected” as a result of the Mexican and Peruvian experiences came in handy in the years from 1570 to 1620, as Spanish rule was consolidated. *Encomiendas* were thus set up on the so-called *sawah* lands in Luzon and Panay; as early as 1591, there were about 270 of them, with some 668,000 Filipinos resident under Spanish tutelage. But despite the seemingly accidental character of the process by which Manila emerged as a major center of Chinese trade, there can be little doubt that the purpose of the operation was principally to draw trade away from Portuguese-controlled networks, a point to which the veteran Pacific traveler Andrés de Urdaneta had insistently drawn the attention of Charles V as early as 1537. Major troubles soon arose in the spice-rich islands of the Moluccas after the Spaniards entered the zone. The Portuguese captains there undoubtedly saw the Spanish presence as a challenge to their own spice trade, and the fact that some of the sovereigns of the area increasingly resisted the Portuguese yoke with regard to the spice monopoly also lends itself to such speculation concerning the true intent of the Habsburgs in patronizing such a venture.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, the long letter from the viceroy reproduced in António dos Santos Pereira, “A Índia a preto e branco: Uma carta oportuna, escrita em Cochim, por D. Constantino de Bragança, à Rainha Dona Catarina,” *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 4 (2003): 449–484. This important document can be fruitfully compared to the slightly later letters in José Wicki, “Duas cartas oficiais de Vice-reis da Índia, escritas em 1561 e 1564,” *Studia* 3 (1959): 36–89. For a discussion of the changing context, see the discussion in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500–1700* (Delhi, 1990), 180–182.

<sup>42</sup> Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, “A viagem de Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque do Minho às Molucas—ou os itinerários da fidalguia portuguesa no Oriente,” *Studia* 49 (1989): 315–340. Urdaneta is cited in Thomaz, *A questão da pimenta*, 2. For the Philippines, the classic work remains John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700* (Madison, Wis., 1959);

It thus appears that past Spanish historians have protested a little too vigorously about Habsburg desires to maintain a firewall between the two empires in the aftermath of the Union of the Crowns in 1580–1581. To be sure, the Manila galleon trade was based on a deft fiction, because the Spaniards rarely crossed the imagined anti-meridian of Tordesillas-Saragossa to trade directly in China. But the brute reality was clear to see. Spanish trade in Manila was meant to give Spanish America access to Asian markets, and it was only a matter of time before Manila would become linked not only to China but also to Melaka, and then through Melaka to India. If New Christian traders of Portuguese origin were penetrating the marketplaces of both Mexico and Peru by the late sixteenth century, the line between the empires was also being blurred by far more official initiatives elsewhere. A typical example is provided by Cambodia, where the Spanish government in Manila sent a speculative expedition (the so-called *jornada de Camboya*) in the 1590s, in the hope of making inroads into the Mekong Valley. No one in Manila could have had many illusions about the position of Cambodia in the geography of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Yet in 1603, a soldier by the name of Pedro Sevil outlined the logic of the Cambodian project to Philip III, and having presented a moral reason (the misdeeds of local rulers) and an economic one (products such as “gold, silver, jewels, lead, tin, copper, silk, cotton, incense”), he added a third reason: “that one can thus occupy, and feed all the people who are lost, unoccupied and idle, from Mexico, from Peru, and from the Philippines.” Southeast Asia was thus also the new frontier for the lumpen would-be *conquistadores* of the early seventeenth century, one where the “tail wagged the dog” in a number of significant ways.<sup>43</sup>

But other, rather more astonishing ideas and projects left traces in the archives. Consider a letter written in 1610 by Philip III to his viceroy in Goa, Rui Lourenço de Távora:

I have information that the king of Bisnagá [Vijayanagara] is very old, and on his death dissensions are foreseen, as there are three pretenders to the throne; and that in view of this, it should secretly be ordered that upon his death, the *Estado [da Índia]* should expand into the lands around the city of São Thomé [Mylapore] by a measure of three or four leagues, which can be accomplished with a few more people than are already there, for those who live there [the natives] are weak and unused to war, and besides, they are bound to be happy on being free from the tyrannies of said king and his officials; and once it has been taken and parceled out [*depois de senhoreada e repartida*], there will be no disturbances, and [then] without much additional capital I could become lord of all the Concão [Konkan], and my treasury will have a greater revenue than in all the *Estado da Índia*, without having to spend more than 20,000 *pardaos* each year to protect what has been acquired. And on the death of said king, one can equally hope to lay one's hands on the treasure of the temple [*pagode*] of

---

a more recent work focusing on *encomiendas* is Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas, 1570–1608* (Madrid, 1995). See also John Villiers, “Portuguese Malacca and Spanish Manila: Two Concepts of Empire,” in Roderich Ptak, ed., *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 37–57.

<sup>43</sup> These themes were dealt with earlier in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “The Tail Wags the Dog; or, Some Aspects of the External Relations of the Estado da Índia, 1570–1600,” *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 5 (1988): 31–60. See also Antoine Cabaton, “Le mémorial de Pedro Sevil à Philippe III sur la conquête de l'Indochine (1603),” *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine*, 1914–1916, 1–102 (quotation from 17–18); and Bernard Philippe Groslier and C. R. Boxer, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Paris, 1958).

Tripiti [Tirupati], which lies six leagues from São Thomé, which is said to be of the greatest importance, since people go there from all the parts of the Orient, without what goes in [as treasure] ever coming out again.<sup>44</sup>

In part a return to the old plan of Martim Afonso de Sousa in the 1540s, we have here a vision that is radically different from the warnings issued in the 1530s by Dom João de Castro. It is a vision in which, besides what was being put into place in Sri Lanka, Cambodia, or Burma, even peninsular India could conceivably become the target of an expansionary operation, the purpose of which would be to seize the treasures of major Hindu temples, but also to acquire territories that could be divided up into *prazos* and *aforamentos*, if not *encomiendas*.

Expressions of both resentment and resistance to the project of building a single integrated Iberian empire undoubtedly continued to be heard, in particular among the high officials of the Portuguese Empire. A case in point is an episode in the 1620s in which the viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, Dom Francisco da Gama, made it a point to harass the Habsburg ambassador to Safavid Iran, Don García de Silva y Figueroa.<sup>45</sup> Once the Dutch and English appeared on the Asian scene in the 1590s, there were periodic attempts to mount a joint Iberian front against them, whether in the context of Asia or the Americas, but there was great resistance to this exercise, particularly among Portuguese officials. A sarcastic Dutch observer in the 1620s claimed that the Habsburg monarch treated possessions in the Spanish Empire as his "lawful wife, of whom he is exceedingly jealous," and those in the Portuguese Empire as merely his "concubine," but this is a remark that lends itself to more than one interpretation.<sup>46</sup> For the possessions in the Atlantic, whether Spanish or Portuguese, were globally far easier to defend than were those in Asia. To some extent, the problem was exacerbated by the rather dispersed character of the Asian possessions, itself a consequence of the limited extent of territoriality there. Various territorial adventures after 1580 had yielded rather limited results for the Portuguese. Aside from some brief success in lower Burma in the early 1600s, the most significant operations appear to have been in East Africa and Sri Lanka, with the latter, in particular, being a significant if neglected case.<sup>47</sup>

The issue of the concrete dealings between Spaniards and Portuguese in Asia requires much more research than has been devoted to it thus far. Besides the work of the late Charles Boxer, there have been few attempts to speculate on this question

<sup>44</sup> IANTT, Documentos Remetidos da Índia, Livro 3, fol. 49, Philip III to Rui Lourenço, February 21, 1610, in Raymundo António de Bulhão Pato, ed., *Documentos remetidos da Índia, ou Livros das monções*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1880), 359. The letter bears a mark at its end of "O Conde Almirante," suggesting that it was drafted in part by the former viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama, son-in-law of Rui Lourenço de Távora.

<sup>45</sup> See the ambassador's embittered comments in Don García de Silva y Figueroa, *Comentarios de la embajada que de parte del rey de España Don Felipe III hizo al rey Xa Abas de Persia*, ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1904–1905). For an account of the larger context of his embassy, see Luis Gil, "La Unión Ibérica y Persia: Contactos diplomáticos y choque de intereses," in Ventura, *A União ibérica e o mundo atlântico*, 309–340.

<sup>46</sup> As cited in John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, vol. 2: *Spain and America, 1598–1700* (Oxford, 1981), 65.

<sup>47</sup> On the case of Burma, see Maria Ana Marques Guedes, *Interferência e integração dos Portugueses na Birmânia, c. 1580–1630* (Lisbon, 1994); on East Africa, see Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion*, 152–154.



in a schematic manner in the past two decades.<sup>48</sup> This is in turn related to the discovery and publication of major sources in Castilian regarding the period, such as the account of the Flemish trader from Bruges, Jacques de Coutre. In the case of Hurmuz, in the Persian Gulf, the correspondence of Dom Luís da Gama, who was centrally involved in the whole episode, as well as the earlier loss of Kamaran (or Gombroon), must be analyzed further for any credible picture to emerge. Many of the most important “old India hands” who navigated between Lisbon and Madrid deserve further mention, in particular figures such as Ferdinand Cron, to whom Boxer himself devoted a rather significant study. As an abundance of research on Southeast Asia shows, there is much to be gained from reading Spanish and Portuguese materials for the period around 1600 jointly rather than separately.<sup>49</sup>

Among the myriad subjects of significance that merit greater attention is Sri Lanka. It is increasingly clear—thanks in part, ironically enough, to archival findings in Spain—that Portuguese involvement in that island took on a substantially different hue in the years from 1590 to about 1630. Although the Portuguese had dealings with Sri Lanka from the very early years of the sixteenth century, their presence there remained largely coastally oriented until the middle decades of the century. From about 1550, however, there was far greater interest in penetrating the Jaffna area, and after the 1560s, civil wars in the former Kotte kingdom provided an occasion for deep inroads.<sup>50</sup> However, it was effectively not until the 1580s that the *Estado da Índia* began to seize villages in the coastal lowlands, which were then distributed to so-called *fronteiros*, fiscal entrepreneurs who used them to control labor on a *corvée* system while also extracting cinnamon as tribute. This situation was akin to the process of *aforamento* in the Northern Province, and continued in fits and starts until the 1630s, when the Portuguese gradually lost ground because of the alliance between the kings of Kandy and the Dutch East India Company.<sup>51</sup> The complex nature of fiscal penetration in this brief period is increasingly clear, however,

<sup>48</sup> See Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700*; Charles R. Boxer, *Portuguese Conquest and Commerce in Southern Asia, 1500–1750* (London, 1985). The disappointingly slight, and rather polemical, work by Rafael Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580–1680): Declive imperial y adaptación* (Leuven, 2001), does not live up to its title; see the penetrating review essay of this work by Manuel Lobato in the *Bulletin of Portuguese Japanese Studies* 4 (2002): 143–153.

<sup>49</sup> Among significant recent works that should be cited are Jorge M. dos Santos Alves and Pierre-Yves Manguin, *O ‘Roteiro das cousas do Achém’ de D. João Ribeiro Gaio: Um olhar português sobre o norte de Samatra em finais do século XVI* (Lisbon, 1997); Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, *Portugueses e malaio: Malaca e os Sultanatos de Johor e Achém, 1575–1619* (Lisbon, 1997); and Manuel Lobato, *Política e comércio dos portugueses na insulândia: Malaca e as Molucas de 1575 a 1605* (Macau, 1999). For Coutre’s account, see Jacques de Coutre, *Andanzas asiáticas*, ed. Eddy Stols, B. Teensma, and J. Verberckmoes (Madrid, 1991); the letters of Dom Luís da Gama can be found in IANTT, Convento da Graça, Tomo II-E [Caixa 6], 161–173; Convento da Graça, Tomo III [Caixa 2], 475–478. On Cron, see Charles R. Boxer, “Uma raridade bibliográfica sobre Fernão Cron,” *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira* 12, no. 2 (1971): 323–364.

<sup>50</sup> See the recent work by Zoltán Biedermann, “A aprendizagem de Ceilão: A presença portuguesa no Sri Lanka entre talassocracia e planos de conquista territorial, 1506–1598” (Ph.D. thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa/École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2006). For the first half of the sixteenth century, see Jorge Manuel Flores, *Os portugueses e o Mar de Ceilão, 1498–1543: Trato, Diplomacia e Guerra* (Lisbon, 1998). For a recent collection of essays that reconsiders the question, see also Jorge Flores, ed., *Re-exploring the Links: History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka* (Wiesbaden, 2007).

<sup>51</sup> On this transition, see Chandra R. De Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617–1638* (Colombo, 1972); George D. Winius, *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon: Transition to Dutch Rule* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); and K. W. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1638–1658* (Amsterdam, 1958).



FIGURE 4: Depiction of a Portuguese of wealth and status (*die van affcomste en vermoegen zijn*) being carried in a litter in Goa. From Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert [ . . . ] naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien [ . . . ]* (Amsterdam, 1596).

as is documented both in the form of cartography and in the so-called *tombos*, fiscal records detailing holdings in a spread of villages.<sup>52</sup> These *tombos*, which were eventually aggregated into complex accounts incorporating maps and other visual materials, also appeared in much the same period elsewhere, notably in areas such as Daman, Diu, and Chaul. Earlier examples of the genre, on the other hand, are few and far between, as with the broad-ranging text produced in about 1554 by Simão Botelho. Even budget documents (*orçamentos*) appeared with far greater frequency after 1580, suggesting the gradual emergence under the Habsburgs of a fiscal regime with distinctive features.<sup>53</sup>

It is thus possible to argue for the emergence of a new equilibrium between trade, parasitism, and land-based fiscality in the Portuguese Empire in the early years of the seventeenth century, not merely in Brazil—where the turn is clear enough—or Angola, but even in Asia.<sup>54</sup> The Crown continued to divest itself of its trading func-

<sup>52</sup> Mathilde Auguste Hedwig Fitzler, *Os tombos de Ceilão da Secção ultramarina da Biblioteca nacional* (Lisbon, 1927); Tikiri Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594–1612* (Colombo, 1966); see also, most recently, Jorge Manuel Flores, *Os olhos do Rei: Desenhos e descrições portuguesas da Ilha de Ceilão (1624, 1638)* (Lisbon, 2001).

<sup>53</sup> For an overview, see Artur Teodoro de Matos, *O Estado da Índia nos anos de 1581–1588, estrutura administrativa e económica: Alguns elementos para o seu estudo* (Ponta Delgada, 1983). For specific texts, see Artur Teodoro de Matos, ed., *O Tombo de Diu, 1592* (Lisbon, 1999) and *O Tombo de Chaul, 1591–1592* (Lisbon, 2000); also Livia Baptista de Souza Ferrão, “Tenants, Rents and Revenues from Daman in the Late 16th Century,” *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995): 139–148, and Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, ed., *Tombo da ilha de Goa e das terras de Salcête e Bardês* (Bastorá, 1952).

<sup>54</sup> This is not to suggest that the donatary captaincy did not have some institutional roots in Portugal

tions within Asia, and periodically played with the idea of auction-based fiscality. The revenues of customhouses such as those at Goa, Melaka, and Hurmuz were frequently being rented out, as is prominently illustrated by the great “General Auction” (*venda geral*) orchestrated by the viceroy Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo in 1614.<sup>55</sup> Again, this may well reflect the emergence of a set of relatively uniform practices across the Iberian world, and some of the actors were certainly the same (or at least belonged to similar ethnic or familial affiliations), whether one was in Mexico, Lima, Salvador, Luanda, or Goa. The valuable work of James Boyajian, and more recently Nathan Wachtel and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, on the “micro-histories” of New Christian entrepreneurial families brings this out clearly enough.<sup>56</sup>

And yet, to create a single, homogeneous empire out of the two that existed in 1580 eventually proved to be beyond the means of three Philips and their ministers. The most serious attempt in this direction was made by the Count-Duke of Olivares around 1630, and it involved a coming together of the armed forces of the two empires (which in Asia implied the alliance of the Manila government with that of Melaka and Goa against the Dutch in Taiwan and Jakarta); but in Olivares’s more extensive vision, it also involved an institutional *rapprochement* to integrate the two trading systems into one. Although a number of persons, ranging from Duarte Gomes Solis to Ferdinand Cron and Anthony Sherley, seem to have lent cautious support to the latter idea, neither the military nor the commercial unification eventually proved feasible. To what extent these plans of Olivares contributed to the Portuguese revolt and the Restoration of 1640 remains a subject of some debate; but there can be no doubt that they played some part, or at least provided a focus to existing forms of discontent. To those who argued that the two empires were far too integrated by 1620, and this was the real reason for the decline of Portuguese Asia—namely that Portuguese resources were being used to subsidize Spanish ambitions—Olivares might well have retorted that if Spaniards and Portuguese had only been better coordinated, they could have defended themselves better, not only against the Dutch and English, but against other rivals such as Aceh, the Safavids, or even the increasingly belligerent Tokugawa regime in Japan.<sup>57</sup>

But what of the situation beyond the Asian theater—farther west, in West Africa, Brazil, or Spanish America? It has been persuasively argued by some historians of the Iberian Atlantic that relations between the Portuguese and Spanish parts of the

---

itself; on this question, see Harold B. Johnson, “The Donatary Captaincy in Perspective: Portuguese Backgrounds to the Settlement of Brazil,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52, no. 2 (1972): 203–214. On the Portuguese penetration of Angola, see Ilídio do Amaral, *O consulado de Paulo Dias de Novais: Angola no ultimo quartel do século XVI e primeiro do século XVII* (Lisbon, 2000). Paulo Dias received his donatary grant from Dom Sebastião in September 1571.

<sup>55</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Fundo Geral, Codex 1540, 89r–91v, “Relação dos cargos do Estado da Índia que estão vendidos por ordem de Sua Magestade para as despesas do Estado”; António Bocarro, *Década 13 da história da Índia*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1876), 1: 362–366.

<sup>56</sup> See James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Nathan Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir: Labyrinthes marranes* (Paris, 2001); Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal’s Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (New York, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> Duarte Gomes Solis, *Alegación en favor de la Compañía de la India Oriental*, ed. Moses B. Amzalak (Lisbon, 1955); also Solís, *Discursos sobre los comercios de las dos Indias, donde se tratan materias importantes de estado y guerra* (Madrid, 1622). The matter is summed up magisterially in John H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (London, 1986), esp. 143–146.

Habsburg overseas dominions should be divided into two broad phases, with the early 1620s used as a point of demarcation. Prior to this period, Portuguese traders and entrepreneurs (often New Christian converts from Judaism) successfully penetrated Spanish dominions, and "the records of the Spanish archives point to a steady rise in the number of Portuguese active in the [Spanish] Indies, an increase that began in the early sixteenth century and peaked in the 1630s."<sup>58</sup> In other words, here, too, the year 1580 was not necessarily a starting point for a process, although numbers seem to have swelled further thereafter, leading to increasing resentment on the part of Spanish observers, one of whom (the official Pedro de Avedaño Villela) would claim in 1608 that Portuguese penetration of Spanish America was "akin to the squares on a game-board, whose multiplication makes the last square worth twice as much as all the previous ones." In the next decade, Spanish observers in Lima would assert that Portuguese traders had all but established a monopoly in the viceroyalty of Peru, and similarly extravagant claims were made regarding the extent of contraband trade all the way from Mexico to the Río de la Plata. Even if one takes into account the element of exaggeration, it has been suggested by Stuart Schwartz that "the first [period] from 1580 to 1622 is characterized by considerable Portuguese profit as a result of the union."<sup>59</sup> The distribution of this profit sometimes had a more complex logic, as in West Africa, where an alliance arose between Spanish slave traders and local Portuguese settlers in autonomous communities (the so-called *lançados*) to circumvent official Portuguese fiscal claims on the Upper Guinea coast and the Cape Verde Islands. Here, profits were shared, and "penetration" was at least partly in the opposite sense, with the complaints, too, stemming from Portuguese rather than Spanish administrators.<sup>60</sup>

From the 1620s, however, a reversal can be seen in the nature of relations in Iberian America. It was linked to stronger Spanish attempts to control Portuguese contraband, which included impeding the flow of silver into Brazil from the Spanish possessions. The creation of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) in June 1621, at the end of the Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and the Low Countries, also had a severe impact on the Brazilian sugar trade, as a result of raids by the Dutch on Iberian shipping, culminating in their attack on Salvador de Bahia in 1624.<sup>61</sup> In this context, the attachment of the Portuguese possessions to the Spanish Crown suddenly appeared to be a major liability, with the governors of Portugal even asking the Habsburg Crown somewhat sarcastically in 1626 "if the utility of closing commerce to enemies is worth more than the lack of commerce."<sup>62</sup> The accumulating momentum of these tensions would not even be resolved by the eventual recovery

<sup>58</sup> Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea*, 44. The quotation from Villela below comes from the same work, although I have corrected it slightly.

<sup>59</sup> Schwartz, "Luso-Spanish Relations in Hapsburg Brazil," 43. For a summary of much available information on contraband and related questions, see Alice P. Canabrava, *O comércio português no Rio da Prata (1580–1640)* (Belo Horizonte, 1984), and Gonçalo de Reparaz, *Os Portugueses no vice-reinado do Peru (séculos XVI e XVII)* (Lisbon, 1976).

<sup>60</sup> Walter Rodney, "Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1580–1650," *Journal of African History* 6, no. 3 (1965): 307–322.

<sup>61</sup> For a general account, see Henk den Heijer, *De geschiedenis van de WIC* (Zutphen, 1994); also the detailed monograph focused on slave trading by both the WIC and other Dutch actors by Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>62</sup> Cited in Schwartz, "Luso-Spanish Relations in Hapsburg Brazil," 48.



of Salvador; rather, Habsburg demands that the Portuguese possessions pay for their own costs of war against the Dutch would only be exacerbated by clumsy attempts in the 1630s to encourage the immigration of Italians and other non-Portuguese to Brazil, in the hope that they would prove more loyal to Philip IV than the Portuguese settlers there. The downward spiral of disengagement in the Iberian Atlantic began in the late 1620s; it would culminate after 1640 in a “panic in the Indies,” on account of a supposed Portuguese (and especially New Christian) threat to the Spanish possessions.<sup>63</sup>

Thus the Asian and Atlantic experiences of the Iberian empires, while not entirely separate and subject to interesting experiments in cross-fertilization, cannot be treated entirely in similar terms. In the former case, the existence of dense and resilient populations and states with preexistent fiscal practices based on taxation rather than the exploitation of unfree labor meant that even when the Portuguese Empire took a “terrestrial turn,” it was still somewhat distinct from what obtained in Brazil and Spanish America. Nothing resembling a slave-based plantation system emerged in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, or indeed in the wider Indian Ocean, until the later French settlement in Mauritius in the eighteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Further, in those cases in Portuguese Asia where the territorial bases were enlarged, as in the Zambezi Valley in East Africa, a compromise had to be struck with local institutions and practices, so that an institution such as the *prazo* carried with it significant internal variations between western India and Mozambique.<sup>65</sup> That said, however, it is nevertheless important to dissolve the overly sharp distinction that has been drawn between a maritime and trade-based Portuguese Empire and a territorial and tribute-based Spanish Empire. If the case of Brazil (and to some extent Portuguese West Africa) helps us question this neat distinction, we can legitimately ask whether each of these empires was part not just of a “composite monarchy,” but also of a composite politico-fiscal system in a number of other respects.

The conception of a “composite empire” was therefore not an anomalous one, but rather one that the circumstances of the Union of the Crowns in all likelihood imposed. We can discern this in the musings of a number of contemporary writers, including the Englishman Anthony Sherley, who wrote in the 1620s of how the Philips held the “political balance of the entire world (*peso político de todo el mundo*).”<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, “Panic in the Indies: The Portuguese Threat to the Spanish Empire,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, nos. 1–2 (1993): 165–187.

<sup>64</sup> See Megan Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius* (Durham, N.C., 2005). Slavery did, of course, exist in other contexts in the Indian Ocean world of the period; cf. Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster, eds., *Slavery, Bondage and Dependence in Southeast Asia* (St. Lucia, 1983); Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton, eds., *Slavery and South Asian History* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006).

<sup>65</sup> The work of Allen F. Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution—The Zambesi Prazos, 1750–1902* (Madison, Wis., 1972), is unfortunately rather sketchy for the period, and also unconvincing in its use of Portuguese sources. More helpful is Eugénia Rodrigues, “Mercadores, conquistadores e foreiros: A construção dos prazos dos Rios de Cuama na primeira metade do século XVII,” in Jorge Flores and Joaquim Romero Magalhães, eds., *Vasco da Gama: Homens, Viagens e Culturas*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 2001), 1: 443–480.

<sup>66</sup> As Elliott writes, “the Count-Duke [of Olivares] was probably the first ruler of the Spanish Monarchy to think in genuinely global terms, and it is no accident that he should have felt at home with that bold adventurer Anthony Sherley, who would spin the globe with confidence and offer to reveal the secret strengths and weaknesses of every kingdom and sultanate between the Danish Sound and the coast of Malabar”; *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 681. I hope to deal with the fascinating and illuminating career





FIGURE 5: Propaganda work discussing the war that followed on the Portuguese Restoration of 1640. Title page of António Pais Viegas, *Relaçam dos gloriosos succesos, que as armas de . . . D. Joam IV . . . tiverão nas terras de Castella, neste anno de 1644, até a memoravel victoria de Montijo* (Lisbon, 1644).

Further, it can be argued that even before 1580, key processes had been set in motion that made the entanglement of the Spanish and Portuguese empires a fact that statesmen as well as merchants, and even chroniclers, had to take into account. This is not to argue that the two empires ever became entirely indistinguishable, or that the lines of administrative action in the two were wholly enmeshed.<sup>67</sup> Yet the extent of the entanglement can only become clearer as we multiply the objects of our study and move from primarily political and commercial considerations to more cultural and social aspects of this inter-imperial marriage. The many difficulties that were faced after the Portuguese Restoration of 1640, when the House of Braganza seized power over Portugal and its empire, in separating the two spheres and reestablishing—as it were—the Treaty of Tordesillas are a clear reflection of this.<sup>68</sup> Disentangling a congeries of assets and projects that had become thoroughly entwined proved to be no simple matter. Often enough, it is in the divorce proceedings that one learns of the true nature of the marriage.

---

of Sherley elsewhere; see Xavier-A. Flores, *Le "Peso politico de todo el mundo" d'Anthony Sherley, ou un aventurier anglais au service de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1963).

<sup>67</sup> For a valuable account of the functioning of a major Portuguese administrative institution under the Habsburgs, see Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz, *O Conselho da Índia: Contributo ao estudo da história da administração e do comércio do ultramar português nos princípios do século XVII* (Lisbon, 1952).

<sup>68</sup> Rafael Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal: Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica, 1640–1680* (Valladolid, 1998). More specifically on Asia, see Glenn J. Ames, *Renascent Empire? The House of Braganza and the Quest for Stability in Portuguese Monsoon Asia, c.1640–1683* (Amsterdam, 2000).

---

**Sanjay Subrahmanyam** is Professor and Doshi Chair of Indian History in the Department of History, UCLA. His most recent works are *Explorations in Connected History*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 2004), and (with Muzaffar Alam) *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). He is completing a short book titled *Three Ways to Be an Alien*, based on the 2007 Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures in History, to be published by the University Press of New England.

---

## Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public

---

MICHELLE BRATTAIN

IN DECEMBER 1949, WITH THE HOLOCAUST still a raw, immediate memory, an international group of scholars gathered in Paris to author a final authoritative rebuttal to Nazi-style scientific racism. Organized under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the project reflected postwar liberal optimism about the power of internationalism and science itself to prevent human tragedy, as well as a collective sense of remorse. Just thirty years earlier, according to a project director, "Europeans could still regard race prejudice as a phenomenon that only affected areas on the margin of civilization." The war had been "a sudden and rude awakening." Like many contemporary social scientists, the project directors believed that Nazism, and racism more generally, had "thrive[d] on scientifically false ideas and . . . ignorance." Education as a remedy for racism was a liberal article of faith shared by many scientists, as well as many of the American and European functionaries in UNESCO. Charged by the United Nations with creating a "programme of disseminating scientific facts designed to remove . . . racial prejudice," UNESCO leaders proudly, and somewhat naïvely, declared in 1950 that UNESCO now had "the will and the means to make available to everyone the achievements of science."<sup>1</sup> For science, they believed, had already produced the correct antiracist knowledge about race when it traded in the old "scientific racism" of cataloguing, and occasionally fabricating, innate racial differences for a new paradigm emphasizing an environmental and genetic understanding of human variation.<sup>2</sup> Although many scientists remained blind to the subtle racism permeating the

My debts incurred in the course of writing this essay are far too great to acknowledge here, but some are particularly outstanding. A Library Resident Fellowship at the American Philosophical Society Library in 2003 provided invaluable support, and the APS staff were nothing short of remarkable. I am also especially grateful to Mahmoud Ghander at the UNESCO Archives in Paris. My colleagues Denise Davidson, Peter McDade, Christine Skwiot, and Michael Sloan generously read early and long drafts. C. Loring Brace, Krystyn Moon, and Jonathan Prude provided particularly helpful readings. I am also extremely grateful to the readers at the *AHR* for their careful reading, generous comments, and extraordinarily helpful suggestions. Above all, I would like to thank Andrew Milne for countless readings, insightful criticism, and everything else, too.

<sup>1</sup> "Background Paper 104," July 19, 1950 (first 2 quotations), 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris, France [hereafter UNESCO Papers]. UNESCO's papers are organized by file numbers rather than boxes. File 323.12 A 102, "Statement on Race," covers all the documents associated with the statement and cited in this essay, which are subdivided into folders by date. UNESCO, *The Race Concept: Results of an Inquiry* (Paris, 1952), 6 (third quotation); "UNESCO and Its Programme: The Race Question," pamphlet (Paris, 1950), 2–3 (fourth quotation).

<sup>2</sup> "Scientific racism" refers to a particular scientific tradition associated with typological and hierarchical approaches typical of nineteenth-century physical anthropology. In noting a shift away from

predominantly Western scientific establishment, a large number were newly committed to “breaking the bioscientific tie of race, blood, and culture” that had enabled wartime genocide and now threatened postwar unity.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, the first project assembled experts in Paris to “define the concept of race” itself. The resulting statement went so far as to declare that race was more “social myth” than “biological fact,” and the term might be dispensed with altogether.<sup>4</sup>

But the statement project, which involved more than one hundred scientists directly and many more indirectly, as well as various diplomats and UN member states, soon became mired in transnational scientific and political controversies and ultimately, and perhaps predictably, fell short of its ambitious goals. Project directors discovered that little consensus existed beyond agreement about the wrongness of Nazism, and scholars who had begun to challenge the scientific basis of the race

---

scientific racism, I am not in any way suggesting that racism was somehow removed from science. Indeed, I argue precisely the opposite below. However, there was a qualitative change in the way that anthropologists, sociologists, biologists, and geneticists looked at human variation after World War I, which became the dominant view in the interwar period. In the social sciences, there was a greater emphasis on environment as a cause of human variation, intergroup relations, and prejudice. In the biological sciences, scholarship shifted toward a more complex understanding of human inheritance rooted in population genetics. Although some scholars continued to promote a biologically determinist, hierarchical understanding of race, they moved from the center to the margins of academic communities. On these intellectual shifts, see George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1982); Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (Hamden, Conn., 1982); Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars* (Cambridge, 1992); Donna Haraway, “Remodeling the Human Way of Life: Sherwood Washburn and the New Physical Anthropology, 1950–1980,” in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology* (Chicago, 1988), 206–259; Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); Philip Gleason, “Americans All: World War II and the Shaping of American Identity,” *Review of Politics* 43 (1981): 483–518; Carl Degler, *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought* (New York, 1991), 187–211. On the persistence of scientific racism, see William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Urbana, Ill., 1994); I. A. Newby, *Challenge to the Court: Social Scientists and the Defense of Segregation, 1954–1966*, 2nd ed. (Baton Rouge, La., 1969); Barry Mehler, “Beyondism: Raymond B. Cattell and the New Eugenics,” *Genetica* 99, no. 2/3 (1997): 153–164; Russell Jacoby and Naomi Glauberman, *The Bell Curve Debate: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York, 1995); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1981); John P. Jackson, Jr., *Science for Segregation: Race, Law, and the Case against Brown v. Board of Education* (New York, 2005); William H. Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund* (Urbana, Ill., 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Donna Haraway, “Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture: It’s All in the Family—Biological Kinship Categories in the Twentieth-Century United States,” in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York, 1996), 344.

<sup>4</sup> Although many activists attempted (unsuccessfully) to pressure the UN to address racism within its human rights mission, UNESCO did not acknowledge any such influences. It linked the origin of the statement project to a request from the UN Economic and Social Council and the UNESCO leadership’s desire to complete a similar, but aborted, 1934 project by the League of Nations’ counterpart to UNESCO. “Action by UNESCO,” in UNESCO, *The Race Question in Modern Science: Race and Science* (New York, 1961), 493–494. In the United States, Gunnar Myrdal’s *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944) popularized a psychological and moral interpretation of prejudice and encouraged an emphasis on education, but not all social scientists agreed, as discussed below. During and immediately after the war, however, many activist scholars gravitated toward education even if they had doubts about its effectiveness. Walter A. Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America’s Conscience: Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938–1987* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); John P. Jackson, Jr., “Blind Law and Powerless Science: The American Jewish Congress, the NAACP and the Scientific Case against Discrimination,” *Isis* 91, no. 1 (March 2000): 89–116; Stuart Svonkin, *Jews against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties* (New York, 1997). Final quotations from Introduction and “Statement of 1950,” in UNESCO, *The Race Question in Modern Science*, 494, 499.

concept itself proved to be in an increasingly embattled minority. Within a year, scholarly criticism forced UNESCO to assemble a second gathering to rewrite the statement. Although a majority of scientists had rejected the premises of scientific racism some years earlier, the second statement project revealed how much the categories, premises, empirical records, and authority of an older, supposedly discredited body of work once dedicated to measuring difference continued to influence the science of race. Most postwar scientists favored dissemination of a more politically and scientifically palatable definition of race, and few could be fairly described as “racist” by postwar standards. In the end, however, most proved unwilling to question the validity of race as a natural category. The second statement recanted the first group’s social constructivist position, returned to a biological definition of race, and, significantly, also affirmed older scientific traditions (and languages) by noting differences between “non-literate” and “more civilized” people on intelligence tests.<sup>5</sup> Although the final statement was clearly a rebuttal to a certain style of scientific racism, it was not the straightforward repudiation of racial thinking that UNESCO planners had initially envisioned.

UNESCO’s project presents an interesting and revealing case study in the history of race, racism, and antiracism, and an ideal place to engage criticism about how this history is, and should be, done. Scholars are now beginning to challenge historians to move beyond the insight—and, some lament, now largely ceremonial observation—that race is a social construction to do the neglected work of historicizing race and racism. As Thomas Holt has observed, there is a tendency to treat racism either as a unified, timeless, autonomous phenomenon attributed to human nature or as simply ignorance of some truth about what race really is.<sup>6</sup> UNESCO contributors, who typically subscribed to the latter approach, went forward to create a new, and newly flawed, social construction. Even less historical attention has been given to historicizing antiracism, although as UNESCO’s project shows, movements to dislodge racism are equally contingent, opportunistic, political, and grounded in the same social formations as racism itself.<sup>7</sup> Understanding how race was reconstituted as a biological deterministic entity, at a time when scholars were united against Nazi-style scientific racism and the nonacademic world seemed unusually receptive to antiracism and the authority of science, is essential to postwar historiography. But in a more general sense, the UNESCO story also provides an opportunity to explore the essential relationship between the race concept and racism, a problem, as Barbara J. Fields warns, that historians ignore at the risk of reifying the very thing they hope to reveal as an ideological construct. We now have a rich literature that exposes

<sup>5</sup> “Statement of 1951,” in UNESCO, *The Race Question in Modern Science*, 504.

<sup>6</sup> Barbara J. Fields argues that many scholars explicitly identify race as a social construction but reify the concept by invoking it as “both a coherent analytical category and a valid empirical datum.” Fields, “Of Rogues and Geldings,” *American Historical Review* 108, no. 5 (December 2003): 1397–1405, quotation 1399. See also Fields, “Whiteness, Racism and Identity,” *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 (2001): 48–56; Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 18–19.

<sup>7</sup> Notable exceptions include Holt, *The Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century*; Alana Lentin, “Racial States, Anti-Racist Responses: Picking Holes in ‘Culture’ and ‘Human Rights,’” *European Journal of Social Theory* 7, no. 4 (2004): 427–443; Alastair Bonnett, *Anti-Racism* (London, 2000); Richard H. King, *Race, Culture, and the Intellectuals, 1940–1970* (Washington, D.C., 2004); Jenny Reardon, *Race to the Finish: Identity and Governance in an Age of Genomics* (Princeton, N.J., 2005), 17–44.



and interrogates political and cultural practices of racism—including white supremacy, anti-miscegenation laws, segregation, and the construction of particular racial identities such as whiteness, the Irish, the Mediterranean, or the Negro—but few of these works examine the historical nature of the race concept(s) that gave these particular practices their form.<sup>8</sup> The history of race science represents a notable exception, but there the evolution of scholarly race concepts is rarely considered in relation to popular consumption of ideas about biology, inheritance, and innateness.<sup>9</sup> In other words, while we know that races mattered, we seldom ask what historical actors believed race was, and how that notion permitted racist practices. This is especially true in the history of the late twentieth century, when ideas about human variation more closely resembled those common today. But simply documenting archaic uses of race does not represent a full embrace of the implications of thinking of race as a social construction unless we also consider, carefully and critically, the implications of how we treat race in our own historical work. Here the race statement project offers a useful allegory about the shortcomings of simply exposing the “errors” of past usages of the concept without considering the nature and deployment of the concept itself both in the past and in our own thinking.

Although the UNESCO statements have often been cited as evidence of just how influential the new universalist, antiracist consensus had become in the postwar life sciences, the legacy of this “improved” science was ambiguous.<sup>10</sup> What actually seems

<sup>8</sup> The literature on the social construction of race and racial identity is voluminous and continues to grow, making it difficult and perhaps risky to generalize. Matthew Frye Jacobson and George Fredrickson, for example, regularly draw out links between cultural practices and ideas about human variation. Holt also examines the fallacies about race and biology inherent in twentieth-century racism. I think it is fair to say, however, that most recent historical attention has been directed toward the cultural, political, and economic aspects of race, even if biological ideas occasionally play a supporting role. Some notable examples of this literature include Barbara J. Fields, “Ideology and Race in American History,” in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (New York, 1982), 143–177; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” *Signs* 17 (Winter 1992): 251–274; David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991); Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York, 1998); Ian F. Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York, 1996); Peggy Pascoe, “Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of ‘Race’ in Twentieth-Century America,” *Journal of American History* 83, no. 1 (1996): 44–69; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Henry Yu, *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (Oxford, 2001); George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, N.J., 2002).

<sup>9</sup> In the history of science, in addition to the works cited above in note 2, see Joseph L. Graves, *The Emperor’s New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2001); C. Loring Brace, *“Race” Is a Four-Letter Word: The Genesis of the Concept* (New York, 2005); Alice Littlefield, Leonard Lieberman, and Larry T. Reynolds, “Redefining Race: The Potential Demise of a Concept in Physical Anthropology,” *Current Anthropology* 23, no. 6 (December 1982): 641–655; Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York, 1989); Melbourne Tapper, “An ‘Anthropology’ of the ‘American Negro’: Anthropology, Genetics, and the New Racial Science, 1940–1952,” *Social History of Medicine* 10, no. 2 (1997): 263–289; Alexander Alland, *Race in Mind: Race, IQ, and Other Racisms* (New York, 2002); Reardon, *Race to the Finish*.

<sup>10</sup> On the significance of UNESCO as an indication of changes in ideas about race, see Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 341–343; Elazar Barkan, “The Politics of the Science of Race: Ashley Montagu and UNESCO’s Anti-Racist Declarations,” in Larry T. Reynolds and Leonard Lieberman, eds., *Race and Other Misadventures: Essays in Honor of Ashley Montagu in His Ninetieth Year* (Dix Hall, N.Y., 1996), 96–105; Haraway, “Universal Donors,” 344; Graves, *The Emperor’s New Clothes*, 150–151; Robert Proctor, “Three Roots of Human Recency: Molecular Anthropology, the Refigured Acheulean, and the UNESCO Response to Auschwitz,” *Current Anthropology* 44 (2003): 213–239; Neil MacMaster, *Racism in Europe, 1870–2000* (New York, 2001), 171; Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, 172–176. More re-

to have replaced scientific racism was a stalemate over what had become the default assumption, or null hypothesis, about racial differences. In spite of the inherent difficulty of interpreting alleged racial differences, the vexed nature of existing evidence, and the slipperiness of the race category itself, the majority of academic participants nevertheless presupposed that race and racial differences existed. As a result, the debate replicated the logical structure of the most elementary experimental trials, where one claim assumed the status of the “null” hypothesis—the claim by default assumed to be true—and the burden of evidence fell exclusively on those who advocated an “alternative” hypothesis.<sup>11</sup> This epistemological dynamic reproduced the limitations of the collective scientific imagination at that moment, precluded a more profound reassessment of the race concept, and inadvertently reconstructed an intellectual space for thinking of race as a legitimate and determinist category of human variation. As Fields recently observed, “the first principle of racism is belief in race.” By preserving essential elements of the race concept, postwar antiracism played an important, if unintentional, role in facilitating a highly resistant form of popular racism. Although the evidence considered here is confined largely to the United States and is admittedly limited, it suggests that the many “publics” addressed by UNESCO were an equally important vector in the historical process of synthesizing old and new forms of race and racism into the dominant public discourse. By the end of the decade, scientific racism had reemerged in public discourse as academic and nonacademic proponents seized upon the scientifically validated notion of innate biological differences between races to argue against racial equality. If, as Etienne Balibar has argued, racist ideologies succeed by providing “immediately intelligible . . . interpretive keys” to the masses, the UNESCO project revealed many antiracists and racists to be sharing the same keys.<sup>12</sup>

BEFORE THE WAR, WHILE MOST SCIENTISTS regarded Nazi scientific racism as “mere nonsense,” few were willing to speak out against it publicly. Many scientists in the United States and Britain, for example, had long believed that public advocacy on controversial political issues was incompatible with the “objectivity” assumed to be the hallmark of scientific practice.<sup>13</sup> When Columbia University anthropologist and

---

cently, Reardon has argued that the UNESCO statement did not represent a clean break from typology, as debates about the appropriateness of racial classification continued. Reardon, *Race to the Finish*, 34–35.

<sup>11</sup> The null hypothesis is a concept used in statistics, usually in contrast to an “experimental” or “alternative” hypothesis. For example, in a test of a drug’s effectiveness, the drug might be administered to one group, and a placebo administered to another control group. The null hypothesis would be that there is no difference between the effect of the drug and the placebo, and the alternative hypothesis would be that the drug has a significant effect not observed in the control group. What is important here is that the null hypothesis is the claim assumed to be true at the outset of an inquiry. This is discussed in more detail below.

<sup>12</sup> Fields, “Of Rogues and Geldings,” 1405; Etienne Balibar, “Is There a ‘Neo-Racism?’” in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London, 1991), 19.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 293–299; Elazar Barkan, “Mobilizing Scientists against Nazi Racism, 1933–1939,” in Stocking, *Bones, Bodies, Behavior*, 180–205; Robert Proctor, “Nazi Medicine and the Politics of Knowledge,” in Sandra Harding, ed., *The Racial Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), 344–358; Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America’s Conscience*, 114–115; Mark Smith,

well-known antiracist activist Franz Boas attempted to organize a “Scientist’s Manifesto” against Nazism in the 1930s, he found scholars more willing to denounce violations of academic freedom than the content of Nazi ideology. By the time war broke out in Europe, a prominent American physical anthropologist declared it too late: “Not only has the horse been stolen, but the barn has also been burned.” For antiracist activists such as Boas, however, the need for a scholarly answer to Nazism remained vital.<sup>14</sup> Even if most scientists no longer subscribed to a hierarchy of races, that did not, in Boas’s words, “mean that in the general attitude of the American people the question [was] dead.” Although World War II ushered in some positive developments in race relations, it was also, as Gary Gerstle has argued, a “race war.” The incarceration of Japanese Americans, bitterly racist propaganda in the Pacific, segregation in the armed forces, race riots, and hate strikes revealed the tenacity of racism. The ideology behind racism, when explicitly expressed, most frequently took the form of “white” beliefs about the innate inferiority of people of African descent. A 1939 national survey of Americans, for example, revealed that 71 percent of “white” respondents believed that “Negroes” were inferior in intelligence. Antiracist scholars frequently attributed such beliefs to “widespread ignorance,” and Boas, whose own books were burned in Nazi Germany, therefore became a major proponent of popular writing to combat racism. Although he occasionally worried that “only people who agree will read it,” most mid-century activists assumed that education was the “basic means of gaining leverage in the fight against . . . bigotry.”<sup>15</sup>

Part of what scientists were forced to address was their own community’s responsibility for creating rationalizations for racism and for the lag in teaching what they embraced as more enlightened views. A 1939 study revealed that two-thirds of typical American public school and university textbooks “misuse[d] the concept of ‘race,’” and 20 percent taught “what amounts to Nazi doctrines about superior and inferior races.” The belief in racial differences in intelligence, for example, had once been a matter of “fact” in science. But the studies and data that purportedly demonstrated these differences, particularly the army’s notorious World War I pre-induction IQ tests, had been widely discredited among research scholars. By the interwar period, most scholars had embraced an environmental explanation of racial differences in test performance. Many textbooks nevertheless asserted a direct causal connection between race and mental traits. One 1938 text declared, “each race thinks very differently from all other races. That is why the Eastern (Oriental) and the Western (Occidental) peoples find it difficult to understand each other.” A 1940 survey of sociology textbooks discovered that many were applying the term “race” in a manner reminiscent of Madison Grant circa 1916, referring to Anglo-Saxons,

---

*Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose, 1918–1941* (Durham, N.C., 1994); John P. Jackson, Jr., “Creating a Consensus: Psychologists, the Supreme Court, and School Desegregation, 1952–1955,” *Journal of Social Issues* 54, no. 1 (1998): 143–177.

<sup>14</sup> Barkan, “Mobilizing Scientists against Nazi Racism,” 180–205. That anthropologist was Earnest A. Hooton, as quoted on 203.

<sup>15</sup> Boas as quoted in *ibid.*, 203; Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 203–220; Roper Survey cited in Mildred A. Schwartz, *Trends in White Attitudes toward Negroes* (Chicago, 1967), 19; Boas quoted in the *New York Times*, July 17, 1939. Final quote from Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America’s Conscience*, 280. On antiracist propaganda during World War II, see Svonkin, *Jews against Prejudice*, 41–49.

aliens, Negroes, Jews, and Canadians as races. The contemporary entry on "Races" in *Encyclopedia Americana*, one American geneticist commented, "could have been written by Dr. Goebbels."<sup>16</sup>

Even the war emergency did little to disseminate new ideas about race. In 1941, the American Red Cross segregated blood plasma donations by race in deference to American "tradition," a medically senseless practice that also informed the blood donation policy of the Nazis.<sup>17</sup> A 1943 cartoon-illustrated pamphlet, *The Races of Mankind*, authored by two Columbia University anthropologists who had picked up "the banner on the race question" after the death of Boas in 1942, was investigated by the House Military Affairs Committee as "propaganda" and subsequently banned by the USO and the U.S. War Department, then destroyed. Its "propaganda" consisted of the observation that northern "Negroes" scored higher than southern "whites" on IQ tests, indicating that environment influenced intelligence.<sup>18</sup> The war-time international discourse about "half-breed" children of soldiers likewise suggested that a bias against interracial sex survived on both sides of the Atlantic, even though scientists had long since ceased to believe that interracial sex was "unnatural" or that mixed-race children were defective.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> "Charge School Texts Teach Misleading Nazi Doctrines," *Science News Letter* 36 (September 9, 1939): 171. Prior claims about racial intelligence were based on the World War I army tests administered to 1.75 million GIs. Psychologists initially claimed that the tests demonstrated racial differences in mental ability, but the results soon bolstered a non-hereditarian view of intelligence among scholars, as differences correlating with economic backgrounds, language, and region provided strong evidence for the role of environment. For contemporary criticism, see F. L. Marcuse and M. E. Bitterman, "Notes on the Results of Army Intelligence Testing in World War I," *Science* 104 (September 6, 1946): 231–232; Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences* (New York, 1935). See also Daniel J. Kevles, "Testing the Army's Intelligence: Psychologists and the Military in World War I," *Journal of American History* 55 (December 1968): 565–581; Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 224–233; Brewton Berry, "The Concept of Race in Sociology Textbooks," *Social Forces* 18 (March 1940): 413; Theodosius Dobzhansky to L. C. Dunn, March 10, 1947, Series I, Box 6, Dobzhansky Correspondence, 1946–47, L. C. Dunn Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa. [hereafter Dunn Papers].

<sup>17</sup> "Actions Lie Louder Than Words: Red Cross's Policy with Regard to Its Blood Bank," *Commonweal* 35 (February 13, 1942): 404–405. On the Red Cross, see S. Sloan Colt to Ernest Alexander, December 30, 1941, and Walter White to Henry Stimson, December 30, 1941, Box A15, Group II, American Red Cross Blood Donor Refusals, 1941–43, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [hereafter NAACP Papers]; "Science News in Review," *New York Times*, June 14, 1942; "Red Cross to Use Blood of Negroes," *New York Times*, January 29, 1942. For the contemporary science on blood, see Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, *Race: Science and Politics* (New York, 1945), 174–175; Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942; repr., Walnut Creek, Calif., 1997), 359–368; Melbourne Tapper, *In the Blood: Sickle Cell Anemia and the Politics of Race* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1999). On the cultural and legal use of "blood," see Eva Saks, "Representing Miscegenation Law," *Raritan* 8 (Fall 1988): 24–44; Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law," 44–69; Lopez, *White by Law*; Virginia Domínguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986).

<sup>18</sup> R. A. Pathe, "Gene Weltfish," in Ute Gacs et al., eds., *Women Anthropologists: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York, 1988), 375; Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, *Races of Mankind*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85 (New York, 1943), Box A 465, Group II, Pamphlets—Non NAACP, Races of Mankind, NAACP Papers; *The Races of Mankind*, Special Committee on Military Affairs, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., Investigations of the National War Effort Pursuant to H. Res. 30 (Committee Print, 1944); "Races of Mankind: Campaign against the Benedict Pamphlet," *Commonweal*, March 17, 1944, 352; "Army Drops Race Equality Book," *New York Times*, March 6, 1944, 1.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Masurao Hosokawa to "Christian Friends in America," n.d., Box A 642, Group II, U.S. Army Brown Babies Born in Europe, 1945–1949, NAACP Papers; Harold A. Moody, article from "The World's Children," March 1946, reprinted in Sylvia McNeill, *Illegitimate Children Born in Britain of English Mothers and Coloured Americans: Report of a Survey* (London, n.d.), original pamphlet, *ibid.*; John Otto Reinemann, "The Mulatto Children in Germany," *Mental Hygiene* 37 (July 1953): 367; Yara-Colette Lemke Muniz de Faria, "Germany's 'Brown Babies' Must be Helped! Will You? U.S. Adoption Plans for Afro-German Children, 1950–1955," *Callaloo* 26 (2003): 342–362. On the scientific debate



The distance between academic science and public discourse on race had already convinced some scholars of the need to break the nonacademic public's habit of using the term altogether. In 1935, British biologists Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon argued in their popular book *We Europeans: A Survey of "Racial" Problems* that "with respect to existing populations, the word 'race' should be banished, and the descriptive and non-committal term *ethnic groups* should be substituted." In the United States, anthropologist Ashley Montagu argued against use of the term in any context. In 1941, Montagu "shocked his colleagues" at the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA) annual meeting by declaring "the whole concept of race to be 'utterly erroneous and meaningless.'"<sup>20</sup> His *Man's Most Dangerous Myth*, an introductory text written for a popular audience and a bestseller in 1942, attempted to disabuse the public of the validity of "race" itself. When, eight years later, the first UNESCO race statement made the controversial claim that race was merely a "social myth," it was largely because of Montagu, whose renown as a public expert on race ensured his placement and prominence on the UNESCO panel.<sup>21</sup>

A precocious young scholar born in Britain and trained in the United States under Ruth Benedict and Franz Boas, Montagu had early established himself as a non-conformist in the generally conservative field of physical anthropology. Although red-baiting later forced him out of the academy, in the early 1940s Montagu participated in several prominent scholarly debates about race. He often did so with little humility and, probably as a result, little effect. A 1943 letter of recommendation, for example, described Montagu as "one of the most versatile and brilliant younger men in American anthropology today" but "not always the most tactful person . . . [with] considerable facility in annoying people." After the 1941 AAPA convention, anthropologist Ales Hrdlicka remarked that "if all the anthropologists agreed with Montagu and dropped the word race from their vocabulary today, he would be back tomorrow to claim that it was a good word and try to get it reinstated." His reputation as someone unable to "cooperate without contention," in fact, got him barred from the AAPA committee on race relations in spite of his expertise.<sup>22</sup>

In the history of science, the rejection of the first UNESCO statement has often been attributed to Montagu's political zealousness and his refusal to adhere to received wisdom in science, but Montagu believed that his arguments were grounded in contemporary science and a critique of physical anthropology. As a regular reader of and correspondent with anthropologists, sociologists, biologists, psychologists, zo-

---

about mixed-race children, see Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York, 1985), 75; Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 168.

<sup>20</sup> Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon, *We Europeans: A Survey of "Racial" Problems* (London, 1935), 7–8; "Anthropologists," *Time*, April 21, 1941, 58 (second quotation), clipping in subject files, Anthropology, Series IV, Box IV-5, Ashley Montagu Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa. [hereafter Montagu Papers].

<sup>21</sup> Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 192; John P. Jackson, Jr., and Nadine M. Weidman, *Race, Racism, and Science: Social Impact and Interaction* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2004), 198.

<sup>22</sup> Clyde Kluckhohn to Prof. Carl Joslyn, May 7, 1943 [cc'd to Montagu], Corresp. KEA-Kol, "Kluckhohn, Clyde," Montagu Papers; Ales Hrdlicka as quoted in "Anthropologists," *Time*, April 21, 1941. On the AAPA committee, see Montagu to William Gregory [Pres. AAPA], June 26, 1942, and Gregory to Montagu, July 1, 1942, both in Corresp. GOR-GU, I-18, "Gregory, William K.," Montagu Papers. See also Andrew P. Lyons, "The Neotenic Career of M. F. Ashley Montagu," in Reynolds and Lieberman, *Race and Other Misadventures*, 3–22.



ologists, and geneticists, he attempted to address the interdisciplinary community of scholars whose work considered race.<sup>23</sup> In Montagu's view, anthropologists had been laboring for a century to "squeeze mankind into races according to complexion and other superficial traits" while taking "completely for granted the one thing which they were attempting to prove, namely the existence of human 'races.'" Anthropology had long treated race as phenotype (physical appearance), as though observable features corresponded to some deep, consistent, organic unity within groups. Montagu parodied this method as "averaging the characters of a given group . . . giving them a good stirring and then serving the resulting omelet as a 'race.'" Race, however, existed only in "the statistical frying pan," cooked up in "the heat of the anthropological imagination."<sup>24</sup> Lending credence to Montagu's charge that classification was little more than a "parlor game," anthropologists' method for addressing irregularities in classification schemes had traditionally been to invent more. By 1950, the number of races recognized by anthropologists ranged from four to thirty.<sup>25</sup>

While many anthropologists addressed the race problem by turning to "culturalist" understandings of difference, Montagu looked to genetics. In a 1942 *American Anthropologist* article, he urged anthropologists to embrace the "new genetic synthesis," a statistical and genetic approach to human variation that had begun to undermine the old typological categories in biology by the 1930s and would inform the growth of population genetics in the 1950s. Genetics offered anthropologists a way out of descriptive dead-ends, Montagu argued, by providing an account of people as dynamic populations that incorporated mutations, passed them down, and over time manifested superficial differences in appearance. Genetics also suggested the folly of classification based on phenotype, since "race" traits accounted for "probably no more than one per cent" of the total genetic composition of human beings. Race became "static and classifiable only when a taxonomically minded anthropologist arbitrarily delimits the process of change at his own time level." Thus Montagu also defined race as a *historical* construction, a conceptual snapshot taken at a particular moment by anthropologists. Since "race" preserved the pejorative implications of Victorian scientific racism, Montagu advocated not only a reconceptualization, but a renaming. *Man's Most Dangerous Myth* conceded that some groups were "physically sufficiently distinguishable from one another" to be classified in some way, but he recommended that it was preferable "to speak of [them] . . . as *major groups* rather than as *races*, and to speak of the varieties of men which enter into the formation of these major groups as *ethnic groups*." The choice of terms was "purely arbitrary," he admitted to a fellow anthropologist, but he explained the logic this way: "*race* evoked a pattern of thought, *ethnic group* stimulated inquiry and a new trend of thought."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Barkan, "The Politics of the Science of Race," 96–105. As Barkan notes, there was no one field of "race" studies. Although scholars in several disciplines addressed race, it was not central to any disciplinary canon. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 4–5.

<sup>24</sup> Ashley Montagu, "The Genetical Theory of Race and Anthropological Method," *American Anthropologist* 44 (July–September 1942): 369–375, quotation 370; Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1952), omelet quotations 37–38.

<sup>25</sup> For example, Montagu's four major groups and the thirty postulated in Carleton S. Coon, Stanley M. Garn, and Joseph B. Birdsell, *Races: A Study of the Problems of Race Formation in Man* (Springfield, Ill., 1950). "Parlor game" from Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth*, 36.

<sup>26</sup> Montagu, "The Genetical Theory of Race," 374, 372 (first two quotations); Montagu, *Man's Most*

Although many colleagues appreciated the significance of Montagu's insights, few drew the same conclusions. Columbia University geneticist Theodosius Dobzhansky, an occasional collaborator whose own work advocated a similarly genetic conception of race, informed Montagu that although he admired his book, he could not "subscribe to your campaign against the existence of races and for the ethnic groups or divisions or whatever you want to call them." It was not "race" but racism that was the problem, Dobzhansky argued, using a made-up nonsensical phrase to illustrate his point. Scientists could claim that they had proved "the non-existence of races but demonstrated the existence of several glof glubs," but from there it would be a short step to "glof glub discrimination, glof glub pride, and glof glub conflicts." Geneticist J. H. McGregor explained to Montagu that although he disliked "the idea of 'higher' and 'lower' groups or any hierarchy, and 'master race' stuff as much as you do," he still suspected that race might correlate with "innate difference in temperament and aptitudes." Moreover, McGregor agreed with Dobzhansky that if "ethnic group" replaced "race," "it would soon come to be as badly misused." Zoologist Ernst Mayr was more sympathetic, but recommended that another term be used, such as "section, division, series, set, array, [or] group." Almost any term, he warned, like race "has already some other meaning in the language of ordinary life." Mayr's preferred term was "subspecies," the "beauty" of which was that it would have "only the meaning . . . given to it by those who have first defined it." However, he doubted that Montagu "could get away with . . . such an artificial term" in physical anthropology.<sup>27</sup>

NAZISM DID NOT RESOLVE SCHOLARLY DIFFERENCES OF OPINION about how to deal with "race," but it did make the refutation of racism a "legitimate intellectual stance." The 1950 Statement on Race marked a minor revolution in ideas about the proper role of science.<sup>28</sup> Applying science to refute the most common fallacies of racism, the statement declared that "all men belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*"; so-called intelligence tests provided no basis for believing in inborn differences in intelligence, temperament, personality or character; and, finally, no biological justification existed for prohibiting intermarriage. Although the statement indirectly addressed Nazism and antisemitism by declaring that national, religious, and linguistic groups were not races, UNESCO, like many contemporary social scientists, "made no distinction" between different forms of racism. Visible differences could be attributed to heredity, the statement acknowledged, but it explained that those

*Dangerous Myth*, 5 (third and fourth quotations); emphasis in original. Final quotation of Montagu as paraphrased in Wilton Krogman to Ashley Montagu, December 6, 1950, Corresp. KON-KU, I-22, "Krogman, Wilton M.," Montagu Papers; emphasis in original.

<sup>27</sup> L. C. Dunn and Theodosius Dobzhansky, *Heredity, Race and Society* (New York, 1946); Dobzhansky to Ashley Montagu, May 22, 1944, and J. H. McGregor to Montagu, March 1, 1943, Corresp. Dobzhansky, Montagu Papers; Ernst Mayr to Montagu, April 2, 1943, Corresp. Mai-Mea, "Mayr, Ernst," Montagu Papers.

<sup>28</sup> Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 345. The committee included Ernest Beaglehole, New Zealand; Juan Comas, Mexico; L. A. Costa Pinto, Brazil; E. Franklin Frazier, United States; Morris Ginsberg, United Kingdom; Humayun Kabir, India; Claude Lévi-Strauss, France; and Ashley Montagu, United States. UNESCO correspondence did not indicate the process for selection of these scholars. It is notable, however, given criticism of the subsequent committee, that the first was more diverse.

genes were few when compared to the “whole genetic constitution of man and to the vast number of genes common to all human beings.” The most controversial passages appeared in the last points: “‘race’ is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth”; and finally, “biological studies” revealed a natural drive among *Homo sapiens* “toward cooperation.” Both assertions bore the imprint of Montagu, who served as rapporteur and principal editor.<sup>29</sup> The second claim echoed Montagu’s 1949 book *On Being Human*, which further challenged the premises of Nazism by attempting, although not very successfully in the eyes of his peers, to refute the old Social Darwinian saw about an innate drive toward racial competition.

The first UNESCO statement was but one of several mutually reinforcing anti-racist discourses that emerged in the years immediately after World War II. As Penny Von Eschen has shown, a renewed appreciation of nonwhite peoples’ shared experiences of oppression under state regimes defined by race led to the development of an international, anticolonial, antiracist movement. In the United States, this international perspective briefly eclipsed traditional political divisions within the Negro community and united conservative and left-wing rivals behind an international antiracism defined as human rights. As Nikhil Pal Singh argues, this notion of a transnational racial belongingness temporarily elevated a persistent but frequently submerged strand of American thought to the forefront of antiracism in the 1940s. Such coalitions pressured United Nations founders to make the UN an effective instrument of antiracism, accessible to people unrepresented by member nations and empowered to remedy human rights abuses. In the same years, a domestic antiracist discourse emerged in the American Intergroup Relations movement, a diverse coalition of religious, civic, labor, and civil rights organizations and social scientists that publicly targeted racism through propaganda in radio, television, and print advertising. The focus of that movement, evident in the name, was less the concept of race per se than a continuation of wartime efforts to eliminate racial tensions and conflict.<sup>30</sup>

The critical mass implied by this confluence of antiracist dialogues lends support to Howard Winant’s observation that World War II represented a “‘break’ in the worldwide racial system,” and yet each faced considerable challenges as the postwar era rapidly transformed into the Cold War era. The UN’s ability to serve as a higher authority in domestic and international racial affairs foundered as human rights issues became entangled in the American-Soviet rivalry, and the demand for human rights itself became tainted in the West as an issue associated with the Soviets and communism. Although Soviet criticism of U.S. civil rights failures provided activists with new political capital, domestic anticommunism also imposed a kind of self-censorship. After 1948, mainstream organizations such as the NAACP “cracked under the pressure and started a slow and steady retreat from the issues of human rights and decolonization,” narrowing the conception of antiracist advocacy to a demand

<sup>29</sup> “Statement of 1950,” in UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 496–501, quotations 30, 501; Reardon, *Race to the Finish*, 25–26.

<sup>30</sup> Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), 69–95; Carol Anderson, “From Hope to Disillusion: African Americans, the United Nations, and the Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1947,” *Diplomatic History* 20, no. 4 (Fall 1996): 531–563; Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 214–224. Although intergroup materials more frequently stressed conflict reduction, one film, *Brotherhood of Man* (1946), produced for the United Auto Workers, adapted material from the wartime pamphlet *The Races of Mankind*; Svonkin, *Jews against Prejudice*, 41–62.

for domestic civil rights. Previously progressive organizations such as the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the American Jewish Committee (AJC) abandoned ties to left-wing antiracist collaborators. By 1950, when UNESCO issued its first statement, the Cold War and anticommunism had considerably muted many of the antiracist discourses that had once had the potential to transcend national traditions and politics.<sup>31</sup>

The academic nature of the statement project initially insulated participants from such external, politicized scrutiny, but Montagu's draft faced an exacting peer review.<sup>32</sup> While the reviewers were all ostensibly antiracist, their criticisms fell into three basic and sometimes overlapping camps, which echoed responses to Montagu's criticism of the race concept in the early 1940s. The largest number, "agnostics," continued to think that race might correspond to genuine innate differences.<sup>33</sup> Even psychologist Otto Klineberg, for example, known for his exposés of the fallacies of intelligence testing, objected to the draft's claim that there were no "inborn psychological differences between racial groups," calling it "premature." "Pessimists," such as Dobzhansky, doubted the utility and intellectual honesty of eliminating the term. A third group, "enablers," espoused scientific views that provided substantial support for the most common racist stereotypes, but included many antiracists such as Julian Huxley. Huxley suggested that the statement begin by "facing the facts" of the "very considerable distinctness" of racial groups and the likelihood that physical differences would be associated with genetic determinants of "temperament and personality." Huxley referred to "rhythm-loving" in the Negro and the "shut-in temperament of many Amerindian groups" as race traits that might be genetic in origin.<sup>34</sup> Nearly all reviewers suggested that the draft statement went too far in its attempt to undermine notions of racial difference. Montagu conceded that the state-

<sup>31</sup> Howard Winant, *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice* (Minneapolis, 2004), xiii; Anderson, "From Hope to Disillusion," 563. On the interplay between the Cold War and American civil rights, see also Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War, Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Carol Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (New York, 2003); and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1233–1263. On the CIO, see Robert H. Zieger, *The CIO, 1935–1955* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997); Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor* (Princeton, N.J., 2003), 114–140. On the AJC and other groups, see Svonkin, *Jews against Prejudice*, 161–178.

<sup>32</sup> UNESCO later became the target of limited, localized anticommunist crusades in the 1950s, although it was not the race materials but the agency's alleged intent to inculcate "one-worldism" and secular education (i.e., "atheism") that elicited the ire of conservatives. "Los Angeles Bans UNESCO Program," *New York Times*, January 21, 1953, 33; Michelle Nickerson, "Women, Domesticity, and Post-war Conservatism," *OAH Magazine of History* 17 (January 2003): 17–21; Thomas Aiello, "Constructing 'Godless Communism': Religion, Politics, and Popular Culture, 1954–1960," *Americana: The Journal of American Popular Culture (1900–Present)* 4 (Spring 2005), [http://www.americanpopularculture.com/journal/articles/spring\\_2005/aiello.htm](http://www.americanpopularculture.com/journal/articles/spring_2005/aiello.htm) (accessed October 22, 2007); Harvin Moore, Jr., "UNESCO: 3¢ Worth of Poison," *American Mercury* 76 (August 1955): 151–154.

<sup>33</sup> Agnostics did, however, represent a sea change that had taken place in the interwar years as scholars became increasingly suspicious of the old typological categories. The emergence of doubt itself was a significant development within the sciences. For an appraisal of the significance of this shift in academia, see Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*; Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*.

<sup>34</sup> Otto Klineberg to Robert Angell, January 25, 1950; Theodosius Dobzhansky to Angell, January 17, 1950; and Julian Huxley to Angell, January 26, 1950, 323.12 A 102, UNESCO Papers. See also J. H. McGregor to Ashley Montagu, March 1, 1943, and Dobzhansky to Montagu, May 22, 1944, Corresp. Dobzhansky, Montagu Papers; Curt Stern to Montagu, March 9, 1950, Corresp. Coe–Cy, I-8, "C—MISC," *ibid.* On Huxley's racial views, see Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 179–185, 235–248.



ment might be overly positive, but he resisted suggestions for revision, saying, "I do not, however, care for the negative approach." Moreover, he believed that UNESCO's mission was to promote equality through education and not simply to gather scientific facts. Although he promised to make the final draft "bombproof," the final statement retained "signs of [his] authorship . . . unmistakable," in Dobzhansky's words, to friends and enemies.<sup>35</sup>

The 1950 statement received broad and positive international press coverage, with hundreds of stories, editorials, and radio features, as well as prominent mentions in American newsreels, sermons, public symposia, and television programs.<sup>36</sup> But in the scientific community, the statement caused a firestorm. British members of the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) published a blistering criticism in the *Times*. While RAI representatives agreed that discrimination could not be "justified . . . by anthropology," they deemed the statement "distinctly controversial," especially "the too simplified statement that 'race is less a biological fact than a social myth,'" the proposal to replace "race" with "ethnic groups," and the claim that there was an innate drive toward brotherhood. Editorial notes in the RAI journal, *Man*, insinuated that the statement was the product of dilettante "equalitarians." Too much "prominence," RAI honorary secretary W. B. Fagg complained to UNESCO, had been given to the "by no means universally acceptable Ashley Montagu," while the panel itself included only two physical anthropologists. "The main attack," Dobzhansky told Montagu, was against "abolishing the term 'race' . . . and you will remember, my friend, that for the last ten years I have done my damndest to convince you that this proposition will neither be accepted nor would it do any good if accepted."<sup>37</sup>

Criticism, on political and scholarly grounds, soon spread. According to UNESCO social science officers, the reaction "in South Africa and . . . other countries, especially in Holland, has not been good," and they worried that "the South Africans will attack us on the basis of so-called 'scientific inaccuracies.'" The U.S. State Department, deeply sensitized to world criticism of American racial practices, conducted its own editorial review. Resistance also stemmed from whichever academic dogmas were enjoying local currency, and in some nations this meant a dated science akin to the old scientific racism. A Dutch professor criticized the statement in the *Elsevier Weekblad* with the simplistic assertion that "races are congenitally different."<sup>38</sup> In the United States, rivalries between physical and social anthropol-

<sup>35</sup> When the social science director objected to the final claim about universal cooperation, Montagu replied, "Sorry, that is a fact," and referred the director to his book *On Being Human* (1950). Ashley Montagu to Robert Angell, April 5, 1950, May 1, 1950, and February 13, 1950, 323.12 A 102, UNESCO Papers; Jackson and Weidman, *Race, Racism, and Science*, 198. Final quote from Theodosius Dobzhansky to Montagu, January 26, 1951, Corresp. Dobzhansky, Montagu Papers.

<sup>36</sup> Douglas H. Schneider to Max McCullough, January 4, 1951, UNESCO Papers; "All Human Beings," *Time* 56 (July 31, 1950): 34.

<sup>37</sup> Letter to Editor, the *Times*, July 24, 1950, copy, and W. B. Fagg to Alfred Métraux, September 7, 1950, UNESCO Papers. See also comments in *Man* 50 (October 1950): 138 and Editor's Note, *Man* 51 (January 1951): 17; Theodosius Dobzhansky to Ashley Montagu, January 26, 1951, Corresp. Dobzhansky, Dobzhansky (Fourth Folder), Montagu Papers.

<sup>38</sup> Alfred Métraux to Ashley Montagu, March 2, 1951 (first two quotes), UNESCO Papers. On the U.S. State Department, see John Hope Franklin to Walter White, July 2, 1952, and Max McCullough to Homer S. Brown, June 12, 1952, Box A640, Group II, UN Unesco 1950-1954, NAACP Papers; Métraux to Editor "Elsevier Weekblad," Amsterdam, Netherlands, February 27, 1951, UNESCO Papers. The author, whom Métraux refers to simply as "Prof. J.A. van Hamel," was likely Joost Adriaan van Hamel, the author of contemporary books on the "Polish problem," peace, and war. Although the center



ogists also produced criticism. The AAPA president argued that the statement confused the reality of race with the myths behind racism, a confusion exacerbated by the fact that the version issued by the U.S. State Department had removed the quotation marks in the sentence "For all practical social purposes 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth." He predicted that the statement would fail because the public, "not so easily fooled," would become "impatient with a definition that does not describe what is seen" and that "tends to deny the reality as well as the usefulness of the visible physical differences." American physical anthropologist Carleton Coon claimed that "dozens" of scientists had given the statement "lip service and then tore it apart."<sup>39</sup>

UNESCO project director Alfred Métraux concluded that the "original sin" was the failure to place "prominent physical anthropologists or biologists" on the panel, leaving UNESCO vulnerable to charges of "empty idealism." He announced that UNESCO would reconvene a second panel of physical anthropologists and geneticists to prepare another statement, to be subjected to a more extensive peer review. Following the advice of anthropologist Margaret Mead, Métraux contacted the statement's critics and explained that few biological scientists had been included because of the committee's concern with "SOCIAL aspects of the race problem."<sup>40</sup> The second UNESCO statement committee more accurately reflected the state of race science in 1950, but that introduced other problems. Métraux dutifully wrote to professional organizations soliciting nominations, even attempting to avoid Western bias. Reliance on professional organizations, however, introduced its own bias. Scholars belonged to insular, hierarchical communities that measured status by affiliations and credentials that were not always earned by merit alone. Inexplicably, no one seems to have recommended one of the few nonwhite physical anthropologists, W. Montague Cobb, whose published work represented a major challenge to racial determinism.<sup>41</sup> Anthropology was intellectually Eurocentric, influenced primarily by British, German, French, and American traditions of studying the "external

---

of gravity in South African scholarship had begun to shift away from biological determinism, political leaders greeted UNESCO's interventions with "unease." On South Africa, see Saul DuBow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>39</sup> T. Dale Stewart, "Scientific Responsibility," n.d., typescript of article for *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, UNESCO Papers; Carleton Coon to Mrs. Dees, February 8, 1961, Box 10, General Correspondence, A-F 1961, Carleton Coon Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Suitland, Md. [hereafter Coon Papers]. On Coon, see John P. Jackson, Jr., "'In Ways Unacademic': The Reception of Carleton S. Coon's *The Origin of Races*," *Journal of the History of Biology* 34 (2001): 247-285.

<sup>40</sup> Alfred Métraux to Ernest Beaglehole, April 23, 1951 (first quotation), "51" Statement Part I, UNESCO Papers; Métraux to Melville Herskovits, November 7, 1950, UNESCO Papers; Métraux to M. Maheu, January 22, 1951, *ibid.*; Mead to Métraux, November 6, 1950, and Métraux to Mead, November 9, 1950, *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Haraway also notes the absence of Cobb. Haraway, "Remodeling the Human Way of Life," 214. Cobb, a former vice-president of the AAPA, had published extensively on race and physical anthropology, including a 1936 article in the aftermath of Jesse Owens's Olympic victory, challenging the notion that race determined athletic ability, and thus undermining a significant strand of biological determinism. His work as a whole, however, was not easily categorized in terms of how it might have supported a campaign against racial stereotypes. In a 1939 publication, he suggested that slavery might have introduced a selective pressure on traits such as musical ability. But there was no discussion, either positive or negative, of him in the UNESCO correspondence concerning panelists. On Cobb, see Lesley M. Rankin-Hill and Michael L. Blakey, "W. Montague Cobb (1904-1990): Physical Anthropologist, Anatomist, and Activist," *American Anthropologist* 96 (1994): 74-96.

'other,'" and expertise was largely confined to Western Europe and the United States. Demographically, Americans were increasingly dominant, but other national traditions did not share the general American tendency to emphasize culture over biology.<sup>42</sup> Métraux failed to locate an Asian expert and was disappointed to discover that many experts in non-Western institutions were actually Europeans. He considered including medical doctors, but a fellow anthropologist persuaded him that this would expose UNESCO once again "to criticism that people who are not directly concerned with human race are laying down the law for physical anthropologists who are."<sup>43</sup>

Acknowledged "experts" included scientists whose views spanned the spectrum of ideas about race. Huxley suggested the British geneticist C. D. Darlington, a recommendation that Dobzhansky attributed privately to Huxley's rumored senility, as Darlington was widely regarded as an "out and out racist."<sup>44</sup> A 1950 article by Darlington, for example, had suggested that genetic differences explained why some groups clustered into certain occupations and determined whether colonized peoples were capable of adapting to European culture—views Métraux deemed "so extreme that they are plainly ridiculous." Darlington could be "rather extreme," Huxley agreed, but he attributed this to discipline rather than prejudice. The geneticist's view was "not always identical with [that of] the social-anthropologist," which "often seems to be coloured by wishful thinking." Huxley recommended Darlington as a hedge against "further sweeping statements about the unprovability of the existence of any racial mental differences, which upset all the natural scientists." Montagu's friends insisted that he be included, and he agreed, if only to "keep a rein on one or two members of the committee."<sup>45</sup> Métraux chose Columbia University geneticist L. C. Dunn to serve as the 1951 rapporteur. The author of UNESCO's pamphlet *Race and Biology* and co-author of the popular 1946 book *Heredity, Race, and Society*, Dunn had ideal credentials. Moreover, he was especially attuned to the political sensitivities of his generation, having aided scholars in escaping the repression of scholarship by Nazism in Germany and Lysenkoism in the Stalinist Soviet Union.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> George W. Stocking, Jr., *Delimiting Anthropology: Occasional Essays and Reflections* (Madison, Wis., 2001), 281–302, quote 288; Fredrik Barth et al., *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French, and American Anthropology* (Chicago, 2005).

<sup>43</sup> Harry Shapiro to Alfred Métraux, February 6, 1951, "51" Statement Part I, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>44</sup> Theodosius Dobzhansky to Ashley Montagu, February 24, 1951, Box I-11, Corresp. Dobzhansky, Montagu Papers; Dobzhansky to Alfred Métraux, February 13, 1951, "51" Statement Part I, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>45</sup> Cyril D. Darlington, "The Genetic Understanding of Race in Man," *UNESCO Social Science Bulletin* 2 (1950): 479–488. Alfred Métraux to Theodosius Dobzhansky, February 21, 1951; Julius Huxley to Métraux, February 23, 1951; and Ashley Montagu to Métraux, March 7, 1951, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>46</sup> By 1951, Lysenkoism—the Soviet suppression of Mendelian genetics, so named for the director of the Institute of Genetics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, T. D. Lysenko—had become shorthand for the manipulation of science for political ends. Most Western scientists had accepted the Mendelian concept of transmission of traits by genes in the 1930s, and in doing so, abandoned the older Lamarckian idea that traits acquired in a lifetime were transmitted to the next generation. But Lysenko embraced the latter as more compatible with Stalin's dictum that science should serve materialist analysis. After 1948, unrepentant dissenters from Lysenko were fired from their positions, were exiled to Siberia, disappeared, or died under mysterious circumstances; books on genetics were banned, textbooks were sanitized of its influence, classes were canceled, and labs were closed. For contemporary commentary, see Josef Brozek, "Extension of Political Domination beyond Soviet Genetics," *Science* 111 (April 14, 1950): 389–391; H. J. Muller, "Science in Bondage," *Science* 113 (January 12, 1951): 25–29; Robert C. Cook, "Walpurgis Week in the Soviet Union," *Scientific Monthly* 68 (June 1949): 367–372; E. W. Caspari and R. E. Marshak, "The Rise and Fall of Lysenko," *Science* 149 (July 16, 1965): 275–278; and Julian Huxley, *Heredity East and West: Lysenko and World Science* (New York, 1949). On Dunn, see L. C. Dunn

When the second UNESCO group convened in 1951, however, the more immediate problem was an epistemological one of how to deal with the question of racial differences in intelligence, a controversy that recalled critiques of the first statement. Dunn reported that “discussions were marked by a very evident desire, on the part of all, to reach common ground,” but the fifth section, on mental characteristics, had been “the subject of much dispute.” “Racial” intelligence became ground zero in the debate about difference. Although skepticism had largely displaced the older literature that purported to measure “innate intelligence,” many scholars remained wedded to its assumption that some fundamental mental differences must exist. Others were cautious about formulating new claims about the insignificance or nonexistence of differences. The depth of the controversy was permanently inscribed between the lines of the revised 1951 section on intelligence, the longest and undoubtedly the most confusing to a lay reader. The first statement had declared simply in a single paragraph that the anthropologist never used mental characteristics in classifying races, that intelligence tests could not differentiate between environmental and innate capacity, and that given the same opportunities, all groups attained similar levels of achievement. The second statement’s discussion of mental characteristics consisted of five paragraphs of seemingly contradictory claims, including that (1) anthropologists do not use mental characteristics in racial classification; (2) scientists’ tests had demonstrated mental differences between more and less “civilized” races; (3) some scientists said that intellectual differences were hereditary; (4) some scientists said that intellect and morals were conditioned by environment; and (5) common character attributes of nationalities were produced by socialization and history.<sup>47</sup> Since the section began with an assertion that mental tests were not used to classify races, many readers would have found it odd that this claim was followed by a discussion affirming test results that had attempted to do exactly that. Section five became a Rorschach blot into which almost any interpretation might be read.

The second group also explicitly rejected the first statement’s claim that race was a social myth. The panel, Dunn reported, was “careful to avoid dogmatic definitions of race.” But the panel was “equally careful to avoid saying that . . . therefore races did not exist,” reasoning that “the physical anthropologists and the man in the street both know that races exist; the former from the scientifically recognizable and measurable congeries of traits which he uses in classifying the varieties of man; the latter from the immediate evidence of his senses.” Rhetorically equating the visually based intuitions of “the man in the street” with the anthropologist’s “scientific” knowledge, the group implicitly affirmed the belief that phenotype revealed something significant about an individual’s overall biological inheritance. Panelists agreed that “race” was a loaded term “colored by its misuse . . . and . . . deliberate abuse,” but they could not agree on an alternative. In a compromise, they agreed “to reserve race” for “anthropological classification showing definite combinations of physical

---

to George A. Jervis, March 9, 1949, and Dunn to Milton C. Winternetz, April 1, 1949, Box 22, Series I, “Nachtsheim, Hans,” Dunn Papers; Dunn oral history typescript, 703–735, Box 28, Series II, Dunn Papers.

<sup>47</sup> L. C. Dunn to Alfred Métraux, July 12, 1951, Box 25 Science-US, Series 1, UNESCO #3, Dunn Papers; UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 13–14.

(including physiological) traits in characteristic proportions.”<sup>48</sup> Ultimately, that position fell back on the taxonomists’ trade as well as the amateur’s account of race as a self-evident fact.

With the second panel, UNESCO officers attempted to create consensus by a perverse kind of inclusion—inviting peer review from dozens of scholars representing every sort of scholarly tradition and diluting the influence of iconoclasts such as Montagu. But these academic conventions only exacerbated the problem. After receiving comments from nearly sixty scholars, ranging from “enthusiastic endorsement to sharp or ironical rejection,” Métraux had begun to wonder whether “the plan to create a text which might rally the consensus of most scientists was not an utopia . . . which might have the opposite effect.” In spite of the statement’s equivocation on intelligence, for example, that section received considerable criticism. Many suggestions for minor editorial modifications were actually symptomatic of quite different assumptions about the nature of the controversy. Several scientists, for example, had disagreed on the qualifiers included in the sentence comparing racial differences in intelligence: “*some* members of the group of inferior performance [on intelligence tests] surpass *not merely the lowest ranking* member of the superior group, *but also the average* of its members.” Another version proposed: “*many* members of the group of inferior performance . . . surpass *most* members of the superior group.” Another suggested that “*some* . . . surpass *many*.”<sup>49</sup> Others objected to the statement’s whole approach to the issue of intelligence. Anthropologist Joseph Birdsell worried that the comprehensiveness of the statement, when paired with its multiple qualifications, might “leave nonprofessional readers with the idea that . . . important differences in innate intelligence probably will be demonstrated.” Instead he suggested acknowledging that “scientists have never managed to devise a test . . . untainted by culture and thus there were no methods capable of measuring innate intelligence.” British geneticist Kenneth Mather, on the other hand, argued that even if scientists “know little about [genetical differences in mental capacity] . . . this ignorance must not be used as a basis for saying that average differences do *not* exist.” In other words, scientists should not leave the impression that this could not be true.<sup>50</sup>

Métraux also had to contend with critics expressing extreme opinions, including some more readily classified as simply racist, and with renewed hostility to mixing science with politics. He protested to German anthropologist Hans Nachtshheim, who suggested eliminating the entire sentence declaring that all mankind shared an innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development: “It would be better to throw the statement into the wastepaper basket.” Caltech geneticist A. H. Sturtevant objected to claims about the harmlessness of racial mixture on the basis of dog-breeding experiments.<sup>51</sup> German anthropologist Hans Weinert’s comments concluded: “which of the ‘gentlemen’ authoring this statement would be willing to marry his daughter to an Australian Bushman?”—“an argument usually resorted to,” Métraux

<sup>48</sup> L. C. Dunn, “Report on Meeting of Physical Anthropologists and Geneticists for a Definition of the Concept of Race,” Paris, June 4–8, 1951, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>49</sup> Alfred Métraux to L. C. Dunn, January 25, 1952, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph Birdsell, Comments re 1951 Statement, n.d., and Kenneth Mather, Comments, n.d., UNESCO Papers.

<sup>51</sup> Alfred Métraux to H. Nachtshheim, March 8, 1952, and A. H. Sturtevant to Métraux, April 30, 1952, UNESCO Papers.

protested, “not by scientists, but illiterate racists.”<sup>52</sup> Several scholars compared UNESCO’s attempts to build consensus to the political machinations of the Nazis and the Soviets. Coon warned that he “*did not* approve of slanting scientific data to support a social theory, since that is just what the Russians are doing, and what Hitler did.” In the end, Métraux gave up on the elusive consensus and opted to publish the original 1951 draft and a volume of the criticisms he received.<sup>53</sup>

THE INCLUSION OF GENETICS, IN WHICH MONTAGU had invested so much hope for overcoming the disciplinary inertia of physical anthropology, had introduced another snag into the debate. Geneticists were essentially agnostics when it came to race, and this attitude, when paired with some of the discipline’s basic assumptions and the general state of the field, made them less flexible when it came to the question of nature vs. nurture. Races were understood by most geneticists as populations with a common gene pool; therefore any heritable trait could, in theory, be more common in one group than another. Moreover, many geneticists who were consulted on the statement argued that empirical evidence that *some* traits were genetically determined was enough to suggest that *all* traits were genetically determined. This was not a particularly problematic claim if applied to individuals, but it had sinister implications when applied, as many geneticists insisted that it must be, to *groups*. In effect, it implied that any observable inequalities between “races”—a considerable number by any measure in this age of imperialism, apartheid, and segregation—could be attributed to innate differences. Genetics also provided traction for the claim that racial differences were natural, rather than a product of social perceptions or flawed measures. Geneticist H. J. Muller argued, for example, that given “the admitted existence of some physically expressed hereditary differences of a conspicuous nature [between races] . . . it would be strange if there were not also some hereditary differences affecting the mental characteristics.” Those more attuned to the impact of environment emphasized that genes determined only the potential to develop a certain quality, but the upshot when it came to defining race was the same. Geneticists were also staking out disciplinary turf. For Sturtevant, the “argument that environment is the *sole* determinant” of racial difference was “something that every competent geneticist must protect against.” Some of the arguments for racial equality, he complained, “were so obviously contrary to genetical experience as to be positively harmful.”<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> As quoted in German: “Welcher von den Herren, die die Deklaration unterschrieben haben, geneigt wäre, seine Tochter mit einem Buschmann, einem Australier c.a. zu verheiraten?” Métraux to Nachtsheim, March 8, 1952, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>53</sup> Carleton Coon to Alfred Métraux, October 25, 1951, UNESCO Papers; emphasis in original. See also “Views of Professor Walter Scheidt, Hamburg,” n.d., *ibid.*; A. H. Sturtevant to H. J. Muller, cc’d to Alfred Métraux, Hans Nachtsheim, Theodosius Dobzhansky, and Boris Ephrussi, April 15, 1952, *ibid.*; and Métraux to Alfred Summers, April 1, 1953, *ibid.* The final publication, in 1952, was UNESCO, *The Race Concept*.

<sup>54</sup> William B. Provine, “Geneticists and Race,” *American Zoologist* 26 (1986): 857–887; Reardon, *Race to the Finish*, 30–31. For a geneticist’s view of race, see Dobzhansky’s comments on the 1951 statement, n.d., UNESCO Papers. Dobzhansky, however, suggested that environment had a very strong impact on how genetic inheritance was expressed. See his 1945 letter “What Is Heredity?” *Science* 100 (November 3, 1944): 406. H. J. Muller to Alfred Métraux, November 20, 1951; A. H. Sturtevant to Muller, April 15, 1952 (first quotation); and Sturtevant to Métraux, April 30, 1952 (second quotation), UNESCO Papers.



In reality, however, there was little that genetics could empirically illustrate about the genetic content of races in 1951 beyond an extrapolation backward from phenotype and its likely correspondence to genes. In spite of great advances at mid-century, genetics remained largely abstract and theoretical, and quite primitive in terms of empirical investigation. Geneticists could use mathematics to predict gene distributions within populations and to identify genes conforming to a simple Mendelian pattern, but only when a trait could be observed in phenotype, such as albinism. When it came to the direct investigation of genotype, biochemical methods remained too primitive to probe complex traits.<sup>55</sup> Most geneticists conducted research on simple organisms such as fruit flies and applied their insights to humans at a theoretical level. Claims about innate racial differences were made primarily on the basis of first principles. Sir Ronald Fisher, an internationally respected geneticist and a major contributor to the “new evolutionary synthesis,” for example, argued that the statement should read: “scientific knowledge provides a *firm basis* [rather than “no basis”] for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development.” Direct evidence for this claim did not exist, but it was not needed, Fisher suggested, given that one could assume that “such groups do differ undoubtedly in a very large number of their genes.”<sup>56</sup>

The criticisms of geneticists and other agnostics exposed the thorniest epistemological challenge to reconceptualizing race: the null hypothesis, a particularly striking metaphor for this history. Normally in statistical tests, the null hypothesis, or default assumption, is that two things are the *same* (i.e., the difference is “null”), and the burden of proof rests on those who propose the alternative hypothesis, that two things *differ*. In the case of race, the usual null-alternative relationship was reversed, with difference assumed and the burden of proof falling on those who asserted sameness. By 1951, scientists had systematically exposed the flawed research designs, culturally biased tests, and poorly interpreted data that lay behind older pronouncements about racial differences, but past practice had created a standing assumption that race and innate racial differences existed. Many reviewers acknowledged the absence of good evidence for difference but argued, like geneticist Curt Stern, that it was an overstatement to say that “available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate (mental) capacities,” even though this accurately described the state of the field. Scientific prestige, he argued, could be mobilized to argue “It is not proven!” but it seemed “doubtful” to him whether that prestige could be “used effectively by opposing fatally wrong ideas with [mere] opinions” still under debate.<sup>57</sup> Anthropologist Carleton Coon likewise warned that it was a mistake to “belittle” the possibility of differences in intelligence “on humanitarian grounds,” because if differences were proven, “you

<sup>55</sup> Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics*, 193–237.

<sup>56</sup> On Fisher, see Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 220–228. The new evolutionary synthesis was the integration of modern genetics (including mathematical modeling and population genetics, which were Fisher’s main contribution) with Darwinian thought. For an account of this synthesis by one of its prime participants, see Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), and Mayr, *Toward a New Philosophy of Biology: Observations of an Evolutionist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988). R. A. Fisher to Alfred Métraux, October 3, 1951, Box 25 Science-US, Series 1, UNESCO #3, Dunn Papers; emphasis added.

<sup>57</sup> Curt Stern to Alfred Métraux, October 1, 1952, UNESCO Papers.

are out on a limb”—a risk, perhaps, but only if one assumed that they would be proven someday.<sup>58</sup>

Of course “equalitarians” had not proven, and arguably could never prove, that there were no differences whatsoever between races—the default alternative hypothesis demanded by many critics. But significantly, neither did agnostics offer any proof of a specific genetic component linked to normal intelligence or any reason to believe that this corresponded to race. Therefore, it was not simply a case of the naïve faith in empiricism that historians normally associate with postwar science, since no one had empirical data. Nor should historians view this as simply adherence to the old Popperian saw of proving the falsity of a prior claim. The assumption about what must be proved in 1951 came down to the *historic* formulation of the question itself. As Montagu observed in a 1944 letter to *Science*, “Forty years of psychological testing” had provided no solid evidence for thinking that “the range of inherited capacities” differed in accordance with race. Some scientists might choose to believe that differences between groups “will in all probability be found to be numerous,” but he chose to believe “the exact opposite of that.”<sup>59</sup>

Some critics countered that the moral question of equality should not depend upon the scientific question of equality. Darlington argued for an embrace of human differences as an opportunity to use “the ineradicably diverse gifts, talents, capacities of each race for the benefit of all races.” Coon argued that racial superiority should not matter, because human beings “deserve treatment as equals because of their quality of being human.”<sup>60</sup> No UNESCO consultant would have disagreed, but to rely on such an argument in 1951, when the Holocaust, apartheid, and segregation provided such potent reminders of the failure of human beings to act on that principle, seemed naïve at best and spurious at worst to many antiracists. Difference did not necessarily translate into inequality, but even if scientists were capable of accepting “racial traits” as value-free observations on human diversity, it was also true that in Western society, “rhythm-loving” and “intelligent” just did not carry the same value.

ALTHOUGH THE EVIDENCE IS LIMITED, REACTIONS to UNESCO’s project also offer some instructive insights into the external challenges confronting scientific antiracism after the statement went public. Most participants approached the statement as a straight-

<sup>58</sup> In 1962, Coon’s *Origin of Races* would make just such an argument, claiming that *Homo erectus* had consisted of five races that evolved into *Homo sapiens* at different times, thousands of years apart, and suggesting that this explained racial differences in achievement. The book and Coon’s refusal to denounce racist uses of it were widely criticized by his colleagues, and he became increasingly marginalized in academia. In the 1950s, however, Coon was an influential physical anthropologist. A professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania and curator of ethnology at the University Museum from 1948 to 1963, he was awarded the Wenner-Gren Viking Fund Medal in Physical Anthropology in 1952, was named to the National Academy of Sciences in 1955, and served as president of the AAPA in 1961–1962. Jackson, “In Ways Unacademical,” 247–285; Carleton Coon to Alfred Métraux, October 25, 1951, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>59</sup> Ashley Montagu, “Comments on Comparative Studies in Human Biology,” *Science* 100 (October 27, 1944): 384. On the influence of Karl Popper, see Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 298–299; Steve Fuller, *Kuhn vs. Popper: The Struggle for the Soul of Science* (New York, 2004); William A. Gorton, *Karl Popper and the Social Sciences* (Albany, N.Y., 2006).

<sup>60</sup> C. D. Darlington, as quoted in UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 27; Carleton Coon to Alfred Métraux, October 25, 1951, UNESCO Papers.

forward problem of exposition and seemed to assume that the universalist nature of science gave them the expertise and authority to deliver information effectively. Interestingly, in the same years, scholars in sociology and psychology, disciplines not included in this particular UNESCO project, had begun to question one of its basic assumptions: that education served as an effective tool against racism. If, as Theodor Adorno argued in 1950, prejudice stemmed from a personality disorder, no amount of “rational argument” could “have deep or lasting effects upon a phenomenon that is irrational in its essential nature.” The level of bickering among UNESCO participants over qualifying articles and specific phrases, however, suggested that they approached the audience as fundamentally receptive, not only capable of reading the statement carefully and literally, but willing to do so. The statement project, as well as UNESCO’s broader mission in the postwar era, was premised on the assumption that most racism was corrigible and could be combated by “disseminating scientific facts.”<sup>61</sup> But audiences, who brought their own agendas, preconceptions, and predispositions to the reading, proved much less passive and predictable than the simple formula of education-against-racism allowed. Rather, they seemed to engage in a process that Michel de Certeau long ago described as “poaching”: singling out elements that held resonance for them as individuals and investing those elements with their own idiosyncratic meanings.<sup>62</sup>

The first challenge for UNESCO was simply translation. While historians of science have read the UNESCO statement as evidence of a “revolution” in the life sciences, contemporary nonscholars were unlikely to appreciate subtle changes introduced by population genetics and the increased emphasis on environmental determinism.<sup>63</sup> When anthropologist Wilton Krogman tested the statement on his neighbors, all college graduates in the arts and sciences, he reported that they simply “did not get it.” Labor- and management-relations leaders warned Montagu in 1950 that an average worker would not make it through the first paragraph. Nonacademic reactions to the statement, particularly the fixation on certain passages, also revealed a deep divide between the preoccupations of scientists and those of the public. Krogman’s neighbors took “greatest exception” to the section declaring the harmlessness of race mixture, which they interpreted as “‘bending fact’ to fit political (racial) expediency.”<sup>64</sup> Apparently they did so not on the basis of the literal content of the statement, but on prior assumptions and the statement’s failure to convince them otherwise. A similar phenomenon characterized the reactions of United Nations

<sup>61</sup> Theodor Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper, 1950), 973; Svonkin, *Jews against Prejudice*, 54–61, 66–77; Jackson, “Blind Law and Powerless Science,” 89–116; Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America’s Conscience*, 288–289; United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution, as cited in UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 6. Another contemporary UNESCO pamphlet on race prejudice similarly identified ignorance as the primary cause. While acknowledging psychological factors, the pamphlet suggested that they were probably “most useful in explaining extreme cases of prejudice.” Arnold Rose, “The Roots of Prejudice” (1951), reprinted in UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 393–419.

<sup>62</sup> Michel de Certeau, “Reading as Poaching,” in de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, Calif., 1984).

<sup>63</sup> Haraway describes the UNESCO statement as evidence that “a palace coup had indeed taken place in the citadel of science.” Barkan cites the appearance of the statement as evidence of the “revolution in the concept of race” that had occurred between World War I and 1950. John P. Jackson, Jr., and Nadine M. Weidman assert: “The revolution was now complete.” Haraway, “Universal Donors,” 344; Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 342; Jackson and Weidman, *Race, Racism, and Science*, 201.

<sup>64</sup> Wilton Krogman to Alfred Métraux, February 1, 1952, UNESCO Papers; parentheses in original. Ashley Montagu to Robert Angell, April 5, 1950, *ibid.*

member states. South Africans, who believed that their nation's "300 years" of experience with the "race problem" gave them some authority on it, objected to what they deemed "irresponsible" statements on the race question. The American delegation objected to a related UNESCO pamphlet, *What Science Says about Race*, because the State Department believed that it included "inaccurate and misleading information about the race problem in the United States." Concerns that the British National Commission might "object to the presentation of some of the facts" because of "the impression they might cause on 'colonials'" forced Métraux to pursue a separate peer review within Britain.<sup>65</sup> None of these objections were based on the science per se or on the criticisms raised in peer review; rather, they were predicated on the political implications of what science might say about race for any given audience.

Similarly, when the Los Angeles County Museum put on an educational exhibit titled "Man in Our Changing World" in 1951, public controversy flared over what were relatively uncontroversial issues among scientists but were long-standing hot buttons for the public. Although UNESCO staff members were delighted to see the statement reproduced in the catalogue and congratulated the curator "for the excellent job of popularization of this very difficult task," the museum had actually censored the content. Deeming it "propaganda," the museum cut several sections, including one on the "admixture of races" and another problematizing the equation of race with skin color. The "admixture" section had been intended to show that race mixing had occurred throughout human history without harmful effects, and in the words of the exhibit copy, "there are no superior or inferior races or race mixtures."<sup>66</sup> The other section was a clever visual representation of the statement's emphasis on the wider range of variability within each racial group than between racial groups as a demonstration of the fluidity of racial categories. This was a particularly significant innovation, as other traveling museum exhibits, such as Malvina Hoffman's prewar sculptures of the "Races of Mankind," had perpetuated an older typological approach by presenting "race" in the form of literally static bronze figures depicting idealized racial "types."<sup>67</sup> To graphically illustrate the point, the exhibit incorporated a "race quiz" based on photographs. Accompanying text advised: "most people are

<sup>65</sup> On South Africa, see C. N. Berkeley to the Director-General, October 8, 1952, UNESCO Papers. American delegates pressured UNESCO to delay publication of *What Science Says about Race* until they were satisfied with the final product. The first version under this title was never released in the United States. The State Department's explanation is given in Max McCullough to Homer S. Brown, June 12, 1952, and John Hope Franklin to Walter White, July 2, 1952, Box A640, Group II, UN Unesco 1950–1954, NAACP Papers. On the British National Commission, see Alfred Métraux to Kenneth L. Little, April 21, 1952, UNESCO Papers.

<sup>66</sup> Douglas Schneider to Robert Ariss, September 17, 1952, UNESCO Papers. Opposition from members of the museum's board of governors nearly resulted in the whole exhibit's being canceled. On the internal struggle within the board, see Howard Shorr, "'Race prejudice is not inborn—it is learned': The Exhibit Controversy at the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, 1950–1," *California History* 69 (1990): 276–283; Exhibit Description, Box 6, AAA President's [Howell] Files, "Man in Our Changing World Exhibit and LA County Museum," American Anthropological Association Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Suitland, Md. [hereafter AAA Papers].

<sup>67</sup> Hoffman's sculptures, commissioned in 1929 and functioning as the representation of race at the Field Museum for the following thirty years, were widely reproduced as small-scale replicas circulated during World War II, and appeared in photographs for the C. S. Hammond Company's *World Atlas* and the *World Book Encyclopedia* from the 1940s to the 1960s. Marianne Beatrice Kinkel, "Circulating Race: Malvina Hoffman and the Field Museum's Races of Mankind Sculptures" (Ph.D. diss, University of Texas at Austin, 2001).

surprised to learn that it is often difficult to identify an individual's origin [as] physical features and skin color are not always reliable guides." The curator defended the cuts on aesthetic grounds, but many anthropologists deemed the changes unacceptable. Eliminating the section on "admixture," the Southwestern Anthropological Association protested, "left the [erroneous] impression that the three major races are entirely different and essentially immutable." Montagu, who happened to be in Los Angeles to deliver a talk, protested in person that "it would be far better to have no exhibit at all."<sup>68</sup>

The agnosticism enshrined in postwar scientific antiracism also proved significant to the heated public debate about race that erupted in the United States in the wake of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision mandating the desegregation of public schools. *Brown* elicited a furious backlash of scientific racism, which was, ironically, enabled in significant ways by scientific antiracism. The assumption that biological "difference" existed, common to scholars and nonscholars, racists and antiracists, was handily conscripted by segregationists to provide scientific-sounding arguments against integration. In 1956, Columbia University psychologist Frank McGurk presented a survey of several highly dubious "scientific" studies in *U.S. News and World Report* to demonstrate that Negroes did not have the same capacity for education as whites. Many scholars cried foul, but segregationists "hailed it as definitive proof that school integration violates laws of science and nature."<sup>69</sup> A disparaging scholarly survey of white supremacist ideology observed in 1959, "Today among the great mass of southern whites, belief in Negro racial inferiority is virtually universal." But even that author could not truthfully declare that this was simply bad science. Rather, he offered only the observation that "contemporary anthropologists and geneticists agree that assertions about Negro inferiority have not been scientifically demonstrated."<sup>70</sup> One source cited for this uninspiring rebuttal was the UNESCO statement. Armed with the nearly universal belief in the biological reality of race, segregationists found ample support for their views in the scientific literature and an infinitely usable past. In his 1962 book *The Biology of the Race Problem*, W. C. George, a retired University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill professor and the president of a North Carolina counterpart to the Citizens' Council,

<sup>68</sup> Exhibit Description; Officers and Members of the Southwestern Anthropological Association to C. F. Gehring, December 6, 1951; Memo, Walter Goldschmidt, December 12, 1951; Ashley Montagu to R. M. Arles, January 10, 1952; and "Summary Report re 'Man in Our Changing World,'" January 13, 1952, Box 6, AAA President's [Howell] Files, "Man in Our Changing World Exhibit and LA County Museum," AAA Papers.

<sup>69</sup> McGurk's article reviewed six studies of black and white intelligence test performance since 1935 and compared the results to the World War I army IQ tests. He argued that social and economic opportunities had greatly improved for black Americans since World War I, but the gap in test scores remained relatively constant between the 1910s and 1950s. Therefore, he concluded, the gap must be caused by innate differences rather than environment. Frank J. McGurk, "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences," *U.S. News and World Report*, September 21, 1956, 92–96. Quotation from Newby, *Challenge to the Court*, 73–76. In 1963, several "experts" on racial intelligence testified on behalf of white parents seeking to prevent school integration in Savannah, Georgia. Ruling in favor of the segregationists, the presiding judge's decision cited McGurk, among others, and was reprinted in full in *U.S. News and World Report* before being predictably overruled by the U.S. Court of Appeals. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research*, 151–169; "Mixing Schools: Why One Federal Court Refused," *U.S. News and World Report*, May 27, 1963, 88–90.

<sup>70</sup> James W. Vander Zanden, "The Ideology of White Supremacy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (June–September 1959): 385–402, quotations 397, 386.



reached as far back as Robert Bennett Bean's infamous 1906 craniometric study of Negro and white cadavers.<sup>71</sup>

The new scientific racists also seem to have understood and taken advantage of the logical weaknesses of antiracism. Carleton Putnam, a notorious popularizer of scientific racism although not a scientist himself, is a particularly instructive example. A former airline executive and collaborator with white supremacist groups who inspired a well-financed grassroots movement against integration with his "open letter" to President Eisenhower in several American newspapers, Putnam astutely pointed out that those who advocated equal treatment had never actually argued that men were equal. Whenever one tried to "pin down the man who uses the word 'equality,'" Putnam charged, "at once the evasions and qualifications begin." In the late 1950s, Carleton Coon, acting as a secret consultant, advised Putnam that it was unnecessary to cite such controversial sources as Madison Grant, whose name "evokes fascism and racism of a Hitlerian variety" and would alienate readers. Instead, Coon suggested mainstream academics such as antiracist Alfred Kroeber, a former Boas student and professor of anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley, who did "not believe in racial equality in intellect"; Kroeber had committed his views to print, according to Coon, and "no one has challenged him." In Putnam's subsequent book, *Race and Reason* (1961), the science of difference became the illusory "interpretive key" linking the wishful intuitions and political agendas of segregationists to a seemingly authoritative scientific discourse legitimating racism. Any man "with two eyes in his head," Putnam assured readers, can "observe a Negro settlement in the Congo," compare it "with London or Paris," and "draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence."<sup>72</sup>

The reception of resurgent scientific racism is difficult to measure, since it undoubtedly appealed to segregationists fishing for post hoc rationalizations for their opinions. But it is notable that in spite of its marginality in academia, scientific racism garnered substantial institutional support, visibility, and, as a result, probably readership. George's book was bankrolled by the state of Alabama. Putnam's *Race and Reason* received official state sanction from several southern legislatures. Louisiana purchased five thousand copies of Putnam's book and made it compulsory reading for college administrators, faculty, and students. The Citizens' Council subsidized the printing and distribution of both works at bulk rates. Former Ku Klux Klan leader and Louisiana congressman David Duke, who read Putnam's book in junior high school, cited it as an inspiration that made him "question the egalitarian arguments that I had uncritically accepted . . . [and] realize another legitimate and scientific point of view existed." Scientists dismissed such works as "hokum," but as historian George Lewis has pointed out, nonacademic readers did not necessarily understand the nature of sources, and the copiously footnoted claims, moreover, provided a

<sup>71</sup> On George, see Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research*, 162–166; George Lewis, "'Scientific Certainty': Wesley Critz George, Racial Science and Organised White Resistance in North Carolina, 1954–1962," *Journal of American Studies* 38, no. 2 (2004): 227–247; W. C. George, *The Biology of the Race Problem* (New York, 1962). On Bean, see Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 77–82.

<sup>72</sup> Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism?'" 19; Carleton Putnam to President Eisenhower, October 13, 1958, *New York Times*, January 5, 1959, clipping, Box A 257, Group II, Public Relations, Putnam, Carleton Letter, NAACP Papers; Carleton Putnam, *Race and Reason: A Yankee View* (Washington, D.C., 1961); Coon to Putnam, June 17, 1960, and August 4, 1960, Box 10, General Correspondence, L–Sh 1960, Coon Papers.

seemingly credible argument that appeared considerably more reasonable than mobs and fire hoses. Putnam attributed his own rejection by the scientific community to the “suppression of the truth” about genetic differences between races, citing the UNESCO statement as a prime example of “equalitarian dogma” driven by misguided humanitarianism.<sup>73</sup>

The rapid reemergence of scientific racism was perhaps all the more striking given the simultaneous success of another postwar antiracist discourse. Rooted in the Myrdallian notion of universal American rights, the liberal antiracism often associated with the “classical” phase of the American civil rights movement had practically eliminated legal discrimination in the same years. By the mid-1960s, the Supreme Court had ruled against segregation in housing, transportation, education, and public amenities. The nonviolent civil rights movement had made the contradictions inherent in the “American dilemma” undeniable and severely undermined the credibility of racial discrimination.<sup>74</sup> But this did not necessarily signal the change in racial thinking that Montagu and some antiracist scientists had proposed in 1950. It is worth recalling that even the much-vaunted social science brief introduced into *Brown v. Board of Education* did not primarily attempt to establish the equality of races as an argument for eliminating segregation, but rather focused on the negative psychological impact that segregation had on children.<sup>75</sup> That racism persisted in the United States was confirmed by a national *Newsweek* poll conducted immediately after the 1963 March on Washington to probe “How Whites Feel about Negroes.” Although most interview subjects supported equal opportunity in employment and education, the poll results revealed the tenacity of beliefs about racial difference. One in three respondents believed that Negroes were “an inherently inferior race”; 71 percent believed that Negroes “smelled different”; 93 percent said they would

<sup>73</sup> Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research*, 157–162; Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1944–64* (Urbana, Ill., 1971), 168–171; “Virginia Debates Negro Abilities,” *New York Times*, February 18, 1962, 62; David Duke, *My Awakening* (1998), chap. 5, [http://www.davidduke.com/awakening/chapter05\\_01.html](http://www.davidduke.com/awakening/chapter05_01.html) (accessed October 22, 2007); Lewis, “Scientific Certainty,” 227–247.

<sup>74</sup> The “classical” phase of the civil rights movement, so named by Bayard Rustin, is the well-known narrative of legal and nonviolent protest directed at winning American civil rights that began with *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), included many of the best-remembered public protests, and culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As Hall and Singh have argued, this truncated narrative distorts the history of the movement by privileging one antiracist narrative over many, obscuring the intellectual diversity and internationalist strands of black politics, and contributing to the perception of a movement delegitimized and in decline after 1965. I would add that uncritical narratives touting the success of ending legal discrimination have obscured the persistence of other kinds of racism. Hall, “The Long Civil Rights Movement,” 1233–1263; Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 1–14, 38–57.

<sup>75</sup> Many, if not most, of the social scientists who signed or were cited in the brief submitted in support of desegregation in the *Brown* case embraced environmental explanations for alleged racial differences. But the primary emphasis of the brief, aptly titled “The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation,” was two arguments: (1) segregation caused psychological damage to children, and (2) integration succeeded when it was consistently and firmly enforced by authorities. The brief did dismiss intellectual inferiority as an argument for segregation, noting that “available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences . . . may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences,” but this section amounted to just two short paragraphs of the eighteen-page brief. Intelligence, it argued, provided a rationale for grouping children by ability regardless of race, but it was not a valid argument for segregation. “The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation,” *Minnesota Law Review* 37 (May 1953): 427–438. On the *Brown* brief, see John P. Jackson, Jr., *Social Scientists for Social Justice: Making the Case against Segregation* (New York, 2001), esp. 160–161; Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research*, 138–179.

object to their child dating a Negro; 87 percent disapproved of interracial marriage.<sup>76</sup> The poll treated “race” as a given and did not probe the source or reasoning behind such views. But the results did suggest that wide acceptance of one antiracist discourse based on the *ethical* issue of equal treatment of citizens had not necessitated a simultaneous acceptance of the *scientific* principle of equality of human beings. In effect, the separation of these discourses seems to have permitted Americans to adopt a bifurcated approach to racial equality. One definition applied to the morality of discrimination, and another applied to what people believed race to be.

The separation of human equality from the issue of equal treatment mattered, as it ultimately hampered efforts to create genuinely equal conditions between racially identified groups in the United States. Although cultural attributes allegedly associated with race became increasingly prominent in policy debates in the late 1960s, the question of innate racial difference continued to plague the broader conversation about persistent racial disparities in status, achievement, and income. Many antiracist activists, including Montagu, argued that further ameliorative policies such as affirmative action or the low-income early childhood program Head Start were necessary to deal with inequality attributable to past discrimination rather than ability. Conservative opponents now countered not with defenses of discrimination, but with an argument that “color-conscious” programs constituted “reverse racism,” and a suggestion, implicit or explicit, that any enduring inequality of condition reflected inequality of effort or innate ability.<sup>77</sup> Superficially, the emerging argument in favor of “color-blind” social policy might seem to suggest that two decades after the UNESCO statement, the antiracists and racists had reversed positions. However, color-blind advocates objected primarily to racial classification by law, not the idea that race existed as a biological concept, which was entirely compatible with their politics. Assuming that formal legal equality had eliminated the effects of racism, many accepted the notion that race was not only a valid category but also an explanatory one that determined socioeconomic differences between racially defined groups. “Scientific” accounts of innate differences in ability joined new cultural constructions of race in the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as the “black family” or the “model minority,” to rationalize inequality and undermine support for racially targeted social policy.

Notably, the same dispute about race and intelligence that stymied the UNESCO deliberations continued to provide fodder for scientific racism. If racially identified groups still did not achieve at equal rates, some argued, then race itself was the cause. In an article in the prestigious *Harvard Educational Review* in 1969, for example, Berkeley psychologist Arthur Jensen argued against Head Start and other compensatory education programs directed at minorities because, he claimed, racial differences in intelligence were genetic in origin. Although few nonacademics read the

<sup>76</sup> “How Whites Feel about Negroes: A Painful American Dilemma,” *Newsweek*, October 21, 1963, 44–55.

<sup>77</sup> On “color-blind” conservatism, see Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 10; Hall, “The Long Civil Rights Movement”; Michael K. Brown et al., *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); J. Morgan Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999); K. Anthony Appiah and Amy Gutmann, *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Stephen Steinberg, *Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy* (Boston, 2001); Nancy MacLean, *Freedom Is Not Enough: How the Fight over Jobs and Justice Changed America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

article, Jensen became a “cause célèbre,” and his ideas, dubbed “Jensenism” by a *New York Times Magazine* profile, were aired in several popular press outlets, including a *Newsweek* story titled “Born Dumb?” Some blamed Jensen for the Nixon administration’s brazen hostility to compensatory education. In 1970, Jensen and like-minded scientists testified before Congress that genetic differences in intelligence rendered integration useless, if not destructive, to minorities.<sup>78</sup> Although this was not the only argument bolstering opposition to further civil rights policy, it was a powerful one. Science presented as the “objective” reporting of “facts” about biology rather than personal prejudice remained a potent rationalization for the status quo long after the civil rights movement had stripped bigotry of its cultural legitimacy.

FOR HISTORIANS, HOWEVER, WHAT SEEMS MOST IMPORTANT about the UNESCO project is not its ultimate failure to reshape American ideas about race—a standard perhaps as naïve as the pronouncement accompanying its inauguration—but the insights it might provide into how we should study and teach the history of race, racism, and antiracism. Thomas Holt reminds us that understanding racism requires scholars to adopt a conception of “historical transformation” that acknowledges that racism is “never entirely new . . . the new is sedimented into the old, which occasionally seeps or bursts through.”<sup>79</sup> A concept of race as natural, timeless, and outside human intervention has undoubtedly been one of the most persistent residues of racism. Even muted by the new emphasis on environmental influences and genetic similarities, race in the hands of the postwar antiracists reemerged as a construct that reified its most pernicious aspects. Historians risk this, too, if we fix race as an uninterrogated category of analysis within our research, and we, like postwar scientists, often do it with good intentions and potentially bad results. To cite a simple but revealing example, many of us regularly “translate” racial terms uttered by historical subjects such as “Negro,” “Caucasian,” and “Oriental” into the more contemporary, and presumably less “racist”-sounding, “African American,” “white,” and “Asian.” But if race is a social historical construct, then “colored” uttered in 1950 is not the same as “African American” spoken in 2007. By using the words interchangeably without acknowledging the history that actually links them, we risk implying that each term is defined by the same ahistorical essence or that people are defined by phenotype rather than historical experience. Part of the problem, as Barbara Fields has argued, lies in the tendency to use racial terms interchangeably to describe social

<sup>78</sup> There were other academics who sought to provide scientific explanations of innate racial equality in the mid- to late 1960s, including Dwight Ingle, William Bradford Shockley, Hans J. Eysenck, and Raymond B. Cattell. Jensen, however, was one of the most successful in garnering public and political attention. An excellent survey of the new scientific racists appears in Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research*, 180–268. On Jensen, see Arthur S. Jensen, “How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?” *Harvard Educational Review* 33 (1969): 1–123; L. Edson, “Jensenism, n.: The Theory That IQ Is Largely Determined by the Genes,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 31, 1969, 10–11, 40–47; Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics*; Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*; N. J. Block and Gerald Dworkin, eds., *The IQ Controversy* (New York, 1976); Graham Richards, “Race,” *Racism and Psychology: Towards a Reflexive History* (New York, 1997); Jonathan Marks, *Human Biodiversity: Genes, Race, and History* (New York, 1994); Jackson, *Science for Segregation*.

<sup>79</sup> Holt, *The Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century*, 23.

constructs and the people who are affected by them. This is true in spite of the fact that we know, for example, that the designation of a subject as “white” by his or her contemporaries has more to do with the site and moment of utterance than with any physical quality possessed by that subject.<sup>80</sup> Historians cannot stop studying race or using racial designations, but we should find ways to do so that refuse to fix or obscure their meanings. What was remarkable in the UNESCO project was its capacity to reveal race as a historical construct in these two distinct senses: by exposing how past “misuses” served as rationalizations for inequality, and by exposing race itself as a temporal, ephemeral phenomenon dependent on the people who invested it with authority and meaning. Although UNESCO’s statement did not ultimately embrace a social constructivist view, it did produce a document that acknowledged implicitly that race had once been one thing and now it was another.

Historians have come to the consensus that race is a social construction, but a number of current phenomena, such as race-specific medical research, the racial identification of genomic types, and the current fad of individual DNA testing, suggest that many people outside the humanities and social sciences have not.<sup>81</sup> Although scholars have produced powerful critiques of the racial thinking implicit in such practices, historians who use race as an analytic category have generally paid more attention to explicitly racist uses of race, as when the idea served to rationalize slavery, imperialism, segregation, or extreme forms of racism; or to archaic uses, such as the shifting boundaries of whiteness and its past exclusion of the Irish or others now considered simply white. If we make good on our mantra about social construction, however, historians have a unique contribution to make to contemporary discourse on race as a more general ideological category as opposed to simply particular racial types. A historical understanding of race and its relationship to racism and antiracism not only clarifies our objects of study, but demystifies discussions about racial identity, makes race a social category capable of doing constructive political work, and exposes the ahistorical conceit behind “color-blind” policies. Unless we problematize race in all its forms, including contemporary and seemingly more benign biological applications, we risk contributing to the confusion. What race *was* is not what race *is*, but understanding how it has been constructed in the past is essential to understanding and contributing to debate about its current construction.

<sup>80</sup> Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995); Lopez, *White by Law*; Michelle Brattain, “Miscegenation and Competing Definitions of Race in Twentieth Century Louisiana,” *Journal of Southern History* 71, no. 3 (August 2005): 621–658.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, Reardon, *Race to the Finish*, 74–97; Sandra Soo-Jin Lee, Joanna Mountain, and Barbara A. Koenig, “The Meanings of ‘Race’ in the New Genomics: Implications for Health Disparities Research,” *Yale Journal of Health Policy, Law, and Ethics* 1 (2001): 33–75. On individual DNA testing, see “Out of Africa—But from Which Tribe?” *Washington Post*, October 19, 2006, A3; Patricia J. Williams, “Emotional Truth,” *The Nation* 282 (March 6, 2006): 14.

---

**Michelle Brattain** is Associate Professor of History at Georgia State University. She is the author of *The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers, and Culture in the Modern South* (Princeton University Press, 2001). She is currently working on a book manuscript titled *What Race Was: Popular and Scientific Constructions of Race in the Postwar United States*.



---

## AHR Exchange

---

*The June 2007 issue featured an AHR Forum titled "Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World." In his commentary on the three articles in that forum, "Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?" Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra took particular issue with the interpretation offered by Eliga H. Gould in his piece, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery." Gould had emphasized the overlapping and interconnected byways linking Spain's Atlantic empire with the British Empire and the early American Republic. Cañizares-Esguerra suggested that the most meaningful imperial cross-currents are to be found not in imperial competition, but rather in the central imperial narratives, often biblical in origin, appropriated and refashioned by the British and Spanish alike. In his contribution to this AHR Exchange, Gould responds to Cañizares-Esguerra's comments by asserting the importance of the periphery in imperial and postcolonial studies, charging Cañizares-Esguerra with attempting an outdated, "core" version of Atlantic history. Cañizares-Esguerra responds by defending his attention to these "core" narratives in terms that suggest political and contemporary concerns. What separates these two historians seems less a matter of their different understandings of Atlantic history than the importance and centrality they ascribe to very different areas of historical reality.*

---

*AHR Exchange*  
Entangled Atlantic Histories:  
A Response from the Anglo-American Periphery

---

ELIGA H. GOULD

DO IMPERIAL PERIPHERIES MATTER? If so, to whom do they matter, and in what ways? Is their relationship to other areas of historical analysis unchanging—especially to the centers with which they are usually paired—or does that relationship vary according to time and place? Although it hardly seems necessary to ask such questions today, the role of the periphery would appear to be anything but settled from the comments of Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra in last June's *AHR* Forum, "Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World." In his comments, Professor Cañizares-Esguerra endorses the general case for entangled history. Linking the histories of the early modern Spanish and British Atlantic worlds, he writes, "demonstrates the futility of studying historical phenomena that were transatlantic, hemispheric, and transnational within the limits of national narratives." Yet Professor Cañizares-Esguerra also contends that historians would be better served by "an alternative version of 'entangled histories,'" one that treats "interactions at the margins" of the two Atlantic communities as "limited" and that insists on the priority of the "core."<sup>1</sup> Although I am interested to hear what else he has to say, such a contention strikes me as problematic with respect to Britain and Ireland, and it seems out of place in colonial Anglo-America, where, apart from Britain, there was no such thing as a core.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, MANY—IF NOT MOST—British and Anglo-American historians might have concurred in giving priority to the center. In scholarship on England, Scotland, and Wales, such tendencies were so pronounced that John Pocock memorably called the entire field of British history an "unknown subject," writing that "most of what passes by that name is English history and makes little pretense of being anything else."<sup>2</sup> Not to be outdone, historians of colonial Anglo-America often appeared to believe that in New England, their subject also had a core. Although the rediscovery of Virginia was already under way, scholarship on the English

I would like to thank Amy Turner Bushnell, David Frankfurter, Nicoletta Gullace, and Julia Rodriguez for their comments and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?" *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007): 787.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, "The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject," *American Historical Review* 87, no. 2 (April 1982): 311.

settler societies that did not lie between the Hudson and Kennebec rivers was uneven and thin, and historians preoccupied with the British colonies that would become the United States paid almost no attention to the West Indies, home to the largest African population in British America and to the hemisphere's wealthiest and most thoroughly Anglicized white creoles.<sup>3</sup> As for the so-called Spanish borderlands of California, Texas, and Florida, they were conspicuous mainly by their absence—further proof, as Professor Cañizares-Esguerra writes, that imperial peripheries were apparently not the best place “to explore deeper levels of interaction.”<sup>4</sup>

Given the prevalence of such observations in his remarks, it is perhaps not surprising that Professor Cañizares-Esguerra objects to a model of entangled history that stresses the importance of the periphery. By contrast, I find it hard to envision a model for which the periphery would not be central. Drawing on the insights of Atlantic history, the so-called new British imperial history, and the postcolonial turn in Anglo-American history, I assume that entangled histories are likely to be influential insofar as they acknowledge (1) that the history of imperial centers is inextricably linked with the history of their colonial peripheries; (2) that it is often at the margins where imperial nations most fully enact their histories and identities; (3) that such peripheries are rarely the uncontested domain of the nations and national historiographies that claim them; and (4) that it is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to separate the entangled (and entangling) histories of colonial peripheries from the metropolitan histories of which they are an integral part. Having written on the British dimensions of the American Revolution, I would certainly not wish to displace the metropole from such histories; nor would I deny the importance of figures such as Shakespeare, Milton, and Locke, whose ideas about property and sovereignty play an important role in my own thinking.<sup>5</sup> But if there is one point on which historians of the English-speaking Atlantic generally agree—and there are many on which we do not—it is that the metropolitan capacity for shaping events on the periphery was never as great as historians once believed, and that the exercise of power at the center was intertwined in deep and profound ways with the exercise of power at the margins.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For the limits of New England-centrism and the need to broaden the focus of colonial Anglo-American scholarship, see especially Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988).

<sup>4</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, “Entangled Histories,” 789.

<sup>5</sup> Eliga H. Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007): 771–772, 782–783. On Britain and the Revolution, see Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Gould, “A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (April 1999): 476–489.

<sup>6</sup> The work of the sociologist Edward Shils has been especially influential in this rethinking: Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago, 1975). For the pervasiveness of the move toward the periphery, see Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788* (Athens, Ga., 1987); Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), especially the editors' introduction; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000); Linda Colley, *Captives* (New York, 2002); Joyce E. Chaplin, “Expansion and Exceptionalism in Early American History,” *Journal of American History* 89, no. 4 (2003): 1431–1455; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003); P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America, c. 1750–1783* (Oxford, 2005).

If Professor Cañizares-Esguerra's rendition of entangled histories seems to be at odds with the current literature, it also apparently ignores the fact that at no point before the American Revolution did the British colonies that became the United States possess a region, city, or province that could be described as an Anglo-American core. Although Boston served as a kind of metropole to Puritans elsewhere in New England, even Perry Miller regarded John Winthrop's "Citty upon a Hill" as a provincial statement of cosmic self-importance, one that—until *A Model of Christian Charity* was published in full in 1838—remained largely unknown.<sup>7</sup> In the search for what he calls "quintessentially 'American' narratives," Professor Cañizares-Esguerra apparently takes a different view, writing in *Puritan Conquistadors*, the book upon which his comments are largely based, that "the Puritans planted the seeds of the future doctrine of America's Manifest Destiny," and elevating Winthrop's speech to the same status as Shakespeare's *Tempest* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*.<sup>8</sup> Not so long ago, these might have seemed like unexceptional claims. Today, scholars working within what Charles Cohen refers to as the "post-Puritan paradigm" would balk at attributing such grand, proto-national intentions to the Puritans themselves, and there is a general caution about making chronologically tenuous connections with figures such as John Louis O'Sullivan, the New York journalist who coined the phrase "manifest destiny" in 1845.<sup>9</sup> As historians have come to terms with this reassessment, New England has resumed its place as the subject of pathbreaking scholarship, and Puritanism remains a fruitful subject for historians interested in translocal phenomena such as the Anglo-Spanish demonology that Professor Cañizares-Esguerra so ably treats in his own work.<sup>10</sup> But that history is the history of a distinctive, unusually well-documented region and religion, not a microcosm of colonial Anglo-America, let alone a prototype for the national history of the United States.

If this insight holds for New England's once-dominant place in U.S. history, it is no less true of the rest of British America. Asked to name the region whose history most fully embodied trends prevalent elsewhere in the English-speaking Atlantic, many Anglo-American historians would lean toward the Chesapeake, albeit with the same caveat against treating any region as the "core" of an emergent nation.<sup>11</sup> Like Massachusetts, Virginia came to serve as a regional center for settlers in Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian west, and it was home to four of the first five presidents of the United States. Along with Barbados, Virginia was also, notoriously, the cru-

<sup>7</sup> Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (1956; repr., New York, 1964), 11–14; John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity, written on board the Arabella . . .* (Boston, 1838).

<sup>8</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, "Entangled Histories," 787, 799; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford, Calif., 2006), 80.

<sup>9</sup> Charles L. Cohen, "The Post-Puritan Paradigm of Early American Religious History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 54, no. 4 (1997): 704. On the dominance of Puritan New England in Anglo-American religious history generally (and the need to shift the focus elsewhere), see Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). For the wider influence that the Puritans were once believed to have had on American thought, see Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven, Conn., 1975); Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, Wis., 1978). For a more balanced assessment, see Andrew Delbanco, *The Puritan Ordeal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

<sup>10</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*; Cañizares-Esguerra, "Entangled Histories," 789–796. On satanic conspiracies in New England as part of a more general phenomenon, see also David Frankfurter, *Evil Incarnate: Rumors of Demonic Conspiracy and Ritual Abuse in History* (Princeton, N.J., 2006).

<sup>11</sup> Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*.

cible of Anglo-American slavery during the late seventeenth century, and it was the site of the first sustained contact between English settlers and Indians. Even at the height of the post-1801 “Virginia Dynasty” of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, however, the Old Dominion was but one of several loci of power within the decentralized American Republic. Despite the emergence of a strong central government in Philadelphia during the 1790s, historians have begun paying closer attention to the federal, multi-centered structure of public life in the early republic, recasting the union itself as an international system of competitive, potentially hostile states—each entangled in various ways with the empires of Britain, France, and Spain—and the Constitution of 1787 as a “peace pact” in the tradition of Westphalia and Utrecht. Fragmented by the centrifugal forces of politics, religion, ethnicity, geography, and culture, the early American Republic was many things, but a centralized nation-state on the European model was one thing that it was not.<sup>12</sup>

A core-based model of entangled history suffers from the additional problem of tending to marginalize those areas where the dominance of white settlers and officials was least assured and to ignore the racially diverse groups that populated them. Within Britain’s Atlantic empire no less than Spain’s, native peoples living beyond the centers of European settlement retained significantly more autonomy and control over their own affairs than geographically integrated but subordinate communities such as New England’s “praying Indians.”<sup>13</sup> Along the edges of the British Empire and the American Republic, the same autonomy often characterized Africans and African Americans, whether enslaved, free, or “half-free.”<sup>14</sup> For this reason, the peripheries of the Spanish and English-speaking Atlantic empires produced a disproportionate number of non-European intermediaries and go-betweens, some of whom wielded influence that reached to the highest levels of national power. In the case of the Creek mestizo Alexander McGillivray, whose story I mention in my article, it makes sense to think of him as the denizen of a contested and entangled borderland because that is what he was.<sup>15</sup> But McGillivray was equally at home in the salons of New Orleans, Charleston, and New York. On meeting the Indian leader while he was negotiating the Creek-American Treaty of New York in 1790, Abigail Adams, wife of the vice-president, wrote that McGillivray “dresses in our fashion [and] speaks English like a native”: “I should never suspect him to be of that Nation.”<sup>16</sup>

Nor was McGillivray unusual in this cultural ambidexterity and ability to shape

<sup>12</sup> David C. Hendrickson, *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding* (Lawrence, Kan., 2003). Political entanglements with Britain and France play a prominent role in Stanley M. Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788–1800* (New York, 1993). On entanglements with Spain, see especially James E. Lewis, *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998). See also Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson’s Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000).

<sup>13</sup> James H. Merrell, “‘The Customes of Our Country’: Indians and Colonists in Early America,” in Bailyn and Morgan, *Strangers within the Realm*, 117–165; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>14</sup> Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 52–53.

<sup>15</sup> Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds,” 778–779, 782.

<sup>16</sup> Abigail Adams to Mary Adams, August 8, 1790, quoted in Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816* (Cambridge, 1999), 75.



events far beyond the borderlands where he lived. On the basis of nearly two decades of careful scholarship on native America, British and Anglo-American historians alike have learned to cast their interpretive gaze “east from Indian country” instead of looking exclusively west (and south) from Europe and the eastern seaboard of North America.<sup>17</sup> One consequence has been a much greater appreciation of the extent to which the periphery in British America and the early United States was the center. For evidence of this reorientation, consider the changing image of the seventh president of the United States, Andrew Jackson. Born to a recently widowed immigrant from Ulster in South Carolina’s backcountry in 1767, and orphaned by the time he was fourteen, Jackson long exemplified the democratizing potential that the American Revolution held for even humble white citizens of the United States.<sup>18</sup> Yet no modern account of Jacksonian America would be complete without mentioning that Jackson was first and foremost an Indian fighter, that he owed his meteoric rise during the 1810s and 1820s to his defense of what had once been Spanish New Orleans and the conquest of Spanish Florida, and that his legacy as president included expelling most of Spain’s one-time Indian allies from this newly bounded territory so that Anglo-American planters could appropriate the land for slave-based agriculture.<sup>19</sup> In Jackson’s life and career, periphery and center merge inexorably (if not quite seamlessly). The “Tennessee caudillo”—in the apt words of Sean Wilentz—succeeded in capturing the presidency *because* of his status as a hero of the Spanish borderlands, not *in spite* of it.<sup>20</sup> To discuss the entangled history of one part without giving proper weight to the entangled history of the other is to convey, at most, half of the story.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, I REMAIN UNCONVINCED by Professor Cañizares-Esguerra’s suggestion that entangled histories should be primarily about interactions at the core. Indeed, it would appear from what he says that scholars writing such histories should limit their investigations to entanglements with other centers. If so, Atlantic history risks losing sight of the asymmetry that, to my mind, is one of the key differences between entangled history and comparative and transnational histories.<sup>21</sup> The brief example of a core-based entangled history that Professor Cañizares-Esguerra offers in his comments is instructive. Although the influencing and borrowing in his discussion of early-seventeenth-century Christian “typologies” in the Spanish and English empires can be understood as a kind of entangled history, the underlying dynamic is one of Anglo-Spanish equivalence and comparability. From the relative security of Christ’s College, Cambridge, the biblical scholar Joseph Mede reads the histories of José de Acosta, Gregorio García, and Juan de Torquemada and applies their location of Satan’s kingdom in Mexico “to the entire continent” of North America. Puritans in Massachusetts, for whom America is the New Jerusa-

<sup>17</sup> Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> For the literature, see Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds,” 782–784 (esp. notes 83–87).

<sup>20</sup> Sean Wilentz, “The Original Outsider,” *New Republic* 206, no. 25 (1992): 36.

<sup>21</sup> Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds,” 766–767, 784–786.

lem, greet the results of this appropriation with “dismay.” However, there is nothing in this account to suggest that Mede shared their discomfort. Instead, Mede’s willingness to borrow from and expand on the writings of three Catholic theologians appears to have come from a position of self-confidence and equality.<sup>22</sup> With minor adjustments, the interaction that Professor Cañizares-Esguerra describes could just as easily run in the opposite direction, with a Spanish scholar at Salamanca borrowing from an English history of Virginia.

Stuart England, however, was anything but comparable to Habsburg Spain. Although Joseph Mede undoubtedly would have liked to think of them as equivalent, he was born two years before the Spanish Armada, came of age during the Spanish-inspired gunpowder plot that nearly killed James I, and died (in 1638) amid fears that Spain and Austria were on the verge of reestablishing Rome’s hegemony over the Protestant churches of Germany and the Netherlands. In the minds of many English Protestants, there was a very real threat that England itself might become the province of a Habsburg “universal monarchy,” and Mede had every reason to believe that Virginia and New England were in danger of suffering the same fate.<sup>23</sup> Although England was increasingly capable of acting as a core to its own periphery in Scotland, Ireland, and America, it was also potentially the subordinate kingdom (or periphery) of a Spanish core, literal as well as figurative. This, I would argue, is the basis on which England’s metropolitan history becomes truly entangled with Spain’s. Because Spain was the first European power to expand into the Americas, its history was bound to be “normative” for those that followed, as Professor Cañizares-Esguerra correctly notes.<sup>24</sup> But Spain was also dominant to the point of being a virtual hegemon, in Europe no less than in the Indies. Despite the undeniable threat that British Protestantism posed to Spanish Catholicism, a theologian in Spain had the ability to unsettle a Puritan at Cambridge in ways that Mede could not (yet) hope to reciprocate. Even if we think of the periphery as the core’s external opposite, there were times when England was itself a periphery.

This is not to deny the historical significance of imperial centers; nor is it to discount the existence of important differences between entanglements at the center and entanglements on the periphery. To a greater degree than is sometimes realized, Britain’s expansion depended on a highly developed sense of the extra-European Atlantic as a place distinct from Europe, one with its own laws and customs, its own diseases and weather, its own plants and animals, and its own sexual mores and racial hierarchies. In part, these boundaries served to insulate metropolitan society from unwelcome “exotic” practices and commodities, as in the “culturally produced” ignorance with which the Barbados peacock flower became a staple of British gardens while its history as an Afro-Caribbean abortifacient remained largely unknown.<sup>25</sup> No less important, the core’s distinctiveness was also a device for keeping (or attempting to keep) European entanglements on the periphery from entangling the center. Thus

<sup>22</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, “Entangled Histories,” 796–798.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621–1624* (Cambridge, 1989); Steven C. A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>24</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, “Entangled Histories,” 799.

<sup>25</sup> Londa L. Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 3–5.

the British insisted on regarding the outer Atlantic as a legal and political zone “beyond the line” where British settlers and indigenous allies were free to wage war on Britain’s European rivals, regardless of whether Britain was at war with those same rivals in Europe. For much of the early modern period, British officials took a conspicuously hands-off approach toward Anglo-American seamen who engaged in acts of piracy against other European nations, toward colonial settlers who occupied land claimed by other nations, and toward merchants who smuggled in violation of other nations’ ordinances. Often—though by no means always—the “other nation” in these encounters was Spain, with America’s perceived remoteness enabling Britain to challenge Spain’s preeminence in the extra-European world without being held accountable for its actions in Europe.<sup>26</sup>

Yet even as the British sought to keep such entanglements from engulfing the center, the most striking feature of the boundaries that demarcated Britain’s imperial periphery from its metropolitan core was their permeability and instability. In the British Atlantic empire no less than the early United States, the margins of empire continued to intrude, and nowhere more so than in entanglements with Spain. Although historians of the British Atlantic have come to think of France as Britain’s main eighteenth-century rival, the global struggle that dominated the period from the Glorious Revolution to the aftermath of Napoleon’s defeat was equally a contest over the fate of Spain and its American empire. At times—notably during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713)—Spain appeared to be in danger of becoming an appendage of France, but as the wealthiest, most populous, and most territorially extensive of the European American empires, the Bourbon monarchy was still a worthy opponent in its own right. Try as they might to confine their Spanish differences to America, the British repeatedly found themselves embroiled with Spain in Europe. Indeed, it would not be much of a stretch to say that the global cataclysm that was the Seven Years’ War—the first true world war in European history—had its origins not in George Washington’s ill-fated encounter with an Iroquois sachem and a French surveyor at the Forks of the Ohio in 1754, but in the Anglo-Spanish war of 1739 and Britain’s growing assertiveness and refusal to accept Spain’s lordship in the borderlands and border seas of America.<sup>27</sup> If we think of the American and French revolutions as aftershocks of this globalization of peripheral differences, the more significant results included the partial disintegration of Britain’s Atlantic empire in 1776 and the near-total dissolution of Spain’s two generations later.

As I noted in the article with which this exchange began, one of the problems with comparative history is a tendency to assume comparability between subjects that are not in fact comparable.<sup>28</sup> Clearly, the relationship between center and periphery is an especially important area where historians need to be careful. Although a core-based model of entangled history strikes me as unlikely to gain acceptance within the larger field of Atlantic history, there may be reasons internal to the scholarship

<sup>26</sup> Eliga H. Gould, “Zones of Law, Zones of Violence: The Legal Geography of the British Atlantic, circa 1772,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 60, no. 3 (2003): 471–510.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Mapp, “The Spanish Empire and the Seven Years’ War,” A Round Table Discussion of Fred Anderson’s *Crucible of War*, *Common-place* 1, no. 1 (2000), <http://www.common-place.org>. On Washington and the Iroquois origins of the Seven Years’ War, see Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000).

<sup>28</sup> Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds,” 766–767, 785–786.

on early modern Spain and Spanish America to explain why Professor Cañizares-Esguerra finds the history of borderlands to be so limiting.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps when viewed from the colonial centers of Mexico and Peru, the borderlands of Spain's American empire still appear to be as peripheral to him as they once were to Anglo-American historians.<sup>30</sup> From the standpoint of the current literature on Anglo-America and the English-speaking Atlantic, however, peripheries were anything but marginal, whether the peripheries in question were the Spanish borderlands studied by Herbert Eugene Bolton and his successors, or Virginia, New England, and the Caribbean.<sup>31</sup> Insofar as the early United States had a cultural, political, or economic center, it was at most a center in the making. In important respects, the center of the American Republic was still in Britain and the British Empire, and this Anglo-American periphery remained entangled in deep and unsettling ways with the legacy of Spain's own American lordship. If only because memories of empire usually outlive the reality, these entanglements would persist for much of the nineteenth century (if not beyond), even as the underpinnings of Spain's empire began to crumble and eventually disappear. To a greater extent than some might care to admit, the legacy is with us still.

<sup>29</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, "Entangled Histories," 789, 799.

<sup>30</sup> This seems to be the point of his discussion of the limits of borderland history in Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, 216–220.

<sup>31</sup> For Bolton and his legacy, see the brief discussion in Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds," 767–768, and the literature cited there in n. 12.

---

**Eliga H. Gould** is Associate Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire.

---

*AHR Exchange*  
The Core and Peripheries of Our National Narratives:  
A Response from IH-35

---

JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA

FROM MY HOME IN AUSTIN, TEXAS, I CAN PEER down IH-35, a congested highway that sharply divides the city in two. To the west and north stretch dozens of upper-middle-class “white” suburbs. To the east and south, visitors are greeted by taquerias, “wash-aterias,” and trocas (trucks) with Mexican flags. Given the many physical and linguistic barriers that keep them apart, one would be tempted to assume that these two Austins have little in common. But the economy has a way of stubbornly bringing them together: Thousands of “Mexican” gardeners, waiters, cooks, janitors, and construction workers cross IH-35 every day to work in the booming western section of the city.<sup>1</sup> I hear and speak Spanish all over town. The construction workers and janitors with whom I often chat seem out of place on campus. Many are most likely illegal, have thicker accents than my own, and wear tattoos of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Outside a handful of classrooms, their language is the currency of laborers, not learning, and their history belongs at the margins. The historical narratives that students learn on campus acknowledge these workers as dwellers of the “borderlands.” At cocktail parties in west Austin, where I am often addressed as José and Jesús, and where it is automatically assumed that I am in the “Spanish” department, it is difficult to convince anyone that there is nothing “borderly” about these south-eastern dwellers and that we should be taking a closer, second look at their tattoos to understand, say, the history of colonial Boston. These are charged political times in Texas as well as in the rest of the country. Talk-radio hosts insist that the foreign ways of these millions of illegal “aliens” are gnawing at the foundational Anglo-Protestant values of this country and that the debate should ultimately be about culture and history. My conversation with Professor Gould is part of this larger debate. I share most of his views and have little with which to disagree. Yet I do come to the topic from a peculiar personal experience, as an Ecuadorian whose children have been born and raised in this country, and it is here where our interpretive differences ultimately lie.

Many thanks to Fernando Montenegro-Torres and Jeff Speicher for helping me find the right tone among the countless drafts.

<sup>1</sup> For a wonderfully evocative description of Austin as a place that renders deliciously absurd such homogenizing, ironclad categories as “Latin America” and “America,” see Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *El Urbanista* (Mexico City, 2004), 280–289.



PROFESSOR GOULD'S CRITICISM OF MY ESSAY is insightful and valuable. He is correct to assume as flawed the thesis that neither New England nor the Puritans stand as representative of the colonial history of this country. As a former student of Jack Greene, Professor Gould is very familiar with the influential thesis of his teacher: If there ever was a colony representative of the British American experience, it was the Chesapeake, not New England.<sup>2</sup> A historiography that claims for the Puritans a core representative status is passé. My essay therefore appears twenty years too late to be of any consequence, a sadly misinformed effort to engage Perry Miller. Yet my book *Puritan Conquistadors*, which Professor Gould correctly identifies as the source of my essay, does not seek to claim for the Puritans any central, normative status:

Why specifically compare the Puritans of New England, rather than some other group in British America, to the Spanish Catholics? Given that Jack Greene has demonstrated that New England's politics, culture, and economy were not representative of the British American experience, it would appear to make more sense to study the ideologies of colonization in the middle and southern British American colonies. In fact, as the work of Edward L. Bond suggests, the crusading discourse of colonization as an epic battle against the devil seems to have run as deep in seventeenth-century Virginia as it did in Puritan New England. But the warnings of scholars like Greene have not yet dislodged the Puritans from the public imagination as the quintessentially "American" colonists. This reason alone justifies my choice: I want to reach and challenge a wide audience.<sup>3</sup>

In both my essay and my *Puritan Conquistadors*, I seek to engage "quintessentially American" stories, to show that "core" national narratives cannot be understood solely within the narrow constraints of national historiographies. Although I agree with Professor Gould's brief yet brilliant characterization of core and peripheries in the early modern British Atlantic, he, in turn, would have to agree that, although Central America and the West Indies might have been more valuable to the British Empire than New England, most "Americans" today do not even know where Honduras and Jamaica are on a map. When I first read C. L. R. James's *The Black Jacobins* some twenty-five years ago, I was shocked to discover that Haitians had made it possible for the United States of America to acquire Louisiana by thoroughly defeating Napoleon in the tropics.<sup>4</sup> The battle over one-third of the current territory of the U.S. had ultimately been fought in a place that was at the core of the Atlantic system then but is at the symbolic and economic periphery of the continent today. No matter how central it might have been in the past, Haiti today remains marginal in U.S. narratives of western expansion. Professor Gould's problem with my essay (and my problem with his) may stem from our different uses of the words "core" and "peripheries": he uses them to explain past regional interactions within and without bygone empires; I deploy them to identify the margins and centers of national nar-

<sup>2</sup> Jack Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988).

<sup>3</sup> Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford, Calif., 2006), 14–15. The reference to Edward L. Bond is to his "Source of Knowledge, Source of Power: The Supernatural World of English Virginia, 1607–1624," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 108, no. 2 (2000): 105–138.

<sup>4</sup> C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York, 1938).

ratives today. Thus it is possible to have both, “peripheral” regions of the early modern Atlantic world that have stood firmly at the “core” of the national imagination, as is the case with New England.

As I maintain in the opening paragraph (and in the last chapter of *Puritan Conquistadors*), my interest in “entangled histories” lies in the political implications of our academic debate. Thus I consider narratives on Shakespeare, Milton, and the Puritans to be of greater consequence in the *current* U.S. political debate over race and history than, say, those elucidating the role of British Honduras in the Atlantic economy. Take Shakespeare, for example. In the United States, Shakespeare’s Latin-inspired, convoluted syntax oddly stands for the culturally sophisticated roots of the nation. My twelve-year-old son has already read *The Tempest* in middle school—never mind that he did not quite get it. There is one event in Austin in which “Anglos” and “Mexicans” seldom mix, and that is “Shakespeare in the Park,” a summer festival for the public to honor the bard, a fixture in most U.S. cities. It is understandable that such a summer-long celebration of the elevated English literacy of the urban upper-middle classes should fail to attract an audience of Spanish-speaking janitors and construction workers. But this should not necessarily be the case, for as I suggest in my essay (and amply demonstrate in *Puritan Conquistadors*), the Hispanic world that engendered the miracle of Our Lady of Guadalupe informed Shakespeare and Elizabethan England just as well. So to make sense of plays such as *The Tempest*, our “white” urban audiences should be advised to attend the occasional performance of a Mexican “auto-sacramental.”

The presence of “Latin America” in this country is not a new or even recent phenomenon triggered by the massive arrival of illegal immigrants, as most pundits would have us believe. In fact, it is constitutive of this nation from its very colonial beginnings. But this has remained invisible. A panel of highly distinguished historians was recently invited by the *Atlantic Monthly* to compile a list of the 100 most influential figures in “American” history. Not a single “Hispanic” name made it into the roll.<sup>5</sup> Not only would my choices have included Cesar Chavez as a token, but to remind readers of the violent colonial roots of this nation, I would have listed one or two “conquistadors,” formidable protean figures in the British Atlantic imagination.

THE FRONTISPIECE TO JUAN DE CASTELLANOS’S EPIC *Primera parte de las elegías de varones illustres de Indias* (Elegies for Illustrious Great Men of the Indies, Part One) (1589) makes explicit the biblical inspiration for the holy violence unleashed by the Spaniards against the natives. Colonization becomes a fulfillment of biblical, apocalyptic prophecies, an act of liberation and wrathful divine punishment. (See Figure 1). The image typifies the use of typology in the Spanish colonization of the New World. In it the conquest appears as the fulfillment of various biblical passages, an act of charity setting the natives free from the clutches of Satan. The faithful maiden Spain (“Hispania Virgo fidelis”), bearing the Cross and the Bible, slays the dragon

<sup>5</sup> Ross Douthat “They Made America,” *Atlantic Monthly* 280, no. 5 (December 2006): 61–78. Native Americans and Asian Americans are also notoriously overlooked. The list includes six African Americans and nine women.



FIGURE 1: Frontispiece, Juan de Castellanos, *Primera parte de las elegías de varones illustres de Indias* (Madrid, 1589). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

Leviathan (“dan io diruptus est draco” [Vulg., Dan. 14:26]), which has prevented Europeans from crossing the Atlantic. The dragon bites its own long tail, which encircles both the ocean and the two continents, and its Amerindian allies shoot arrows at Hispania, who stands on a shell in the middle of the ocean. Angels and the Holy Spirit descend on the New World. The Spanish king’s coat of arms unites the two halves of the composition, in which the fauna and flora of the Old and the New World stand at opposite sides. A crucified Christ stands on top of the coat of arms and is flanked by references to Revelation 19:15–16: “Rex regum et Dominus dominantium,” King of kings and Lord of lords: a vengeful lord with a “sharp sword” for a mouth who is about to “smite the nations” of the New World. On the ground to the right, below the escutcheon and next to the European rabbit, lies a dismembered Amerindian corpse, a symbol of the terrors that Hispania must overcome. Hispania arrives with a message of liberation, for written on the leaves and trunks of the American palm there are passages from Psalms 40:1–3 (Vulg. 39:2–4): “I waited patiently for the Lord; and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. / He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings. / And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God: many shall see it, and fear, and shall trust in the Lord.” Castellanos thus set the stage for his massive epic recounting of the deeds of Spanish heroes in the conquest of what today is Colombia, Venezuela, and Guiana.

In a treatise recounting a trip to the coast of Guiana in 1596 to recover samples of gold (a voyage undertaken immediately on the heels of Walter Raleigh’s first trip in 1595), Lawrence Kemys, Raleigh’s learned lieutenant, turned to Castellanos’s epic to identify the numerous Spanish expeditions to Guiana, and thus to convince Elizabeth that there was something worth conquering in the New World.<sup>6</sup> Inspired by Castellanos’s typological readings of colonization, Kemys insisted that the Orinoco should be named the “Raleana” just as the Amazon had been named the “Orellana” after its Spanish discoverer Francisco de Orellana.<sup>7</sup>

There is perhaps no more entrenched narrative in our historiography than the one that pigeonholes the “conquistador” in Spanish America. Although John Elliott, in his superb *Empires of the Atlantic World*, ultimately shows that the serendipitous finding of silver in the midst of large, settled indigenous civilizations in Peru and Mexico ultimately led to important differences between the Spanish and British American Creole societies, he also demonstrates that there were multiple similarities. Contrary to common opinion, the British made use of every single one of the ceremonies and discourses of legal territorial possession first deployed by Spanish conquistadors, including the planting of crosses and the use of “papal” bulls. The British, to be sure, did not rely on the religious power of the pope to justify the taking of pagan territories; they simply relied on the authority of the monarch as the head of the Anglican Church, but “papal” bulls there were.<sup>8</sup> Yet these parallels do not

<sup>6</sup> “Heere follow the names of those worthie Spaniardes that have sought to discover and conquere Guiana, extracted out of the writings of Juan de Castellanos clerigo,” in Lawrence Kemys, *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (London, 1596), Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> Kemys, *A Relation*, B2v; E3r and “Heere follow” (paragraphs 2 and 20).

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 1–28, esp. 9–11.



quite capture the appeal that the “conquistador” model once held at the core of the British polity.

One example of the tendency in historiography to cleanse the “conquistador” out of the early modern British expansion is the claim that the epic genre was typical only of Portuguese and Spanish colonization. David Armitage has argued that epic poetry lionizing the conquistador characterized the Iberian expansion, not the English, thus pointing to different conceptions of colonization and territorial possession.<sup>9</sup> It is true that epics narrating the heroic deeds of Captain Smith and Christopher Newport are yet to be found; but the English did endlessly versify on the exploits of their colonialist heroes, the privateers.<sup>10</sup> The pirate shared with the conquistador similar patterns of brutality and social mobility. In fact, the epic of the English privateer was modeled after that of the Spanish conquistador and in response to it.<sup>11</sup> Pirates followed the “business model” first introduced in the New World by the marauding multinational parties of soldiers of fortune we like to call “Spanish” conquistadors, namely, the search for treasure through plunder. Like the conquistadors, these pirates-turned-privateers shared with the Crown any windfall profits in exchange for coats of arms and knighthoods. Typical of these pirate-conquistadors was Francis Drake, at the center of a community of grandees, merchants, and cosmographers who were strategizing about how to turn Elizabethan England into a maritime empire at Spain’s expense. Along with John Dee, the two Richard Hakluyts, and Walter Raleigh, to name only a few, Drake designed ambitious plans to strangle the commerce of the Spanish Empire. This strategic vision took Drake around the globe assaulting and plundering Spanish ports and fleets in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.<sup>12</sup>

Drake was as good a businessman as Cortés, and like Cortés, he understood his chivalric exploits to be part of a larger providential plan to slay the devil in the New World. Unlike Cortés, however, Drake did not associate the devil with the Aztecs; rather, he saw Satan as a Spaniard. He inaugurated a long Protestant *crusading* tradition of outrage over the “massacres and slaughters” committed by Spain in the New World. He and Raleigh were the first in a long line of knights moved to “Anger against the Bloudy and Popish nation of the Spaniards, whose Superstitions have exceeded those of Canaan and whose Abominations have excell’d those of Ahab, who spilt the Blood of innocent Naboth, to obtain the Vineyard.” These knights sought “Deuteronomic” revenge (“an eye for an eye”), chivalrously coming to the aid of the innocent natives to protect the garden that was America from Spanish greed.<sup>13</sup> Drake and his crew considered the Spaniards to be like Satan, exerting a tyrannical rule over innocent natives by the ritual dismembering of bodies and indiscriminate flogging as a sport.<sup>14</sup> English poets understood Drake’s campaigns to

<sup>9</sup> David Armitage, “Literature and Empire,” in Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), 99–123, esp. 117.

<sup>10</sup> The epitaph on Captain John Smith’s tomb at the south side of the Choir of the Church of St. Sepulcher in London, however, is a short epic poem. See John Stow, *The Survey of London: Contayning the Originall, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Government of That City, Methodically Set Downe* (London, 1633), 779–780.

<sup>11</sup> Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge, 2001), chap. 5.

<sup>12</sup> John Cummins, *Francis Drake: The Lives of a Hero* (New York, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> J. Philips, “Dedicatory,” in Bartolomé de las Casas, *Tears of the Indians* (London, 1656).

<sup>14</sup> Francis Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (1628; repr., London, 1652), 53.





FIGURE 2: Left: Frontispiece, Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias* (Madrid 1599). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. Right: Frontispiece, Francis Fletcher, *Francis Drake Revived* (London 1653). Courtesy of the Huntington Library. In Machuca's eyes, the conquistador is a knight-cosmographer, wielding both "the sword and the compass [to achieve] more and more and more." The English conquistador follows the same model. Like Machuca's conquistador, Drake stands next to a globe, a cross-staff, an armillary sphere, a compass, and an astrolabe. Guided by the providential hand of God (*auxilio divino*), Drake's vessel, the *Hind*, circumnavigates the world. As a result, Drake becomes a grandee. As his coat of arms announces, Drake has become a knight despite his humble beginnings: "Sic parvis magna" (Greatness from small beginnings). The frontispiece contains a partial reproduction of the poem Elizabeth had posted on the mast of the *Hind* in 1580 when she knighted Drake. The terms of the epic strikingly resemble those first used in Spain and Portugal to lionize the Iberian conquistador: *Plus ultra, Herculeis, inscribas, Drace, columnis, / Et "Magno," dicas, "Hercule maior ero."* / *Drace, pererrati quem novit terminus orbis, / Quemque simul mundi vidit uterque polus. / Si taceant homines, facient te sydera notum. / Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui. / Digna ratis quae stet radiantibus incluta stellis; / Supremo coeli vertice digna ratis* (Drake, on the Herculean columns / these words write, / Thou farther wentst then any / mortall wight. / Though Hercules for travel / did excell, / From him and others thou didst / beare the bell. / Brave Drake, that round about / the world didst saile, / And viewdst all the Poles, / when men shall faile / Thee to commend, the starres will do't / the Sunne / Will not forget how with him / thou didst run / That ship whose good successe / did make thy name / To be resounded by the / trump of Fame: / Merits to be beset with / Stars divine, / Instead of waves, and the / Skie to shine). For the Latin original and the translation, see William Camden, *Annales the True and Royall History of the Famous Emprise Elizabeth, Queene of England, France and Ireland &c* (London, 1621), 427–428.

weaken Phillip II's empire to be an epic battle against the devil. In a poem wishing success to the 1589 failed expedition that Drake launched against the Spanish fleet that had retreated to winter in Portugal and Galicia, the Oxford poet George Peele saw Drake as a knight "under the sanguine Crosse, brave England's badge," setting sail "to propagate religious piety." Peele envisioned Drake going beyond Portugal, all the way to Rome, "there to deface the pryde of Antechrist . . . And pull his Paper Walles and popery downe."<sup>15</sup> Of all the epic poems written to honor Drake's epic struggle against the Spanish Antichrist, Charles FitzGeffrey's *Sir Francis Drake: His*

<sup>15</sup> George Peele, *A Farewell Entitled to the Famous and Fortunate Generalls of Our English Forces* (London, 1589), 5, 6.

*Honorable Life's Commendation, and His Tragickall Death's Lamentations* (Oxford, 1596) is the most telling.<sup>16</sup> Stanza after stanza, in a repetitive drumbeat, FitzGeffrey portrays Drake's exploits as the battle of the archangel Michael against the beast of the Apocalypse. In the poem, Drake is depicted as superior to all medieval and classical heroes, including Sir Guion (Gawain), Achilles, Aeneas, and Ulysses (B5v–B6r). Had the ancients known Drake, they would have ceased sacrificing to Venus and revered him as a saint: "Erect his statue whereas hers hath beene; Make Drake your Saint, and make the shrine herse his" (B7v). The ancients would also have preferred Drake to Neptune, given the former's greater preternatural hold over the seas; this alone would have placed Drake "in thy catalogue of saints" (C3r). Not surprisingly, before a hero of such caliber, Spain cowers in fear: "Spaine trembled at the thunder of his name, / And when those Giants prouddie did rebel, / No thunderbolt had needed but his fame, / Their hawtie-minded forces to quell, / And send them by whole Myriads unto hell" (C5r). It is Philip II, the "Tartessian Caligula," who most fears Drake "and hides his doating head for very horreur." The mere sound of Drake's name causes this modern Caligula to "lie astonish'd with uncouth terrour, / Exhaling forth his gasping breath with dolour, / While Drake (our new *Alcides*) vanquished this Spanish Hydra's ever-growing head" (C5r).

The case of Drake as a "conquistador" brings us back to the issue of "entangled histories." Far from being a hapless and hopeless endeavor, as Professor Gould suggests, the study of the entangled histories of the British and Spanish Atlantics at their physical and symbolic cores is full of promise and has yet to be done. There are entire areas at the core of British narratives of early modernity that require close scrutiny before we deal with the "peripheries." The very story of the British as the precocious harbingers of scientific modernity associated with the core narrative of the "Scientific Revolution" is still awaiting deconstruction. The millenarian empiricism of Francis Bacon, for example, is often studied solely within English, French, Dutch, and Italian historiographical traditions on early modern knowledge and religion.<sup>17</sup> But clearly Bacon cannot be understood outside the ideas and institutions first created by the

<sup>16</sup> There were numerous other poems written to honor Drake, most of which circulated as manuscripts, including T. N. Cistrensis, "In laudem Francisci Drake militis" (British Library, Egerton MS 2642); William Gager, "In laudem fortissimo viri D. Francisci Draconis" (British Library, Additional MS 22583); N. Eleutherius, "Fortunate Draco," in Eleutherius, *Triumphalia de victoriis Elisabethae Anglorum, Francorum, Hybernorumque reginae augustissimae, fidei defensoris acerrimae, contra classem instructissimam Philippi Hispaniarum regis potentissimi, Deo opt. max. fortunante felicissime partis, anno Christi nati 1588 Julio et Augusto Mensibus* (Germany, 1588); Joannes Hercusanus Danus, *Magnifico ac strenuo viro D. Francisco Draco Anglo Equiti Aurato* (London, 1587); Henry Robarts, *A Most Friendly Farewell Giuen by a Welwiller to the Right Worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, Generall of Her Maiesties Nauy, Which He Appointed for This His Honorable Voiage, and the Rest of the Fleete Bound to the Southward, and to All the Gentlemen His Followers, and Capitaines in This Exploite, Who Set Sale from Wolwich the xv. Day of Iuly, 1585. Wherin is Briefely Touched His Perils Passed in His Last Daungerous Voiage, with an Incouragement to All His Saylers and Souldiers, to Be Forward in this Honourable Exploite* (London, 1585); Thomas Greepe, *The True and Perfecte Newes of the Woorthy and Valiaunt Exploites, Performed and Doone by That Valiant Knight Syr Frauncis Drake* (London, 1589); and Henry Robarts, *The Trumpet of Fame; or, Sir Francis Drakes and Sir John Hawkins Farewell* (London, 1595).

<sup>17</sup> The literature on Bacon is enormous. For a sampling of the most recent contributions, see Perez Zagorin, *Francis Bacon* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London, 1998); Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2001); and John Henry, *Knowledge Is Power: How Magic, the Government and an Apocalyptic Vision Inspired Francis Bacon to Create Modern Science* (Cambridge, 2002).

Portuguese and Spanish empires.<sup>18</sup> Cosmographers such as Andrés García de Céspedes (d. 1611) and millenarian utopians such as Pedro Fernández de Quirós (1562–1615), who anticipated many of Bacon's ideas, ought to be included in any analysis of Bacon's work.<sup>19</sup> Yet they have remained invisible. Before we move to the peripheries, let us deal first with the core of our most entrenched and self-satisfying narratives of the origins of the nation and of our modernity.

<sup>18</sup> Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 2006).

<sup>19</sup> On García de Céspedes, see Maria Portuondo, "Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2005). On the remarkable similarities between Bacon's and Fernández de Quirós's ideas, see Juan Pimentel, *Testigos del mundo: Ciencia, literatura y viajes en la Ilustración* (Madrid, 2003), 73–94. On Bacon as derivative of Iberian traditions of knowledge, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford, Calif., 2006), esp. chap. 2.

---

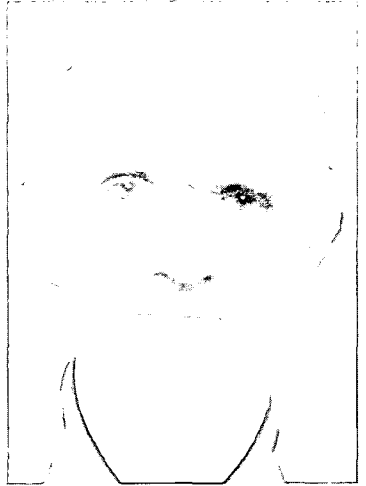
**Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra** is Professor of History and holds an endowed chair at the University of Texas at Austin.



Philip Benedict



Nora Berend



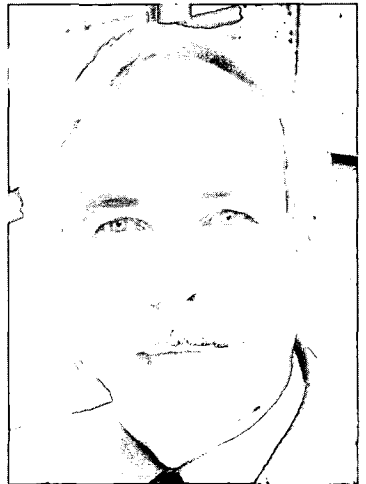
Stephen Ellis



Jeffrey Kaplan



Ussama Makdisi



Jack Miles

---

## AHR Conversation: *Religious Identities and Violence*

---

### PARTICIPANTS:

PHILIP BENEDICT, NORA BEREND, STEPHEN ELLIS,  
JEFFREY KAPLAN, USSAMA MAKDISI, and JACK MILES

*There are few topics that challenge the analytical capabilities of historians more than religion and violence. When the two subjects are combined, the challenge is only increased. How do historians, whether secular-minded or believers, discuss the often extreme, obscure, or alien manifestations of religious belief? How do we understand violence in its many forms without lapsing into explanations that merely evoke the irrational? And how should we explain religiously motivated violence—or violence that seems to be inspired by religious beliefs or authorities?*

*These and other questions are at the heart of this AHR Conversation on “Religious Identities and Violence.” Although the discussion, for obvious reasons, often turned to the contemporary situation in the Middle East, the participants were careful to draw from their knowledge of past historical experience. Most insistently, they warned against taking either religion or religious violence out of its historical context and treating it like a timeless, isolated phenomenon. The participants are Philip Benedict, an early modern European historian who has written widely on Calvinism and the Wars of Religion; Nora Berend, a medievalist who specializes in the religious history of Hungary and Eastern Europe more generally; Stephen Ellis, a historian of modern Africa who has written on religion and politics; Jeffrey Kaplan, who has published on religion and violence from a global perspective; Ussama Makdisi, a scholar of Ottoman and Arab history who has also written on American involvement in the Middle East; and Jack Miles, a journalist and scholar with wide knowledge of religion and religious affairs. The Conversation took place over the summer and fall of 2007.*

**AHR Editor:** To discuss the connections between religion and violence is to open up a very large territory for our consideration. To start, it might be best to confront an issue that often arises when the topic is discussed, especially in more public venues. This is the assumption that religious violence is really not fundamentally about religion—that other interests, claims, or identities of an economic, ethnic, political, or even psychological nature are at stake. What this assumption seems to imply is that religion can be reduced or referred to something else, some other layer of identity or interest. And yet in recent years, historians and social scientists have clearly become more open to what we might call the “irreducibility” of religion as an identity



and affiliation. So my first question relates precisely to this issue: How should we think of religion in relationship to other social identities? How “irreducible” is it?

**Philip Benedict:** I certainly endorse the idea that in most situations in medieval and early modern Europe, religious violence is “really” about religion. This may be less true of more recent times. I wonder, however, how consistently useful it is to think of religion as a social identity in medieval and early modern Europe. Situations certainly existed in which people assigned religious labels to one another and/or thought of themselves as part of a religious group, most obviously in religious borderlands or in regions where multiple religious groups lived alongside one another. But the insight first provided by Wilfred Cantwell Smith and subsequently refined by a number of historians, namely that it was only over the course of the late Middle Ages, and especially in the wake of the Reformation, that the concept of “religion” took on something approaching its modern sense of an organized set of beliefs and practices about the divine rather than an attitude of piety toward the gods, is an important one to keep in mind.<sup>1</sup> And while it is certainly true that many forms of religious violence in late medieval or early modern Europe were directed against neighbors assigned some fixed label such as “Jews,” “Huguenots,” or “Papists,” incidents of religious violence may have been especially likely to occur at moments when new beliefs were spreading into an area and the religious situation was far too fluid to be neatly defined. So when public scenes of disrespect to the consecrated host sparked violent Catholic retaliation in France around 1560, the violence was motivated by outrage against those so depraved as to attack God’s body, but the clash cannot be usefully analyzed as one between two groups with fixed social identities. The violence was all about rival beliefs and their public manifestation and defense—a clear matter of “religion” as a symbolic system. To go from there to speaking of religion as an irreducible identity is a linguistic step it probably isn’t useful to take.

**Stephen Ellis:** Religion varies from one society to another, so something that we consider today as belonging to the sphere of religion may not have been thought of that way by our ancestors. However, one thing that seems to be common to religion in every historical time and place is the perception of an invisible world that exists alongside the visible one. Sometimes the invisible world is even thought to suffuse the visible world. A person brought up in such an intellectual environment is likely to develop a distinctive view of the world in which events or trends that have an obvious material explanation—a road accident, say, caused by a vehicle with faulty brakes—may be considered also to have a cause in the invisible world. When it comes to trends that affect an entire society, such as a war, a plague, or a famine, people typically develop a rather dense explanation that includes political, economic, and religious elements. Hence the perception by intelligent people, quite capable of sophisticated analysis, that a plague not only might be caused by germs, but might have a religious explanation as well. In this sense, historians are well advised to take the

<sup>1</sup> Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion: A New Approach to the Religious Traditions of Mankind* (New York, 1963); Peter Biller, “Words and the Medieval Notion of ‘Religion,’” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 351–369.

religious thought of other times and places seriously. That does not exclude being fully aware of political operations, for example by holders of political power who may deliberately invoke religious arguments or religious institutions in the service of a policy aimed at controlling material resources. Perhaps this provides us with a way to think about religious identity as well. The concept of a religious identity is clearly one that has a connection to politics, in the sense of the manipulation of control over resources. In today's world, it is generally possible to distinguish the religious and political aspects of conflicts in which religious identity appears to play a key role. It may well be that in certain societies in the past, however, such a distinction between religion and politics was less easily thinkable.

**Nora Berend:** I agree that it is unhelpful to talk about “irreducible” religious identity. This is not the same as saying that religious identity is necessarily a cover for other interests or motives. Just as religion is part of society, so is religious identity part of social identity.<sup>2</sup> It is interrelated with other aspects of identity rather than being a discrete entity. Religion as a phenomenon as well as particular religions changed over time. For example, as Christianity spread with the conversion of whole societies, it also adapted to the societies it penetrated. Scholars even talk about the Germanization of early medieval Christianity to highlight the scale of the changes linked to the adaptation of Christianity to new populations.<sup>3</sup> What was accepted and what was not (therefore what was “Christian”) was continuously redefined. Examples include but are not restricted to dietary regulations, the emergence of new tenets and practices such as the cult of saints, and new organizational structures such as centralization under the papacy.<sup>4</sup> Christianity also split into a number of competing branches (Catholicism and so-called “heresies,” then Protestantism and so on), each laying claim to be the “true” Christianity. So the content of religious identity correlates with the social context: social customs, which differ radically in different periods, are part of religious identity. An early medieval monk could utter ritual curses and beat the relics of a saint to remind the saint of his duty to protect the community that looked after the relic; in the fourteenth century, a controversy developed over whether it is heretical to claim that Christ lived in complete poverty.<sup>5</sup> The Christian identity of many earlier people has often been called into question by modern Christians whose criteria are so different; yet both identified themselves as Christians. Religion therefore is always part of a whole society, and religious identity is inseparable from the social context.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (1968; repr., New York, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> James C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (New York, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (1990; repr., Cambridge, 1997); Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000* (Malden, Mass., 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); Patrick Geary, “Humiliation of Saints,” in Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (1983; repr., Cambridge, 1987), 123–140; Patrick Nold, *Pope John XXII and His Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy* (Oxford, 2003).

I also agree that historically types of group identity changed, but I would like to take issue with the idea that it may not be useful to think of religion as a social identity in the Middle Ages. The meaning of "religion" certainly changed over time, since modifications in religion reflect social transformation, but socially constructed religious identity existed in the Middle Ages just as much as, say, in the nineteenth century, even if in different forms. Religious identity may dominate or be more or less important compared to other social identities, but there is no single model even within one period or society. Medieval society was not uniformly religious; the "Christian Middle Ages" is a modern concept.<sup>6</sup> For example, wars in medieval Iberia started out as opportunistic warfare not just between Christians and Muslims, but also between adherents of either religion. Over the course of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, this warfare was redefined as a religious war, the *Reconquista*. Even though realities continued to be more complex and both war and alliances cut across the religious divide, the rhetoric increasingly focused on a just war against the enemies of the faith.<sup>7</sup> Complex social institutions such as military orders were established around this idea; a member of such an order had a religious identity, but I do not think one could argue that this was not a social identity. Any formulation of religious identity was also open to competing interpretations. For example, in the thirteenth century, popes and kings both subscribed to the idea that kings were defenders of Christendom, but they had rather different ideas about what this meant.<sup>8</sup>

**Jack Miles:** The cover photograph in today's *Los Angeles Times* [June 15, 2007] shows a Hamas jihadi in the familiar black stocking mask, holding a gun in one hand and a Qur'an in the other, standing atop a desk in the Gaza headquarters of the Preventive Security Service, one of four security agencies run by Fatah. There can be little doubt that this man believes his fight is about Islam, but do we?

I sense that those at this electronic table do not share this view. Philip Benedict endorses the idea "that in most situations in medieval and early modern Europe, religious violence is 'really' about religion." He adds the qualification "This may be less true of more recent times." Can we agree, though, that if it was true once, it is possible in principle and may be true again in a given situation?

While writing on the Balkans for the *Los Angeles Times* in the 1990s, I was struck by one way in which this conflict differed from that in Northern Ireland, with which at the time a good many commentators compared it. I had some familiarity with the Northern Ireland conflict through members of my extended family who live there. (A third cousin of mine was interned by the British.) What struck me was that in virtually every case of a Serb attack on a Muslim town in Bosnia, the first two acts

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Religion, Folklore and Society in the Medieval West," in Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein, eds., *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Malden, Mass., 1998), 376–387.

<sup>7</sup> The chronology of the "invention" of the *Reconquista* and its equation with crusading is debated; see, e.g., Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), chap. 4; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, Pa. 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Nora Berend, "Défense de la Chrétienté et naissance d'une identité: Hongrie, Pologne et péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge," *Annales HSS* 5 (September–October 2003): 1009–1027.

of the invaders were to burn down the mosque, and if there was a library or archive, to burn that down as well. By contrast, the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland never burned down each other's churches, schools, or libraries. Pubs were the more usual target. Closer to that conflict, moreover, one only sometimes heard the terms "Catholic" and "Protestant" used as prime designators. More often, one heard of Unionists (or Loyalists) and Nationalists (or Republicans). This may surprise inasmuch as this conflict at least to some extent has continued the early modern wars of religion that Philip Benedict alludes to. Perhaps by the time of the Act of Union, colonialist wealth mattered rather more than religion, but religion surely mattered to Cromwell in an earlier stage of the conflict. In any case, by the late twentieth century, we were dealing with irredentist nationalism vs. residual colonialism rather than with religion, and the identities of the combatants were only secondarily established by their religious affiliation.

So, then, sometimes yes and sometimes no. Hamas, with its operative standing on the Gaza desk, is engaged in genuine religious warfare. Sunnis and Shi'as in Iraq, who bomb each other's mosques and funerals, would seem to be engaged in genuine religious warfare as well. And how do we determine the difference? Just what is it that we encounter when we encounter religion in a form that cannot be reduced to some more tangible consideration such as territory?

I submit that there are two elements: one lateral or social, the other vertical or transcendent. As to the social element, what we now call religion is what the Western world first called church. The church was a social novelty in that it functioned rather as an ethnic group (the New Israel) but had a creedal rather than genealogical criterion for membership. One had to join it as one did not have to join either Greco-Roman international polytheism or any of the empire's national blends of ethnicity and myth. This social construct, though "religion" was not the word for it at its creation, remains close to what is meant by "a" religion not just in the West but wherever Western influence has been strongly felt. It is the combination of this social construct with transcendence—the intractable "invisibility" factor to which Stephen Ellis alludes—that creates the matrix for religious violence. Without the transcendence, martyrdom would never seem worth it. Without the social construct, martyrdom would be as unthreatening and inconsequential as private suicide.

**Ussama Makdisi:** To suggest that religion is an "irreducible" identity strikes me as a blunt response to the relatively recent call to take religion or religious thought "seriously." I think we all agree that religious identities are complex and have changed enormously over time, and that it is unhelpful to think of religion in essentialist terms. In other words, the problem we seem to be facing is not so much to analyze religious identity as a dynamic manifestation of a specific context (which we in this group appear to encourage). Rather, the problem seems to be whether we should attempt to bridge the gap that exists between those who believe in one religiously exclusivist way of viewing the world and those who believe in a secular view of the world, and also between those who espouse narrow orthodoxies and those who embrace a wider ecumenism. As to the point that was made by Philip Benedict, that

religious violence in the medieval world was—perhaps—more about religion than the “more recent times,” I am not sure. Religious violence in the modern world does, of course, depend on the context as much today as it did in medieval history. But to suggest, as does Jack Miles, that Hamas is “engaged in genuine religious warfare” is, I think, to miss the point about Hamas completely: they are engaged in political warfare, in a struggle for power and a form of liberation, in which religion, or religious idiom, is but one of several important strands that constitute Palestinian Islamist identity. My point is that they are as aware of this as we are. Certainly, we cannot and should not ignore religion. But the Qur’an held aloft by the Hamas fighter to which Jack refers is simply one picture, illustrative more of the choice of an American newspaper editor than of the situation on the ground in Gaza. The picture was probably chosen because the fighter was holding a Qur’an, whereas the vast majority of images of Hamas fighters conveyed in the Arab media that I am following here in Beirut do not have them holding up Qur’ans. This brings up a more general point: Why is it that when we are talking about the Middle East, and the Islamic world more generally, we privilege the “religious” over the far more (or at least equally) obvious and plausible secular factors and explanations? Why do we ignore the fact that what is at stake in Gaza, for example, has virtually nothing to do with “religion” or “Islam” in any abstract or textual sense, and far more to do with nationalism, colonialism, occupation, racism, and corruption? Why, in other words, do we see the “medieval” when it comes to the Middle East, and ascribe to it an unbroken continuity with its medieval past, whereas we don’t when it comes to the West?

**Jeffrey Kaplan:** Some years ago, I taught at the University of Helsinki. Wonderful place!! I took with me the assumption, drilled into me as orthodoxy in the course of my education, that by the eighteenth century, a watershed had occurred in the human psyche. The world had been gradually “demagicalized” to the extent that secularity was at least an option—that causation could be accepted as accidental and that events might conceivably be random and unrelated. At this time, I envisioned something along the lines of the first edition of Norman Cohn’s description of bewildered urban migrants in his *Pursuit of the Millennium*, men who would literally be unable to function if their religion-centered zeitgeist were significantly disturbed.<sup>9</sup> In Helsinki, though, I came to know a fellow University of Chicago alum, an Assyriologist by trade, who was engaged in a project of translating and digitizing existing fragments of Assyrian texts. He took the opposite view, holding that given sufficient time to adapt to technological change, an Assyrian could probably successfully make the transition from his own time to the modern world. As proof, my colleague offered an impressive number of letters, each at the beginning of the text invoking the gods with great piety, but many revealing the same streaks of cynicism, indifference, or doubt that would be familiar to each of us in our own everyday lives. It took many evenings and untold liters of beer for me to come around to his view, but my faith in the academic apprehensions of the religious certainties of others was never quite the same again. Especially if those others were in distant historical ep-

<sup>9</sup> Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. and expanded ed. (London, 1970).



ochs or cultural milieus. Religion, as Jack Miles notes, is certainly a motive force in history, but is certainly seen in quite different ways by co-religionists, or even by members of seemingly tightly knit radical or combatant groups. Their actions are, in the view of the actors, certainly categorized as “religious” (although the Islamic doctrine of “tawhid” rather rounds the circle by sacralizing all aspects of life—political, economic, social, etc.). And from the perspective of the outside observer, it would be hard to argue with this contention. It is all “religion,” after all. It has textual sources, and its dreams and visions are shaped by the hermeneutical legerdmain of religious authorities freely chosen by each believer. Of course, the texts may be retrieved quite selectively, and the formal religious training of those doing the retrieval may be—in the eyes of more orthodox/conservative/moderate/co-opted or simply Westoxicated Muslims (to borrow from Jalal Al-e Ahmad)—quite wanting.<sup>10</sup> But in all cases, what we are seeing is ineluctably and authentically religious production and is understood as such by the faithful of all ideological hues.

We are, of course, speaking at a very high level of generality. What I find of greater fascination than whether the wave of violence we are experiencing is perceived by its perpetrators as religious is how the precise tone and content of the religious vision appears to the individual actor. From the textual complexities of the eschatological visions written of by religious scholars on one end of the spectrum, to the simple vision of sweet-breasted huris among flowing springs and scented gardens on the other end of the spectrum, to the vast and highly individualized “stuff of dreams” in between these two extremes—both visions are authentically religious, but beyond this observation, they can hardly be said to greatly resemble each other.

The Editor’s question, in sum, should remind us of the necessity of approaching the topic of religious violence with great sensitivity to the insider/outsider dimensions of the issue. I hope that our discussion will, to the best of our ability, highlight both—bringing to bear our own scholarly approaches, but with a sensitivity to the authenticity of the lived experience of those whose lives we wish to better apprehend through our interchange.

**AHR Editor:** Several different positions have already been staked out in this conversation, and I would like to keep them in play while moving on. My own formulation regarding religion as an “irreducible” identity has been contested by several of you. The question was meant to suggest the specificity or even singularity of religious identity, which I believe most of us recognize, although most of us would be quick to qualify this assertion by noting, as several of you have, the interrelatedness of *all* identities. Stephen Ellis, however, has reminded us of the otherworldly aspect of religion for many throughout history, suggesting a distinctiveness that cannot easily be compared or related to other experiences. Nora Berend has queried Philip Benedict’s claim that religion as an identity was an early modern phenomenon, pointing to “socially constructed religious identity . . . in the Middle Ages.” Jack Miles, for his part, wonders about Philip’s skeptical aside regarding the link between religion and violence in more recent times. Ussama Makdisi’s comment challenges

<sup>10</sup> Jalal Al-e Ahmad, *Gharbzadegi* [*Weststruckness*] (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1997).

Jack's assumption that religion is at the heart of even "jihadist" militancy. Finally, Jeffrey Kaplan implicitly challenges us all to think about the subjective, interior aspect of religious experience (where, I might add, the "irreducible" might be relevant as a self-description).

A common theme in most of these comments is the historicity of religion. Indeed, Jeffrey's comment introduces, only to dismiss, the notion of the Enlightenment as an instrument of secularization, which still leaves us with the question of how religion has changed and can change according to context, period, and culture. How do we understand the ebb and flow, the changing strength of religion as having a more or less fundamental purchase on people's identity across time? Ussama's comment should force us to examine our oft-voiced privileging of the "religious," as opposed to other interests and identities, when thinking about the Middle East or Islam. Do we likewise too easily do the same when thinking about the more distant past? And what might this imply about our analytical capacity to deal with "religion"?

**Jack Miles:** Let me begin by conceding the broad legitimacy of the question but then proceed to challenge the validity of what it assumes about the present moment. The late Wilfred Cantwell Smith once wrote, "Believers talk about God. Unbelievers talk about religion." Historians are, by this definition, all unbelievers. The grounds for their unbelief are methodological and surely familiar to the participants in this conversation. Though some believe that they need be unbelievers only when functioning as historians, even then they may often look on the past as "another country" where—just as in some actual, contemporary other countries—God or the gods are invoked as they never are by Western historians themselves. Moreover, the resort to religion as an explanatory hypothesis in these temporally or culturally remote locations might seem, in principle, to come more readily to hand than it does when explaining more proximate locations. I think here of the old archaeologist's advice that when you can't figure out what a building is for, call it a temple.

That said, I do not believe that, in fact, when dealing with the contemporary Middle East or with the ummah as a whole, Western historians, journalists, or policymakers have readier recourse to Islam as an explanation than they have, say, to Christianity when dealing with Europe or the United States. In fact, I believe the opposite to be the case. What we see is a refusal to honor as authentic the invocations of God or religion offered in these locations as the grounds for action, and an insistence on looking past such invocations to the "real" grounds that the benighted actors themselves fail to grasp.

Let me offer a rather humble illustration. The September–October 2006 issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* includes a review essay by Bill Berkeley entitled "Know Thine Enemy: A Rash of New Books by Persian Writers Offer the West a Chance to Re-Imagine Iran." Berkeley has no pronounced thesis. His goal is to introduce complexity rather than eliminate it. But here are the "pull quotes"—words lifted from the text of the article and printed in red block letters by the editor to give the gist and attract the reader: (1) "Are the ruling mullahs truly religious, or do they

merely use religion for power?" (2) "To understand Iranian politics, the book to read is not the Koran but Machiavelli." (3) "For all its bluster, most experts on Iran insist, the Iranian leadership is not irrational." The import of the essay is, ultimately, to eliminate Islam as even one explanatory factor among many and to seek explanation without remainder in considerations of money and power. I submit that Berkeley's procedure is typical of contemporary journalism about Islam and consonant with much "normal history," in which religion—far from being privileged—is marginalized. The marginalization typically comes about by the translation of religious motivations into nonreligious ones.

What is true of journalism is true as well of political policy. Early in the Iraq War, Attorney-General John Ashcroft said, "This is not a religious war. This is a freedom war." President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair were relentless in invoking the antinomies of freedom/oppression and democracy/tyranny rather than ever employing the language of religion/irreligion, much less of Christian/heathen. The factors they considered when forming policy were, like those in Berkeley's review essay, resolutely secular. They never expected that in administering occupied Iraq, they would find themselves forced to defer to the judgment of an Ayatollah Ali Sistani when scheduling Iraq's first post-invasion elections. To extend such deference in the United States to any American Christian leader would be unthinkable. (Recall the easy indifference of the administration to declared opposition to the invasion by all Roman Catholic and mainstream Protestant leadership, including that of the Methodist and Episcopal denominations to which the president and his wife owe nominal allegiance.) At the level of policy formation, this "methodological atheism," this refusal as a matter of policy to regard Iraq as the scene of past and possibly of future religious strife, this determination to conceive that country ("this young democracy") as and only as the scene of past tyranny and future freedom—all this has cost the world dearly.

And it does not seem to be changing under the impact of impending defeat. Who can forget Jeff Stein's op-ed in the *New York Times*, "Can You Tell a Sunni from a Shiite?"<sup>11</sup> In the very recent past, the word "theology" was popular slang for inconsequential quibbling or meaningless theorizing. I submit that that attitude, rather than any privileging of religion in general or Islam in particular, continues to define the discourse of our day. Perhaps at the deepest level, the bias—shared by historians, journalists, and policymakers—is toward material explanation over ideological. To be sure, *cui bono* is a consideration always worth raising. The study of classical antiquity has been invigorated by a determination to look for self-interested, material explanations for, e.g., the spread of Christianity around the Roman Empire. Carried to an extreme, however, the hermeneutic of suspicion toward all invocations of an ideal, not just religious invocations, can end in a culturally induced blindness to the sometimes very material consequences of adherence to an ideal. To speak more plainly, sometimes people really mean it; and when they do, it pays to take them seriously.

<sup>11</sup> Jeff Stein, "Can You Tell a Sunni from a Shiite?" *New York Times*, October 17, 2006.

**Nora Berend:** It is true that there is a fairly pervasive trend to depict people in past societies as more at the mercy of the environment and having less control over their lives and therefore being more religious than men and women in the present. Although it is easy to pick holes in this claim, it is not entirely without merit, but I think it would be more useful to shift the line of argument. Rather than asking if people in the past were more religious (or more sincere in their religiosity), we should focus on the loss of power for religious institutions created by the rise of mass secularization. Such secularization is indeed a fairly recent phenomenon in the history of society. In analyzing the ebb and flow of the strength of religion in determining people's identities, instead of referring to more religiosity in the past, less in the present, we should introduce some distinctions, most crucially between the issues of the sincerity of personal beliefs, on the one hand, and the political-institutional context, on the other hand. In other words, we should distinguish between personal beliefs, which in any period may be sincere or insincere, and the vested interest of religious institutions. The latter will obviously be a much stronger determinant of at least outward conformity in states based on institutional religious power than in secular states.

I agree with Jack that "sometimes people really mean it," but in that case we still need to analyze why they do. Do they "mean it" more in societies governed by religious institutions? To complicate the picture, I do not think that strong personal religiosity necessarily corresponds to the strong power of religious institutions in a society. It is very helpful to have recourse to analytical categories from sociology and social scientists here, whether we think of religion as an answer to death or more generally as a system of compensators. As Stark and Bainbridge pointed out, as long as people are unable to get all the rewards they want, religion will continue; while secularization erodes the power of established denominations, it opens the way for sects and cults, and I think in part this also explains fundamentalist resurgence.<sup>12</sup>

A person's religious beliefs or lack of them is surely the result of a complex web of factors: socialization, fashion, conformity to or on the contrary rebellion against the norm (whether that norm is religious or secular in a given society), rebellion against the previous generation's standards, social and peer pressure, religious or secular prescriptions and their enforcement by a state or political power. The domination of religious institutions, tied to political and economic interests, is an interrelated but distinct matter. Such domination may lead people sincerely to believe the religious tenets propagated by these religious institutions and specialists, but there are historical moments when we can clearly distinguish how the interests of the institutions determined social conformity. For example, the conversion of central and northern Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries proceeded mainly from above. Rulers, together with ecclesiastics, made sure of the conformity of the population to Christian regulations. Laws were issued to this effect, which focused on behavior: for example, people had to go to mass on Sundays and listen without murmuring,

<sup>12</sup> Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1996).

because otherwise they were flogged.<sup>13</sup> The emphasis was not on the sincerity of belief, but on conformity, and of course this conformity can be a powerful means of making societies “religious.” Here is a final example that brings together these lines of analysis and demonstrates the potential complexity of analyzing “religion.” A Christian woman in medieval Spain swore that she would rather become a Muslim than marry the man she was promised to. The case went all the way to the papal court, because her words were taken to constitute a binding oath, which would have led to her apostasy. How “religious” was this woman? Did she “mean it,” or was she simply very angry? The Catholic Church, the religious institution that provided a basic framework for society at the time, took her words at face value as concerning her willingness to leave the Christian religion. This set the institutional machinery in motion. In a secular society, the same words might have been treated as a joke, while the woman’s religious beliefs might have been just as sincere or insincere in either type of society.

**Philip Benedict:** Big questions! Rather than responding directly to all of the Editor’s three questions, I’d like to try to nudge the conversation in another direction. A common theme in the first round of comments, as mentioned, was the historicity of religion. What this means to me is that as we try to understand violence in the name of religion, or conflicts where religious identities are one of the sets of labels to distinguish friend from foe that are in play between the contending sides—and I assume that the purpose of this conversation is to advance that enterprise—we should try to avoid talking about “religion” as a thing. We need to talk about different specific religions at different specific moments in time, and more precisely yet about the beliefs and currents within these religions at any given moment. Religious violence does not ebb and flow because religion *en bloc* has more or less hold on people. It ebbs and flows in relation to the degree of credence and legitimacy accorded specific religious beliefs that justify force to defend something considered sacred, and in relation to the frequency with which situations arise in which believers feel that they are compelled to fight for these beliefs. As I have written in a recent essay, “to understand the motivations of religious conflict, it is necessary to unpack the black box we label ‘religion’ and identify the specific beliefs or attitudes that particularly encouraged or discouraged people to act in ways that provoked conflict.”<sup>14</sup> It is equally important to understand the circumstances in which religious conflicts are particularly likely to arise. This is the approach adopted by Norman Housley, for instance, in his excellent *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536*, which seeks to identify, first, the situations in this period in which religious warfare was particularly likely to arise (in the borderlands between Christianity and Islam; in the conflicts touched off by the Hussite movement in Bohemia), and then the beliefs, tropes, and practices that accompanied and legitimated it (crusading bulls and symbols, sectarian apocalypticism, national messianism, the conviction that defending doctrinal truth against external assault was one of the fundamental ends of secular

<sup>13</sup> Nora Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus’, c. 900–1200* (Cambridge, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> Philip Benedict, “Religion and Politics in the European Struggle for Stability, 1500–1700,” in Philip Benedict and Myron Gutmann, eds., *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability* (Newark, Del., 2005), 128.



government).<sup>15</sup> The Reformation, in turn, would bring new situations where religious violence was particularly likely to erupt, notably those moments when Protestant ideas first began to spread widely within communities, especially communities that defined themselves to a significant degree as sacral communities. At the same time, it led, for complex reasons, to the gradual abandonment of other practices that once widely justified religious violence, most surprisingly the issuing of crusading bulls for conflicts against Christian heretics, which rarely accompanied sixteenth-century wars between Catholics and Protestants and disappeared for good after 1600.

I have the feeling from our first round that all the participants in this discussion would pretty much agree with this analytical approach. (Dissent, of course, is welcome!) If I'm right, then it seems to me that our conversation can best advance by identifying specific beliefs that have justified violence in the name of defending the sacred within different eras and religions and tracing how and why they either gained or lost persuasive power over time. It might also help to identify the situations in which religious violence tended/tends to arise within different civilizations and parts of the globe and what might account for changes in the frequency with which such situations present themselves across the centuries. Of course, to do this, we also need to have some useful working definition of what does and doesn't constitute a religious war or religious riot. On that last, I found Jack Miles's comparative observation about the Northern Irish and Bosnian situation—namely that in the former region places of worship were rarely objects of attack, while in the latter they were often the first places attacked—most illuminating, and perhaps also illustrative of a broader analytical point worth making. One helpful approach to labeling something as religious violence is phenomenological: to look at the character of the violence and the people and objects singled out for attack.

In early modern European religious violence, churches were often targets of the violence. They might be attacked in several ways. One recurring pattern involves the attempted destruction of entire churches, whether by fire or by sack. In seventeenth-century France, this was often done in triumph when the Protestants lost their rights to worship in a given community, or else, earlier in the century, as a warning that a Protestant temple was not wanted in a predominantly Catholic community or that a Catholic religious order was not wanted in a predominantly Protestant community. The message here was: you are not a legitimate part of our community. Another rite of violence was the attack on specific features of church decoration or furnishing: altar rails in the English Revolution, images of saints within and without churches at the initial moment of the Reformation or during conflicts like the French Wars of Religion. The message here was: these specific objects are contrary to the pure worship of God and must be purged from our churches. The attacks on churches or mosques in Bosnia would seem clearly to be sending the first message, the much-publicized Taliban destruction of the Bamiyan statues of the Buddha in Afghanistan perhaps the second. In the internal conflicts in Palestine right now, are places of worship, religious symbols, or clerics being attacked with any regularity? If not, then Ussama Makdisi's point that publishing a photo of a Hamas fighter holding up a

<sup>15</sup> Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford, 2002).

Qur'an tells us more about the choices of American editors than Hamas militants is spot on. But that is not to say that the same point could be made if an American newspaper showed a member of a Sunni or Shi'ite militia unit in Iraq holding up a Qur'an. There shrines are obviously one prime target of attack. Why? In what ways are they attacked, and what does that tell us about this conflict?

My initial suggestion that conflicts often classified as religious in medieval and early modern times may more often really have been about religion than those of more modern times was a talking point that I threw out on the basis of a little reading that I did about the Northern Irish and Balkan conflicts a few years ago when I offered a seminar on religious wars. I was more struck then by the differences between these conflicts and the French Wars of Religion of the sixteenth century than by the similarities. Obviously this is the kind of broad hypothesis that needs to be tested and refined by the careful investigation of specific cases, and I'm delighted to see others challenging and refining it. Perhaps we can keep on refining it in a comparative manner by asking about the contemporary Middle East as well: How often in different conflicts are religious buildings or holy places the objects of attack? What are the means of attack and the specific features of the places that are targeted? Asking specific questions like these might be one useful way of continuing the conversation across religious and chronological borders without getting tied up in self-reflexive knots about why the Middle East or the Middle Ages are so often figured as religious.

**AHR Editor:** I'd like to push back a bit on Philip's laudable attempt to "nudge" the conversation forward into the topic of religious violence per se—which in fact I planned to be the focus of our next round. But before we confront this matter directly, I wanted to give us all a chance to comment on what I still believe—*pace* Philip—to be a legitimate analytical concern. That is, the question regarding the persistence or waning of "religion" in various societies across time and cultures. I'm assuming that we largely reject what we might call a modernization view of this dynamic, whereby it is posited that religion will recede as modernity progresses. But do we then, as seems to be implied by Philip's impatience with my formulation, entirely dismiss notions of development, tradition, or culture as possible bearers of (or obstacles to) religious commitment? This may be to force some of you to a level of generalization that induces intellectual discomfort. And I certainly would agree that we should be careful about resorting to facile generalities that cannot possibly be tested. But I think the issue is legitimate, in part because it informs, often unthinkingly, the approach of many, including many historians. More particularly, it seems relevant when trying to puzzle out one of the most glaring contradictions in the contemporary world with regard to the uneven geographical distribution of religious commitment—that is, its low level in Europe and other industrialized nations and its robustness in the United States.

**Ussama Makdisi:** At the risk of offending Philip's desire not to have us get tied up in "self-reflexive knots," I feel that the larger point I raised about how certain cultures and parts of the world are perceived to be more religious than others, which the Editor reiterated, still needs to be addressed more precisely. I simply do not

believe that it is true that, as Jack Miles asserts, “Western historians, journalists, or policymakers” have not overemphasized Islam; the great champion of the Iraq War, the most ardent defender of a “clash of civilizations” (“Islam” against the “Judeo-Christian West”), and one of the most recognized and celebrated (in the U.S.) authorities on Islam (and the modern Middle East, of course!) is none other than Bernard Lewis. His work over the past few decades has been built on a polemic against what he considers to be the inability of the “Muslim” world to face modernity and in a sense to be enraged by it. In Lewis’s influential work, he places a great deal of emphasis on the medieval Islamic world to explain current Arab and Muslim attitudes toward the West. He also minimizes the role of Western colonialism in shaping our contemporary world. He does not do this by chance, nor does he do what Philip and Nora Berend argue passionately and in my view correctly for, contextualizing religious violence or even religion more broadly. Is it a coincidence that Lewis, whose academic specialization was the premodern Muslim world, has become the, or at any rate a, leading authority on the contemporary Middle East? What does this mean? I don’t think we would accept for a minute, and certainly not celebrate in the manner that Lewis has been, an expert on medieval Christendom, or even early modern Europe, who started publishing polemics about the ills of modern America on the basis of his knowledge of medieval Christendom or early modern Europe.

My point is that Lewis can do what he does in large part because of a *general* perception, evident among historians as well as among most journalists and pundits, and certainly among policymakers, that the West as we understand it has decisively broken with its premodern past, whereas the Islamic world has not. When we analyze figures such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, or even George W. Bush, we do not go around, at least not in mainstream academic journals, quoting verses from the Bible to help us decipher contemporary positions. Nor do we pretend that the medieval Christian world has any immediate or direct bearing on contemporary Christian fundamentalist politics. We are far more careful, nuanced, and contextualized when it comes to analyzing Christian fundamentalist movements than we are Islamic ones.

To be clear, I am all for letting the “actors” speak for themselves, but I find Jack’s argument about Iraq even less compelling than his argument about Hamas (and to answer Philip’s specific question, no, places of worship were not specifically attacked in this last round of fighting—my point is that it would be impossible to analyze this “internal” Palestinian fighting, and the rise of an Islamic movement within Palestinian politics, without including in the analysis the profound implication of the Israeli occupation, to say nothing of the role of various competing Arab regimes, the corruption of Fatah, *as well as* religious inclinations and beliefs). Since when did the American occupation forces in Iraq “defer” to Sistani on any of the crucial issues that have defined U.S. interests in Iraq and the region (like, say, oil, which Bush has also not really mentioned, although this does not mean it is not important for the U.S. in Iraq)? From the outset, the U.S. language of occupation in Iraq has been replete with religious simplification: terms such as the so-called “Sunni triangle,” Saddam as a “Sunni” dictator, the dissolution of a secular Iraqi identity by cham-

pioneering a Lebanese model of sectarian politics, and today endless discussion (which rarely includes Iraqis themselves) of the “historic” Sunni-Shi’a divide, as if the U.S. occupation were not a major exacerbating factor. More to the point, when Bush and Blair talk about good vs. evil, the “moral” thing to do, the liberation of women, and spreading freedom, they are very much building on assumptions that they—and their respective constituencies in America and Britain—believe to be the essence of a Christian West that is endangered by Islamic fundamentalism, which—again, this is important—most people cannot dissociate from their notions of “Islam.” The operative contrast is not, therefore, Christian/heathen but Christian/Muslim.

Again, to be clear, I am not suggesting that religion is not important—it is—but for me the real difficulty is how to introduce religion and religiosity into a discussion of the Middle East and elsewhere while also letting actors speak and to the greatest extent possible represent themselves. When it comes to Islam, the Middle East, and/or the Arab world, we are still far from that ideal. Unquestionably, a lot of writing on Islam and the Middle East is still generated out of fear, ignorance, and hostility—we have only to go to any U.S. bookstore to verify this for ourselves.

**Jack Miles:** Professor Margaret C. Jacob of UCLA recently drew my attention to *Religion and History*, a lively theme issue of the journal *History and Theory*.<sup>16</sup> The issue is perhaps most noteworthy for a remarkable *coincidentia oppositorum*. The concluding contribution, by Brad S. Gregory, is entitled “The Other Confessional History: On Secular Bias in the Study of Religion.” In it, Gregory identifies the moment in Durkheim’s *Elementary Forms* when the postulate that the miraculous does not occur and the transcendent does not exist hardens into a dogma to that effect. Durkheim’s dogma, he further argues, has now so pervaded history as a discipline, going far beyond the status of mere methodological postulate, that we must regard history as a species of religion whose adherents and practitioners, true to their own unproven and unprovable faith, misapprehend and distort the religious beliefs and practices of others. The remarkable coincidence that I note above is that between Gregory’s view—transparently an indictment—and the view of Constantin Fasolt in his contribution to this same theme issue. In “History and Religion in the Modern Age,” Fasolt steps forward as an unapologetic adherent to something very like the faith that Gregory describes. In a kind of confession, Fasolt concludes that history is, yes, a new species of religion, but he is bold to declare it an improvement on its predecessors. To quote the last sentence of his opening abstract, “History does not conflict with the historical religions merely because it reveals them to have been founded on beliefs that cannot be supported by the evidence. History conflicts with the historical religions because it is a rival religion.”

**Stephen Ellis:** I am glad someone has used the word “methodological.” It seems to me that we urgently need to consider some questions of method if we are to go any more deeply into the matters we are discussing. Ussama Makdisi has asked why so many commentators emphasize the religious aspect of violent struggles in the Middle East, and even in the Islamic world more generally, rather than lending their at-

<sup>16</sup> *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History* 45, no. 4 (December 2006).

tention to the political, economic, or social aspects of these same struggles. Jack Miles, on the other hand, suggests that the religious element might actually be understated by many commentators and politicians. Both Ussama and Jack are referring to contemporary conflicts, but historians have to consider precisely the same point in regard to contests that took place in the past, that is, to decide what is properly considered religious and what is not. We cannot do this unless we have at least an approximate understanding of what religion is—in the context of those particular societies that we, as historians, are seeking to understand, but also in our own time. In other words, we must have at least a working definition of religion. This is no easy matter. I think it has already become clear in our conversation that the nature of religion varies over time. In the seventeenth century, for example, European travelers to Africa quite often wrote that the societies they found there had no religion at all, yet those same travelers described all manner of rituals intended to communicate with an invisible world. The reason so many Europeans reacted this way was generally that they could not identify in African societies any sacred book, any body of dogma, or any class of priests that in their own view added up to a religion. So we need to decide what constitutes “religion” and what does not. Religion changes over time, and yet we don’t have much difficulty talking about ancient Greek or Roman religion. This implies that, in spite of all the changes, there is some element in most or even all human societies that corresponds to the word “religion.” We need to study the nature and the role of this element in particular contexts.

A further issue of method that has already arisen in our conversation concerns the matter of taking religious thought seriously. There is no contradiction between doing this and yet maintaining a secular stance as a historian. In terms of method, it means that two stages are necessary. The first step is to understand the religious thought of the society we are investigating in its own terms, to the best of our ability. The second stage is to interpret what we find, which we do in our own terms. This is pretty much how historians proceed habitually. I don’t think it poses any more problem in principle in regard to religion than in regard to other aspects of historical thought or practice. Finally, even if we were to identify a violent struggle as being motivated largely by religious ideology, we still need to ask basic questions about why the struggle turns violent at a particular time and place. Here, political and other issues are almost certain to be on the agenda. If we apply this principle to Palestine, for example, we may ask why a previously political struggle adopts a religious rhetoric at a certain moment.

Nora has raised a couple more important points of method. The first of these concerns the matter of sincerity. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine what someone “really” believes. (In many circumstances, I am not always sure what I “really” believe myself!) In researching matters of religion, in societies past and present, what we can do is to investigate religious practices, which are visible and may therefore be studied empirically, and religious ideas, inasmuch as the latter are discussed and may be recorded.



Another issue concerns the rise of mass secularization. It is increasingly apparent that many of the utopian ideas of the twentieth century were in fact based on a secularized reading of history as having a meaning, which is a distinctly Christian way of thinking about the passage of time. This was pointed out by Eric Voegelin in regard to Nazism more than fifty years ago, and is a point of view one hears with increasing frequency these days. I am thinking of recent books by Michael Burleigh and John Gray.<sup>17</sup> In some senses, even in western Europe, where people go to church less than they did a couple of generations ago, religious ideas and even religious practices remain current, but in a secular guise. This means that we must tread carefully when interpreting fundamentalism in our own time, especially in the former developing world. To some extent, academics are noticing religion where they used to ignore it—it never really went away.

**Jeffrey Kaplan:** The question of “ebb and flow” when applied to the embrace of religious identity speaks to the heart of my body of research, which involves millenarian/messianic violence. This, as participants in this discussion will probably agree, is the rarest form of religious violence, but it is at the same time the most intractable, for it is religious in the eschatological sense—which is in the deepest recesses of the religious consciousness. It is the level at which the question of whether religion is the “real” reason for violent action with which we began this discussion—and which runs as a persistent undercurrent in contemporary policy discussion and in most press accounts—becomes irrelevant. This is a battle that is joined for chiliastic goals which no terrestrial “powers or principalities” have the power to meet, even if they so wished, and without God’s direct intercession in history, even the victorious revolutionaries themselves would be unable to institute the perfected “government of God” which the faithful expect them to, in short order, enact.

This line of discussion naturally leads to a crisis model, and crises in which faith communities see themselves as sorely tested—as “righteous remnants” holding out in the face of overwhelming power—are timeless. David Rapoport in his early work identified the first religious terrorist movement in the fully modern sense, the Sicarri, to have emerged in the time of Christ (roughly the first century C.E.).<sup>18</sup> The history of the Peoples of the Book—the three Western faiths of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity are rife with such movements, and in the American context Michael Barkun wrote a rather good book on this process some years ago.<sup>19</sup>

This is not to suggest that perceived crisis invariably leads to a religious response, nor that even the most religious of responses necessarily eventuates in violence. Indeed, violence of the millennial sort is relatively rare. Once catalyzed, however, it is remarkably like a wildfire. It burns all in its path, and the flame, meant to purify in the mind of the believer, horrifies audiences of the unengaged, often frightens and

<sup>17</sup> Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: Religion and Politics in Europe from the French Revolution to the Great War* (London, 2006); John Gray, *Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia* (London, 2007).

<sup>18</sup> David Rapoport, “Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions,” *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984): 658–677.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1986).

disgusts the pool of potential adherents, and alarms states into acting against movements not yet ready to stand against such an opponent. Thus a crisis few movements historically survive.

To work further with the crisis model in the context of the “ebb and flow” of the “changing strength of the fundamental purchase of religion on people’s identity across time,” one might well be able to make a rather convincing case for a man or woman choosing to take the road to Martyrs’ Square (a case that was undreamed of during the first wave of the Intifada, was intensely difficult to make for a time during the early stages of the al-Aqsa Intifada, but today, for a number of fascinating reasons, is almost normative in Palestine and lauded throughout many sectors of the Arab world).<sup>20</sup> Yet no such defense of the Taliban’s destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas was made, nor can such a case be expected. The degree of the crisis does not rule out proportionality; nor does it annul rationality.

What I am suggesting, however, is simply a surface-level analysis. “Religion” is a big tent, while crises, as they deepen, divide people into smaller and smaller camps. Relative safety for much of the world is ultimately found in ties that are far more primordial than the generalized concepts of “Muslim,” “Christian,” or “Jew” could hope to describe. Ties of family, faith, sect, clan, tribe, and region all blend together, and what may be thought of by outsiders as a particularly stubborn or premodern form of xenophobia or religious fanaticism, from the inside in the Islamic world is understood as an organic, beautifully wrought form of “tawhid” or unity.

I think Jack may be right that historians are all by nature unbelievers—but only until they spend significant amounts of time in the Middle East. There, historians too talk about God, for God, not religion in the Western academic analytical sense, is imbued into the language and the tradition. More important, the historian is soon humbled by the weight of what he does not, cannot, and will never know. I always tell my students on the first day of term that the Middle East is such a fascinating place because it functions on a number of simultaneous levels. At the surface is what you see and hear. Believe none of that. Then there is something deeper—unknown but knowable. And then something below that and again something below that. Ultimately, there is *the* truth (not *a* truth, as we would be satisfied to have it here). But it is known only to God. The broad acceptance in Middle Eastern societies of the existence of a single underlying truth known ultimately only to God, yet perhaps accessible to man, is the essence of *religion* in all revealed faiths, is it not? Therein lies our essential commonality.

But then there is the question of violence, in the pursuit of that truth or in the perception that there are particular religious authorities or autodidacts who are in possession of that truth, and things change again.

<sup>20</sup> Anne Marie Oliver and Paul F. Steinberg, *The Road to Martyrs’ Square: A Journey into the World of the Suicide Bomber* (New York, 2005).

**AHR Editor:** So far we have been discussing religion, with all the complexity and ambiguity which that capacious term invites; and in particular we have been trying to deal with the vexed issue of the place of religion in the hierarchy of commitments in different periods and cultures. Along the way, a number of insights and concepts have been introduced, some contested. Some frustration has been expressed with the lack of precision in how we readily assume or imagine religious commitment or a level of religious motivation for different peoples and periods, and not for others. Clearly it would be preferable always to contextualize religion, to specify precisely what we mean when we invoke “religion,” to isolate what other competing interests and motivations are at play, and to analyze the forces—institutional, cultural, or ideological—that legitimize, promote, or otherwise canalize religious sentiments and commitments. Might I suggest that part of what we are seeing in this conversation has to do with the difficulties historians and others encounter once they step out of their zones of intellectual comfort where this level of precise analysis can be managed and try to discuss these issues in a venue where it is really very difficult? How, then, do we talk about “religion” across the chronological, cultural, subdisciplinary, and historiographical divides that our different scholarly orientations have created? With difficulty, obviously. But I would suggest that the difficulties generated by our exchanges are themselves interesting and worthy of exploration. Like comparative history, these exchanges should help us both refine our vocabulary for talking about these big issues and identify what is essential in our own analyses.

But another way to promote a discussion where the issues are genuinely joined is to move beyond “religion” and into the specific realm of religious violence. Philip Benedict has already helped us think about violence as an indicator of religious commitment when he cited examples of the targeting of religious buildings, structures, or other signs of religious identity. Subsequent comments picked up on this insight. Is it useful to approach religious violence in terms of, shall we say, an inventory of targets, and thus open the door for the kind of cross-cultural and even cross-period comparisons that historical sociology promotes? More than a generation ago, early modern historians began to approach religious violence in an anthropological sense, as “rites of violence,” seeing it not as irrational, utterly inarticulate mass behavior but rather as meaningful, purposeful, even didactic forms of collective action. How do you “read” religious violence? Are there aspects of this kind of behavior that make it categorically different from other forms of violent collective action? How precisely can we infer crucial aspects of religious identity or commitment—or passion, for that matter—from the phenomenology of religious violence?

**Stephen Ellis:** There is no such thing as meaningless violence. And if we want to investigate the meaning of violence carried out in the name of religion, I think we should adopt the same approach as in regard to any other sort of violence. An obvious starting point is to consider what the perpetrators—but also the victims—have to say on the matter. Why do they say they are doing these things, or suffering them? As with other forms of violence, it is also useful for historians to look for antecedents of the phenomenon they are studying, to see whether it fits into a historical pattern.

We have already discussed some interesting cases where the perpetrators of violence send mixed messages, such as Northern Ireland. There were many cases of people being attacked simply because they were thought to be Catholic or Protestant, and yet churches were not targeted. Random attacks of this sort—"sectarian killings," they were called—corresponded to the fact that many working-class areas in Northern Ireland were segregated, so there was a high chance that a passerby in a particular neighborhood would be someone of the religious identity that fitted the political message that sectarian killers wanted to send. This should perhaps alert us to the possibility that religious identity or religious rhetoric can have a sociological character and can actually be enlisted to serve political causes.

In other words, violence that at first sight is religious in nature or motivation may actually not be very religious. Again, we have already had a spirited exchange on this matter with reference to Palestine and the Middle East more generally. Invoking a religious doctrine or symbol does not in itself make an act of violence religious in motivation. I would say that in today's world, even violence that makes use of religious symbolism is very likely to be political. I may take the example of Sudan. For years, the war there was considered by most international commentators to pit the Muslim North of the country against Southerners who either were Christian or adhered to traditional religious forms. This was always a simplistic analysis. The fact that the war in Sudan is currently most violent among populations that are overwhelmingly Muslim suggests that the underlying motivations have all along been more political than religious in nature.

Forgive me for repeating myself, but I do not think we can go very far in this line of analysis without thinking what we mean by "religion." I have learned from religious studies that people in the West nowadays tend to consider religion as the location of ultimate meaning. But there are, and have been, many societies in which religion does not have much to do with meaning. In such cases, religion may play an important part in an armed conflict not because the warring parties are concerned with identities and meanings, but simply because they believe that power can be derived from the invisible world, and that religion can therefore be used to enhance military skills. I am interested by the observation that has often been made that European nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries stole the clothes of religion, turning the traditional object of Christian worship into a this-worldly entity such as the nation, or a this-worldly principle such as socialist revolution. This is what writers were referring to when they called Marxism a secular religion. We may thus have violence that is essentially political in nature but is suffused with religious language and symbolism. Think of Irish nationalism, drawing on the symbolism of death and resurrection, with the Easter Rising and the Good Friday agreement.

**Jack Miles:** In principle, where definitions are known to be in contention or to have varied over time, the sensible procedure is simply to state the definition that will be operative in a given discussion or program and then proceed. In practice, when American historians, journalists, and policymakers use the word "religion" without bothering with any opening definition of the term, their use of it seems to me to

stand—with one crucial qualification—not far from anthropological functionalism as so influentially crystallized by Clifford Geertz. His definition, in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, was: “a religion is (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.”<sup>21</sup> In a religiously pluralistic society, this definition has had great appeal because it seems to apply to all religions equally, conceding to all a potentially real and durable effect. It has had appeal to academics, who work in a sector of American society where religious belief is often rare and never to be taken for granted, because it allows them to discuss religion without ever taking up the question of whether there is any factuality behind the aura.

The great limitation of this definition, and the source of the qualification just mentioned, is that—surprisingly in the work of an anthropologist—it applies as well to a lone man adhering to a secret symbol system that he never speaks aloud as it does to the Roman Catholic Church. To the extent that in common parlance “a religion” implies “organized religion,” as in the sentence “I don’t belong to *a* religion,” Geertz’s definition assumes rather than includes (other than by the use of the plural “men”) the social dimension of religion. But since this assumption seems so easily to be shared, accepting Geertz’s definition as a working definition for the purposes of this discussion would mean being prepared to ask how a given general conception of reality produces, if it does, moods and motivations tending significantly toward violence.

Doing that, we can easily enough do as Stephen suggests and engage, say, nationalism as one instance of a general conception of existence clothed with the aura of factuality and taken as the basis for violent action. We need not confine ourselves to the commonsense instances of religion. In the 1960s, in Italy, I saw a faded old Fascist slogan painted on a Piedmont wall: *Noi non discutiamo la frontiera, la difendiamo*.<sup>22</sup> The slogan obviously calls a halt to reason and invokes an unquestioning patriotism to rationalize its call to arms. Obviously, again, Italy had real interests that could conflict with those of neighboring France, and this invocation of a nationalist faith could coincide with plenty of material motivations. There was nonetheless a distinct and proper power in the nationalist faith, which, in a given case—as in fighting on for a lost cause—could manifest its distinctness. In Europe, the plausibility of this faith has suffered at least as much in the twentieth century as Christianity did in the seventeenth.

In the Muslim case now so much on everyone’s mind, it will not do to leap from the peak to the plain in a single bound, inferring from verses in the Qur’an or the Hadith general conceptions of existence supposedly productive of violent moods and motivations in all Muslims. Nor will it do to sweep away such basic differences as that between Sunni and Shi’a in a statement like the one President Bush made in his 2007

<sup>21</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), 90.

<sup>22</sup> “We don’t discuss the frontier, we defend it.”



State of the Union address: “The Shia and Sunni extremists are different faces of the same totalitarian threat. Whatever slogans they chant, when they slaughter the innocent they have the same wicked purposes.” No, the differences are deeper than slogans, and there must be a long, careful descent from the peak to the plain. It is at incalculable cost that the Bush administration has so cavalierly dismissed the Sunni/Shi’a difference. At the same time, when descending to those individual cases, if a definition like Geertz’s is the working definition, then credence will be given to a statement like the following, from an interview in the *Washington Post* with a former officer in Saddam Hussein’s Fedayeen who claims now to be the “‘general coordinator’ between al-Qaeda in Iraq and the Omar Brigade, an insurgent group founded . . . by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi” and in that capacity to have killed more Shi’ites than he can count: “I personally don’t have a hatred of the American people, and I respect American civilization. They have participated in the progress of all the nations of the world. They invented computers. Such people should be respected. But people who are crying over someone who died 1,400 years ago”—referring to Shi’ites and their veneration of a leader killed in the seventh century—“these should be eliminated to clear the society of them, because they are simply trash.”<sup>23</sup>

This statement surely makes at least a *prima facie* conjunction between, on the one hand, an appropriation of the Sunni tradition within Islam and, on the other, an agenda of violence against Shi’a Muslims. Though one need not accept the statement uncritically, the burden of proof would seem to be on those who would dismiss it as merely a mask for other, unnamed, material considerations.

**Jeffrey Kaplan:** The Editor’s idea of the “rites of violence” in the context of targeting does bring up a fascinating area of investigation. We have known for a very long time that violence targeting religious symbols is a great deal more effective in both breadth and depth of effect on a variety of potential audiences than simple violence against persons. Indeed, I would argue that even mass casualty incidents, for all their shock and brutality, do not leave as lasting an effect in terms of anger, bitterness, and, in the final analysis, the ability to transform a struggle between adherents of conflicting religions into religious violence on the deepest imaginable level as do attacks on structures in which religious communities have invested symbolic meaning.

Think, for example, of the profound changes in Judaism wrought by the destruction of the Second Temple and the subsequent diaspora. Judaism—whose very survival seems miraculous at that point—was transformed from a temple-based cult under the guidance of a priesthood to a decentralized faith based on text and a scattered group of teacher/interpreters (rabbis) whose knowledge of text and halacha (Jewish law) held the faith, albeit utterly transformed, together. Closer to our own day, the Indian government’s attack on the Sikhs’ sacred precincts at Amritsar (Operation Blue Star) catalyzed the extreme radicalization of elements of that faith—especially in diaspora—that we see today and that resulted in the downing of a Canadian passenger plane with great loss of life. The 2005 destruction of the Ayodhya Mosque

<sup>23</sup> “Sunni Insurgent Leader Paints Iran as ‘Real Enemy,’” *Washington Post*, July 14, 2007.

resulted in communal riots, poisoning the already tense relations between Hindus and Muslims in India, which we can see in the level of confrontation in more distant reaches such as Kashmir.<sup>24</sup>

Sacrality is more easily invested in structures—in great buildings or in natural features of the environment—than in people, for our lives are fleeting, and in many cultures, some degree of predestination is an accepted fact of life (or death, as the case may be). But structures, humble or magnificent, may serve as a means of connecting the believer or the believing community to the sacred, and are thus invested with great religious power. Americans tend to be rather blasé about such things, frankly. The Constitution and the Super Bowl would be a greater loss than, say, the National Cathedral if terrorists were to strike effectively. But the West is not the Islamic world, and if future historians were to point to a single moment in time when the last tattered shreds of American hopes that some sort of face-saving outcome in Iraq could be salvaged were lost, I am convinced it would be the destruction of the Golden Mosque in Samarra.<sup>25</sup> More than all the tit-for-tat atrocities that led up to that moment between the various communities in post-Saddam Iraq, that was the one that tipped the nation clearly and visibly into civil war and made the already ongoing process of neighborhood-by-neighborhood ethnic cleansing a seemingly unbreakable cycle.

We target the sacred to most deeply wound our adversaries, but we sacralize the formerly mundane when we ourselves are struck. One has only to visit the Oklahoma City Memorial at the site of the former Federal Building, with its biblical quotations, its religiously inspired designs and biblical imagery, and the crosses that are still laid at the gateways by members of the public.<sup>26</sup> The Oklahoma City bombing is fascinating in this regard: it was not intended as an act of religious violence, but it called forth a religious response and was widely perceived as being religiously motivated. Fascinatingly, Eric Rudolph, the recently captured killer and bomber of abortion clinics—the rescue movement was a small but remarkably violent movement that was deeply religious in nature—also professes no religious motivation for his crimes.<sup>27</sup>

Which makes me wonder whether Stephen Ellis's statement that "I do not think we can go very far in this line of analysis without thinking what we mean by 'religion'" is of as much import as Stephen appears to believe. First, there is the problem of who are "we"? If "we" are outside observers, members of the academy or part of the guild of religious scholars, I fear then we are fated to get nowhere in any case, for we will probably never fully agree on what we mean by "religion." If the "we" is extended to the actors themselves—perpetrators and direct victims of religiously

<sup>24</sup> A good one-stop source for these comparative histories would be the five-volume Fundamentalism Project, especially the first volume, Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *Fundamentalisms Observed* (Chicago, 1991).

<sup>25</sup> For a good insider view of the Iraqi occupation from the perspective of an Arab-American officer, see Ali A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven, Conn., 2007).

<sup>26</sup> Edward T. Linenthal, *The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory* (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> Jeffrey Kaplan, "Absolute Rescue: Absolutism, Defensive Action and the Resort to Force," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7, no. 3 (1995): 128–163.

motivated violence—we may well get much further. Timothy McVeigh and Eric Rudolph saw their actions as outside the boundaries of religion. Their audiences, their tiny cadres of supporters and the legions who were appalled by what they did alike, were quick to classify their actions as examples of religious violence. I suspect that if “we” (the we who are a party to this discussion) were ever to have the chance to ask them, the Samarra bombers would classify what they did as a religious act. Yet if we were to dig deeper, each would have his own story—a set of very individual perceptions, experiences, and events which brought him to the decision to take the action and to the determination to carry out the bombing. The “pure case” of religious violence would in this case become rather too muddled for easy use in academic models, I fear.

How, then, are we to read religious violence? My arguments seem to constantly hark back to the individual, to the family, to the clan, and to the tribal group—to the most basic units of human organization. Analysis of questions with the complexity and importance of those which the Editor poses simply seem to be more logically approached from this level, building gradually to the level from which Stephen Ellis begins his analysis: the complex and highly variegated modernity of the Western world. But perhaps I could suggest this for consideration: We can “read” violence that is religiously motivated, and perhaps differentiate it from other forms of violence, at base by how the forms which the acts of violence take address in the eyes of perpetrator and victim alike deeply ingrained symbolic understandings of the sacred, of the divine order, of theodicy, of history, or of the prophetic import of inerrant text.

**Ussama Makdisi:** The relationship between religious violence and religious identity is, as Stephen, Jeffrey, and Jack have already indicated, a complex one, and I am not willing to generalize across cultures and time. I appreciate the Editor’s call for us to think beyond our intellectual comfort zones. On some questions there is indeed merit in generalizing, but not on this one concerning religious violence, at least not beyond a regional perspective. What, after all, do we gain from a cross-cultural or cross-period theoretical formulation regarding the relationship between religious identity and violence, especially when it seems to me that so much of the current interest and concern about religious violence stems directly from events in and relating to the contemporary Middle East? I think we tend to agree that there is no such thing as “purely” religious violence, but if I understood the question correctly, the problem arises when trying to infer larger meaning from specific moments of religious violence.

Are certain sets of religious identities (Hindu/Muslim, Christian/Muslim, Christian/Jewish, Jewish/Muslim, Catholic/Protestant, Sunni/Shi’a) in such opposition that their antagonism is inevitable, and waiting only for a specific set of events and/or conditions to become manifest? Or is it the context that actually produces the imagination and possibility of such antagonism? Is sectarianism in Iraq, India, Ireland, and Lebanon produced, or is it primordial—and are the religious passions and violence exhibited in these places an endless repetition of the same, or something

historically contingent, and thus liable to change? Jack, for example, points to the Iraqi Sunni leader speaking of the Shi'a in the context of the U.S. occupation, and Jeffrey underscores the importance of the bombing of the mosque in Samarra, so the question here would be: Is this Sunni-Shi'a violence latent, an underlying condition which the U.S. occupation brings to the surface, a malaise which perhaps has been exacerbated by the Americans in Iraq, but which can be analyzed independently of the U.S. occupation? Or is this violence a condition, a phenomenon, that can only be analyzed and understood as an integral part of the moment of U.S. occupation?

I strongly suggest the latter, especially given that many of the major bouts of religious or sectarian violence in the modern Middle East—from Mount Lebanon in 1860, to Muslim-Jewish violence in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to Sunni-Shi'a violence in Iraq today—are undeniably connected to various forms of blatant Western intervention. I concede, and Jack and I have had a productive exchange in this regard, that there are factors and discourses that long predate the U.S. occupation in Iraq, and that must be included in an analysis of current violence in Iraq, but these do not explain why it is that the Samarra mosque was bombed at one point in time and not another. Anything short of constant historicizing when it comes to the question of religious violence leads us, I fear, to an intellectual dead end.

**Nora Berend:** I agree with the previous respondents that we must historicize religious violence, but at the same time I think it is possible to come up with criteria that can then be compared across cultures. Targets of religious violence, as the Editor indicated, might be one such criterion. I would argue that we can infer religious identity or commitment to some extent from religious violence, but religious violence is not necessarily a very precise indicator of such identity. Medieval religious violence has also been interpreted using anthropological and sociological approaches. Such analyses do demonstrate that in certain cases, especially when it is recurring violence, we can indeed speak about rituals rather than spontaneous mass violence.<sup>28</sup> In other cases, such as the massacre of the Jews during the first crusade, the ecclesiastical message of fighting against Christ's enemies was reinterpreted by the masses to mean the killing of Christ's enemies nearer home. Clearly, different types of religious violence exist.

Going back to the question of targets, it seems to me that we should perhaps distinguish between objects as targets, which I think do allow us a view of religious identity, and people as targets, where differences tend to blur. For example, we can ask whether specifically religious objects (including buildings) are targeted, or objects of symbolic value, or things that are interpreted in a negative light by adherents of a religion, and so on, and in what way these are targeted. Medieval Christian stories of Jewish desecration of the host depicted physical attacks (drawing a parallel to torturing Christ's body) or dishonoring the host (e.g., throwing it in a latrine).<sup>29</sup> In Spain, in areas that Christians conquered from Muslims, mosques were trans-

<sup>28</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

<sup>29</sup> Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).

formed into churches: one can still see this in Cordoba's cathedral, the "Mezquita." Obviously this is a different message from destroying the building. Muslims had done the same, turning, for example, the church in Constantinople into a mosque. It is a taking over of religious space, turning places of religious worship into a long-lasting visible sign of victory. Where Christians came into contact with pagans, they destroyed holy trees, pagan sanctuaries, statues. Sometimes they built churches over previously holy springs or the cut-down stumps of holy trees.<sup>30</sup>

Whereas if we look at violence against people, the real or purported motive behind the violence may be religious, but violence itself aims at killing the "enemy," and often cannot be distinguished from violence motivated by other things such as ethnic cleansing or nationalism. Again, to cite medieval examples, during the course of one century alone, medieval Hungarians massacred Germans because the nobility objected to the influence of the German-born queen and her entourage; Cumans (a pagan Turkic people) because they were seen as the spies of the Mongols who were attacking Hungary; and Jews because they were accused of having desecrated the host.<sup>31</sup> Just based on the violence alone, it would be impossible to tell which of these was motivated by religion.

**Philip Benedict:** Reading over the extremely interesting comments made since I last spoke up, it seems to me that there is a fair amount of agreement among us about at least four things: (1) there is no such thing as meaningless violence; (2) episodes of violence need to be read by paying close attention to the specific targets of the violence, the actions of the aggressors during the violence, and what they and the spokesmen they honor say that justifies or encourages their actions; (3) the most illuminating analyses of situations of religious violence find a middle ground that contextualizes the violence carefully within the precise historical context in which it occurred while recognizing that attention needs to be paid to the larger context of shared beliefs that justify and at least partially motivate the violence; and (4) it is necessary to be fairly clear what definition of religion is being used any time one speaks of religious violence. Now if only journalists, political commentators, and above all political actors could absorb these points and put them into practice . . .

The last few comments from Ussama Makdisi and Nora Berend suggest that there may be some difference of opinion about the possibility of constructing useful large generalizations across space and time. I agree with the former that we need to be careful about making cross-regional or cross-cultural comparisons about this issue, but I agree with the latter that we should not entirely abandon the effort. One of the essential public roles of our guild is to inform the public about just the kinds of large questions of present relevance that are at issue in our conversation. How can we do it helpfully and responsibly?

<sup>30</sup> Berend, *Christianization*, 27–28, 124, 187, 383.

<sup>31</sup> Nora Berend, "Immigrants and Locals in Medieval Hungary: 11th–13th Centuries," in Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert, eds., *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropas* (Berlin, 2007), 205–217.



One observation in the last round of comments that struck me was Stephen Ellis's observation that there are many societies in which religion does not have much to do with meaning, and that in such cases religion may play an important part in armed conflict because the warring parties think that power can be derived from the invisible world and be used to enhance military skills. The interest for a historian of Christian Europe of a remark like that from somebody coming from a very different field of specialization is that it suddenly makes one think, "Is there anything like that going on in the society I know?" I wonder what Nora Berend would say about the applicability of this observation to early medieval Europe and conversion from paganism to Christianity. In early modern Europe there was undoubtedly a conviction that power can be derived from righteousness, and thus that armies must be purged of sins such as blasphemy and prostitution if they are to be successful—never an easy thing to do, of course. It also appears that rulers and their theologico-political advisers were tempted at times to think, "We are the righteous, therefore God will aid us in our battles to defend His cause and His honor." This belief thus served to encourage military action at times when pure calculations of political prudence might have argued against it, although the caveat should immediately be added that this was just one of several competing ways of thinking about the question, and rarely the most powerful. The analogies I'm offering here may not be exact ones, but I think this attempted comparison suggests that one benefit of cross-cultural or cross-temporal comparison may simply be to call one's attention to phenomena or methods of approach that might not otherwise be observed or applied in a given context.

We could also build on Ussama's interesting observation that many major bouts of Sunni-Shi'a violence in the modern Middle East have come in situations where Western intervention has destabilized the local political situation. As he wisely warns, this shows the importance of historicizing moments of religious conflict. But as he also admits at the same time, the fact that such conflicts have recurrently erupted in such moments of destabilizing outside intervention reveals the presence and the force within the region of enduring antipathies and discourses that can be reactivated in such situations. If one makes a comparison with Protestant-Catholic differences in Europe, it is clear that in the early modern centuries, these differences also generated such powerful mutual suspicions, and the presence of the other party within the polity was seen as so illegitimate or dangerous, that a similar underlying potential for violence existed that could be activated at moments of destabilizing outside intervention, or in a number of other recurring situations that we could identify and list. By the nineteenth century, for all the continuing suspicion that marked Catholic-Protestant relations in many parts of Europe, the frequency and intensity of such conflicts had diminished. By the late twentieth century, this particular opposition had ceased to generate conflict in all but the exceptional case of Ireland, where it had blended with very modern questions of nationalism, anti-colonialism, and civil rights, and where the rituals and targets of the violence had become quite different from those typical of other parts of Europe in earlier periods. One way of approaching a comparative history of religion and violence over the *longue durée* would be to explore the features of both the religion(s) of different regions that justified or even encouraged violence in certain situations, the characteristic forms of violence to

which they gave rise, and the situations in which this was particularly likely to erupt. Obviously, this would have to be done for starters on a faith-by-faith and region-by-region basis, recognizing that religious traditions are not permanently fixed entities but change over time. As I said in my last comment, it can only be done by identifying the specific beliefs within each tradition that have justified violence in the name of defending the sacred and by tracing how and why they either gained or lost persuasive power over time. In the case of religions of a book, attention would need to be paid to the text of the holy book, and to the changing exegesis of key passages pertinent to the theme. But in the construction of such a history, those working on each particular religious tradition could surely learn from comparing the texts and the contexts they know best with those of other traditions. If the end result were a comparative history of several different religious traditions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam?—over a span of several millennia, it would be a fascinating history of considerable potential contemporary utility.

Obviously we can't ourselves construct such a long and vast history in a conversation like this. Whatever dream team of scholars might be assembled with the courage to take this on would first have to do a lot of reading and a lot of collaborative teaching of ambitious comparative courses. But how this might be done, and whether or not it makes any sense to think about doing it, seems worth talking about.

**Nora Berend:** In answer to Philip's question, deriving power from the supernatural was certainly a motivating factor for conversion to Christianity in the Middle Ages, in situations where the Christian god was seen as more powerful than the local god(s).

**AHR Editor:** Throughout this discussion we have tried, I think, to find a way to talk about religion and violence from a comparative perspective without lapsing into meaningless generalities. There are clearly many variables in play which make this difficult, and if anything I think we have erred, correctly so, on the side of the particular, offering a warning to those who would glibly make pronouncements without an awareness of the complexity of the subject—without appreciating how difficult it is to compare religious cultures across time and space. But there is one aspect of this topic that we have only skirted around, an aspect which has the virtue of both bringing us down to earth and offering the possibility of a common denominator in looking at religious cultures. Mention has been made of the importance of membership and "church" in discussing religion. Obviously there have been many people whose beliefs and commitments can dispense with these sorts of affiliations. But by and large, the history of religion—and religious violence—has entailed group affiliation and identification with a church, sect, cult, or the like. I would like to ask you to explore one aspect of this institutional or social side of religion, and that is the role of an established and recognized leadership—let's call it the clergy. Does examination of the importance, prestige, intellectual orientation, traditions, and the like of the clergy in a particular society shed light on either the propensity or the reluctance of people to engage in religious violence? When a clerical elite eclipses in prestige the established secular leadership, are we in a situation ripe for sectarian

religious violence? Clergymen can obviously play a role in legitimating violence. How have they played a role as pacifiers and mediators?

**Jeffrey Kaplan:** The Editor's last question is acute. The role of leadership—Weber's "religious virtuosi" (a term I still love)—in catalyzing, slowing, or avoiding the onset of religious violence. The classic example that comes to mind is the most common, I suspect, but the least remarked. In the 1980s, a radical sect that came to be known as the Jewish Underground (actually a radical faction of the Gush Emunim settlement movement with a few independent settlers thrown in for good measure) had decided to move beyond vigilantism to true terrorism.<sup>32</sup> They accomplished a few signature operations, most notably planting bombs that targeted various West Bank Palestinian mayors. At the time they were rounded up by Shin Bet, they were cutting the brake lines on Palestinian school buses, which apparently was to make up for the failure of an earlier operation to leave a car bomb outside an East Jerusalem girls' school. These were, however, minor-league operations compared to "the dream": a bomb that would destroy the al-Aqsa Mosque and make way for the rebuilding of the Third Temple, which by Jewish law would have to be built on the spot where the mosque stands today. Fortunately, since the time of Maimonides, Jewish law has also forbidden Jews to set foot on the peak of the hill on which the mosque stands and has decreed that no human hand may contribute to the project of rebuilding the temple. Thus no rabbinical authority, not even the most radical of the Gush rabbinical personalities such as Moshe Levinger, would quite dare to sanction the operation. It therefore did not take place, and a cataclysm was thus avoided.

Religious authority is more often used to block rather than to facilitate violence, but there is a proviso to this rule, I believe (and a set of interesting exceptions). When religious authority is used in opposition to violent acts, one can reasonably expect that authority to be wielded in the name of some institutional source of religious charisma. A rabbinate in the modern world rather stretches this rule given its diffuse lines of authority and the complications introduced by the existence of the Israeli state, but it exists nonetheless.

Shi'ite Islam provides a more defined hierarchy, and a set of teacher/student relationships and intra-familial client relationships that can more or less be traced, and in any case is well known to the faithful, if a bit mystifying to outside observers.<sup>33</sup> In periods when a marj al-taqlid (model for emulation or senior scholar) exists, the ulama or religious leaders can be a conservative force indeed. When the last publicly acknowledged marja, Ayatollah Borujerdi, died in the early 1960s, Ayatollah Khomeini was at last able to step forward and openly preach revolution. One of those historically exceptional times had occurred, and the intuitional leadership, or at least

<sup>32</sup> By far the best early work on Gush Emunim is Gideon Aran, "Jewish Zionist Fundamentalism: The Bloc of the Faithful in Israel (Gush Emunim)," in Marty and Appleby, *Fundamentalisms Observed*, 265–344. For later developments, see Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assassination* (New York, 1999).

<sup>33</sup> A good primer on this arcane world is Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (New Haven, Conn., 1985). For the less committed, a much more enjoyable read would be Roy P. Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran* (New York, 1986). A new OneWorld edition of the latter was reprinted in 2004.

a radical minority of it, was able to move in the direction of violence. Such men and such times, though, I would argue, are exceptional in Shi'ism. More common, and more interesting by far, are periods such as the present when there is no publicly acknowledged marja (although there is an authority in Ayatollah Sistani in Iraq who does seem to hold that position). In such cases, public pronouncements enjoining peace and private hints that the state should be an instrument of Shi'ite justice again complicate the picture.

Sunni Islam presents a different picture yet. There is today a major undertaking by conservative scholars to seize back from the radicals the momentum, or more precisely the perception of popular approval, or contemporary legitimacy.<sup>34</sup> This has not been overly successful, but it is an interesting illustration of the basic democracy of the tradition. The Sunni ulama have been in eclipse (again a personal argument) for almost a millennium, since the closing of the gates of *ijtihad* or interpretation of text in the light of contemporary events was accomplished and the Sunni men of religion became comfortable vassals of the state—"Court akunds," in Ayatollah Khomeini's terminology; that indeed summed up the situation well enough.<sup>35</sup> In Sunni Islam, where every man has the right to choose his own authority, every man is in effect his own pope. One may follow the best-educated products of the great institutions such as al-Azhar in Cairo or the self-made men such as those who compose combatant groups like al-Qaeda. One's fatwa carries no more intuitional weight than another's, making the ulama or "clergy" in the sense of the Editor's question a neutral force in terms of catalyzing or avoiding violence. You follow whom you will, so every man in effect decides for himself. Had that been the case in the world of the Jewish Underground, the al-Aqsa Mosque would be as much a memory today as the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan.

The interaction of religious leaders and those who follow them constitutes a complex push-pull relationship that bears much study, but that remains little understood. In the War on Terror, for example, it was thought that if only this or that leader could be eliminated, his followers would be leaderless, and less effective. Perhaps they would lose heart altogether. Of course, this did not and could not happen.

The last part of his question, on how religious leaders have played the role of mediators, I leave to others in the discussion more qualified to comment.

**Nora Berend:** The example of medieval Europe after about 1000 fits perfectly into the scheme suggested by the Editor. The Catholic Church claimed the affiliation of all Christians at the time, and actively persecuted dissidents. The clerical elite, particularly the papacy, claimed spiritual superiority over secular power (understood in divergent ways) during the central medieval period. Nonetheless, the role of the clergy in religious violence, either as instigators or as peacemakers, is a complex issue. First of all, it is worth keeping in mind the connection between the level of

<sup>34</sup> Angel Rabasa, *Building Moderate Muslim Networks* (Santa Monica, Calif., 2007).

<sup>35</sup> For Khomeini's views on this and much more, see the indispensable Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations*, trans. Hamid Algar (New York, 2002).

social development and the status and role of the clergy, a connection that analyses of the history of religion often establish.<sup>36</sup> In that case social development itself, rather than the clergy, would be ultimately the source of violence. Specifically in the medieval context, ecclesiastics played a role both as instigators of violence and as peacemakers. More interestingly, they were often behind formulations of concepts and ideas that fed popular violence, although that was not necessarily the intended aim of the ecclesiastics themselves.

Let me illustrate this with some examples. Christian attitudes to Jews, the most widespread religious minority in medieval Europe, were greatly influenced by the ecclesiastical elite, but popular attitudes were not always in line with ecclesiastical ones, and even within ecclesiastical circles there existed conflicting ideas. Ecclesiastical views themselves changed over time, becoming increasingly anti-Jewish. Nonetheless, if we look at papal and theological pronouncements, these did not advocate physical violence against the Jews, but, on the contrary, their protection. From the end of the eleventh century onward, ecclesiastical ideas about Jews were sometimes interpreted as grounds for religious violence. By the thirteenth century, especially, this official ecclesiastical attitude itself, while stopping short of violence, can be seen as preparing the ground for large-scale anti-Jewish violence. Jews were to wear distinguishing marks; they were not allowed to mingle with Christians (eat with them, have sexual relations with them, etc.); they were held responsible for the death of Christ; and their conversion to Christianity was encouraged. At the same time, papal bulls insisted on protecting their lives and property. But is it surprising that many people who lived in a culture that held that Jews were inhuman, lacked reason, and killed Christ concluded that Jews should be persecuted, even though the official line maintained that this was not to be the case?<sup>37</sup> Already during the first crusade, some bands, mobilized by the preaching of a popular crusade preacher, Peter the Hermit, interpreted the message as authorizing the killing of Jews, Christ's enemies. What started as spontaneous violence by relatively small groups of crusaders became premeditated massacres in which not only crusaders but also local burghers and villagers took part.<sup>38</sup> During the preaching of the second crusade in 1146, the situation was even less clear-cut, as one Cistercian monk, Radulph, who preached the crusade, incited Christians to murder Jews, while another Cistercian monk, Bernard of Clairvaux, preached against such persecution. Bernard left behind a large body of sophisticated writings, while the same cannot be said of Radulph.<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, intellectual sophistication within the clergy was not the only criterion that determined their attitude to religious violence. Eleventh- and twelfth-century Christian intellectuals created the image of the inhuman, carnal Jew. Thirteenth-century mendicant friars spread anti-Jewish views through their preaching. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, accusations of ritual murder and host dese-

<sup>36</sup> E.g., R. N. Bellah, "Religious Evolution," *American Sociological Review* 29 (1964): 358–374.

<sup>37</sup> See, e.g., Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in Dispute: Disputational Literature and the Rise of Anti-Judaism in the West, c. 1000–1150* (Aldershot, 1998); Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

<sup>38</sup> Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (1987; repr., Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

<sup>39</sup> David Berger, "The Attitude of St. Bernard of Clairvaux toward the Jews," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 40 (1972): 89–108.



cration emerged. Without Christian theology and ritual, such accusations could not have been invented: for example, the new ecclesiastical insistence on Christ's real presence in the consecrated Eucharist meant that the host was a "living" body that could be harmed. Clerics were sometimes active in the propagation of the cult of alleged victims of Jewish ritual murder; for example, the canons of the cathedral, the local bishop, and a monk all contributed to the cult of William of Norwich in the twelfth century. Such blood libels led to the murder of many Jews. Yet medieval popes did not canonize such alleged martyrs and even issued bulls against the ritual murder charge. Similarly, the expulsion of Jews from most of medieval western Europe between the end of the thirteenth and the fifteenth century is at least in part linked to ecclesiastical propaganda, yet Jews were not expelled from the papal states.<sup>40</sup> So some ecclesiastics openly incited religious violence. Yet even those who openly advocated the protection of Jews in fact contributed to fomenting violence by creating such a negative image of the Jews.

Already Pope Urban II's call for the first crusade contained the idea that Christians should be freed from savage Muslim rule, painting a particularly negative picture of life under such rule. He drew on already existing ideas about holy war, and propagated religious violence by Christians against Muslims. The clerical ideology of religious violence was, at the same time, linked to the idea of achieving internal peace among Christians. It was partly an attempt to channel violence that existed (and that was condemned by ecclesiastics) into what was defined as an acceptable and even holy undertaking against enemies outside Europe. Later popes often tried to mediate between Christian rulers or even threaten them to achieve peace in order to enable the organization of a crusade. Thus the pope and subsequent propagandists of the crusade created a particular type of violence (against non-Christians), but did not create violence as such; they lived in an already violent society. War as penitence was a radically new idea; violent warfare was not new, but rather part of everyday life.<sup>41</sup> According to one view, people did not even see crusading as distinctive; for them, it was just one form of war in an already violent society.<sup>42</sup> Ecclesiastics also created the negative image of Muslims, although different variations of this image existed (a total condemnation of the enemy, or Muslims as pagans and therefore likely to convert, etc.).<sup>43</sup>

Therefore in medieval Europe, the clergy was clearly in some way a factor in the outbreak of religious violence. Yet even when they were its direct cause, we cannot discount preexisting social factors (a violent society). And at other times, their ideas prepared the ground for violence that they themselves did not espouse.

<sup>40</sup> Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000–1150* (Paris, 1998); Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (1990; repr., Berkeley, Calif., 1996); Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982); Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

<sup>41</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (1987; repr., London, 1996), is an excellent introduction.

<sup>42</sup> C. J. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" *English Historical Review* 110, no. 437 (1995): 553–577.

<sup>43</sup> John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002).

**Stephen Ellis:** Human beings are capable of great violence and destructiveness as well as wonderful creativity. One way of understanding religion is as an arrangement for the limitation of violence—in other words, a very fundamental social mechanism. I am guided by the work of René Girard on this matter.<sup>44</sup> In this respect, religion has a close resemblance to politics. Although we now regard religion and politics as two different things, there have been many societies known to history that have not made a clear distinction between the two. In some parts of the world that were colonized by Europe in the nineteenth century, there was previously no word corresponding to the semantic fields of “religion” and “politics” before they were subject to the colonial apparatus of control, which included a separation of church and state as had become normal in Europe itself.

Jeffrey, Nora, and Philip have all offered erudite readings of how religious authority may have served to either propagate or limit violence in particular circumstances. I wonder if it is possible to develop a method for cross-cultural comparison in this regard. I think historians instinctively dislike generalizations of this sort, but it might be worthwhile at least to give the matter some thought. After all, it is in its institutional aspect that religion is most amenable to analysis by the methods of sociology. If we were to go further on this point, we might need a contribution from some social scientists.

**Jack Miles:** Religion makes people do things that make no sense, and this constitutes both its worst weakness and its greatest strength. Justice makes clear sense; and when religion sanctions it—sanctions, for example, a living wage, truthful testimony, or honest scales in the marketplace—its sanction can seem superfluous. The self-sacrificial pursuit of justice for others is to some extent another matter, but even then the collective goal is one whose rationality remains evident. The same may be said of valor in battle, including even valor in the suicidal/murderous pursuit of justice as the religiously inspired killer understands it. When a Huldrych Zwingli or a Joan of Arc dons armor and sallies forth, a message is sent to the faithful that God smiles on such conduct. But I repeat: The armed pursuit of justice usually makes such natural sense that the supernatural smile is *de trop*.

It is mercy—the forgoing of that to which one has a clear right—that makes least sense and that, for this reason, is so often taken as the core of religion. The Tanakh, the New Testament, and the Qurʾan—perhaps precisely because they arose in a culture of such fierce revenge—make mercy the quality by which the deity most wishes to be known. *Bismillah ar-rahman ar-rahim*—“In the name of God, the compassionate the merciful”: So begin all serious statements in Muslim cultures. “Yahweh, Yahweh, God of tenderness and compassion, slow to anger, rich in faithful love and constancy, maintaining his faithful love to thousands, forgiving fault, crime and sin, yet letting nothing go unchecked, and punishing the parent’s fault in the children and in the grandchildren to the third and fourth generation” (Exodus 34:6)—the quote bespeaks a struggle, does it not? It opens celebrating mercy but ends nostalgic for revenge. In the Talmud, Tractate Berachot 7a, God is said to pray: “May it be my

<sup>44</sup> René Girard, *La violence et le sacré* (Paris, 1972).

will that my mercy may suppress my anger . . . so that I may deal with my children in the attribute of mercy and, on their behalf, stop short of the limit of strict justice.” And Jesus: “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do” (Luke 23:33).

Mercy entails the surrender of something to which one has a perfect right; and so long as the focus remains on right and wrong, and on the righting of wrongs, mercy plays no role. But that it plays none does not mean that material equity is ever actually achieved. On the contrary, if a truly equitable settlement is a rarity in our divorce courts, it is an impossibility in the aftermath of major armed conflict: Some always come out winners, and others losers. Derek Evans, former deputy secretary-general of Amnesty International for postwar mediation, compares the usual result of post-conflict mediation to a divorce in which the parties are neither reconciled nor separated, and so conflict always threatens to break out again. True separation could be a solution, but separation is decreasingly possible in our overcrowded world. What, then, are the resources for reconciliation? If we judge as the jury for the Nobel Peace Prize judges, one such resource would seem to be the religious leader who enables the alienated to make religious virtue of their human necessity by forgiving rather than avenging the wrong that they have suffered. Among the leaders who have played some such role are Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan, Mother Teresa, Desmond M. Tutu, the Dalai Lama, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta, Kim Dae-jung, and Jimmy Carter. The Editor asks specifically about clerical elites and their potential to foment or quell violence. A few on this list are actual clergymen, but others are laymen, even secular officeholders, who—like Kim Dae-jung—publicly or privately invoke religion as their motive to seek peace.

Mercy is supremely irrational and yet may be the price of peace. Your children are living in my house. My children are freezing in a refugee tent. But with my God I look down upon you and forgive you because we are merciful, he and I. It may not be because religion is the restatement of material interests in symbolic form that it lives on but, paradoxically, because it offers, sometimes, an indispensable path to the renunciation of material interest when nothing less than renunciation will suffice. Justice must be pursued; but when that pursuit has gone as far as it can go, mercy may close the remaining gap.

David Sloan Wilson, author of *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion, and the Nature of Society*, sees this kind of voluntary renunciation as rooted in the genetic predisposition of the human species, as a “dispersed organism,” to organize into societies that can function only by mutual dependence and a variety of renunciations or, if you will, acts of mercy. In his most recent book, *Evolution for Everyone: How Darwin's Theory Can Change the Way We Think about Our Lives*, Wilson cites the anthropologist C. M. Turnbull, who wrote in the 1960s of Mbuti master hunters who would share the catch because to do otherwise would “displease the forest.”<sup>45</sup> Advanced societies may achieve relative or temporary independence from the human

<sup>45</sup> David Sloan Wilson, *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion, and the Nature of Society* (Chicago, 2002); Wilson, *Evolution for Everyone: How Darwin's Theory Can Change the Way We Think about Our Lives* (New York, 2007), 56.

evolutionary heritage, but never absolute or permanent independence. They, too, may need the equivalent of the Mbuti forest to ground the renunciations without which they, too, may starve.

**Ussama Makdisi:** In this conversation, we have indeed run up again and again with our apparent need for generalization, some rule of religious action or thought which we can apply across space and time, and the job which I believe we all practice, which is to constantly historicize. To have significant meaning, the answer to the Editor's question therefore must be placed in a particular historical context. I think it is imperative that we do study the importance, prestige, and intellectual orientation, etc., of the clergy in a particular society at a particular point in time to help us make sense of particular episodes of religious violence, but I am (again) not willing (or frankly able) to go beyond that. As Nora has done for the case of medieval Europe, so must we do, say, for "Islam"—whether we are talking about the Sunni or Shi'a Muslims. Without doubt, in the Ottoman Empire the "clergy"—Muslim, Christian, and Jewish—played varying, often contradictory, roles in different periods: at some points they actively encouraged violence, at other times they mediated conflict, and on occasion they did both, such as in the first bouts of modern sectarian conflict in Ottoman Lebanon in the mid-nineteenth century, during which the Maronite clergy encouraged sectarian solidarity but simultaneously also sought to contain uncontrolled popular sectarian mobilization.

I see the point as well that Jeffrey is putting across, but I wonder how useful it is to say that in Sunni Islam "every man is in effect his own pope." This appears to treat religion textually and ideologically and not historically, that is, to privilege what we distill as the "essence" of this or that religion or religious tradition at the expense of constant and vigilant historicization. An argument from theology is not the same thing as a historical argument. If we actually examine the historical record of the Ottoman Empire, there were so many institutions and offices—from the shaykh al-Islam in Istanbul to the provincial shari'a courts—that it was hardly the case that Sunni Muslim religion or religious sensibility was ever articulated in individual or autonomous terms, let alone that there was relatively equal weight given to various interpretations of faith.

**Philip Benedict:** Historians who are themselves practicing Christians often are prone to revealing lapses when writing about the situations in which certain forms of Christianity encouraged and legitimized religious violence. They think that this really shouldn't be happening. Thus, even in as good a book as Robert Sauzet's recent *Au grand siècle des âmes: Guerre sainte et paix chrétienne en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, the topic sentence of a paragraph explaining why Catholic missionaries in New France favored a violent solution to the "Iroquois problem" is the remarkably ahistorical declaration "The Gospel is a message of peace."<sup>46</sup> But one understands where such statements are coming from. Any fair-minded reader would have to agree that the emphasis of Jesus's message as conveyed in the four gospels is indeed upon

<sup>46</sup> Robert Sauzet, *Au grand siècle des âmes: Guerre sainte et paix chrétienne en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 2007), 137.

forgiveness and nonviolence. And very, very few late-twentieth-century Christian churches or clergymen actively advocate violence against those who question their tenets, mock or desecrate their sacred symbols, or impede Christ's second coming. Very few can fairly be accused of legitimizing such violence through their preaching even if they do not call openly for such action. All major Christian churches have now rejected the doctrines that once prevailed within many of them that legitimized forms of religious violence in different times and places. In light of that, we have to answer in the negative to the very large generalization embedded in the question proposed to us: When a clerical elite eclipses in prestige the established secular leadership, are we in a situation ripe for sectarian religious violence? There are many Christian sub-communities in America and elsewhere in the world today where clergymen have greater moral prestige than the secular leadership, yet few of these are situations ripe for religious violence. We are in a situation ripe for religious violence only where the political theology of such groups claims that their vision of proper worship is the only acceptable one for the public face of religion, that God demands that those who commit blasphemy against sacred tenets be publicly punished, and that if the state fails properly to punish them, private individuals can do so, that the elimination of certain enemies can hasten the coming of the millennium, or some other such argument legitimizing violence against individuals or groups.

However much Christ's teachings as recorded in the gospels may have been a message of peace, historically it is evident that the content of what Christian theologians have understood to be "the Gospel" has varied over time, and that the Bible is a complex assemblage of texts from different eras whose total message lends itself to multiple interpretations, including ones that bring a sword rather than peace. The history of Christianity's relationship to violence in the name of its defense is a long and complex story that a growing number of historians are beginning to tell well.<sup>47</sup> There were many periods in that history when viewpoints and considerations that could encourage violence stood in tension with those that encouraged mercy and forgiveness. The sixteenth century in Europe, like the years 1000–1500, is one such period.

I would thus like to echo Nora Berend's analysis. Historians of the French Wars of Religion have recently drawn attention to the preaching and publications of a number of Catholic clergymen who directly encouraged violence against the Huguenots in the 1560s, appealing to longstanding traditions that linked the kingdom's prosperity to its freedom from the taint of heresy, arguing that it was the crown's sworn obligation to purge the land of heretics, and indicating that if the king did not fulfill this duty, others had to do it for him. On the Protestant side of the equation, a theologian such as Calvin occupied a very complex position. He appealed repeatedly to new converts not to express their displeasure at the false teachings and practices that had previously held them captive by attacking and removing the images or "idols" found in their local churches, unless the magistrates authorized their removal. To this extent he can be said to have directly opposed forms of religious

<sup>47</sup> I especially recommend Jean Flori, *Guerre sainte, jihad, croisade: Violence et religion dans le christianisme et l'islam* (Paris, 2002).



violence. At the same time, the force of his attack on such forms of Roman idolatry contributed powerfully to legitimizing these kinds of acts in the eyes of those who committed them, and thus he can be said to have encouraged them indirectly. He also quickly embraced a series of debatable legal arguments that the Protestants developed to advance their cause and even was involved in raising arms for uprisings so long as the appropriate legal requirements were met.

How often did clergymen play a role as pacifiers and mediators as France was coming apart religiously? In the nineteenth century, legends grew up to the effect that certain bishops had intervened to prevent the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre from spreading to their town when instructions went out from Paris to kill all the Huguenots. These legends were exposed as such when historians came to realize that no letters ever ordered a general massacre and thus that no causes had to be sought for certain cities remaining calm in this season of violence. That these legends grew up suggests that by the nineteenth century, French Catholicism had come to reject "fanaticism" and to prize peacemaking more highly than it did in the sixteenth century. A small number of individuals did work to define a common ground that might reunite all Christians and restore concord, but without much success. There may have been cases where churchmen were involved in defining the terms of the local pacts of friendship that the members of the rival confessions sometimes jointly swore. To the best of my memory, instances of this, or instances of clergymen intervening directly to stop an incident of violence that was about to break out, haven't yet been identified. But this may just reflect the historiography of the subject. Until very recently, historians have been busier trying to understand the logic of religious violence than cases where it was prevented. The key point that I would stress once again is that in this period a variety of specific attitudes and convictions within the religious outlook of both churches encouraged or legitimized violence; other attitudes and convictions encouraged and legitimized peace and nonviolence. Understanding these specific convictions and their precise, shifting mix is essential to making sense of both clerical attitudes and the wider influence they could exercise.

**AHR Editor:** Throughout this conversation we have been pulled, sometimes tentatively, sometimes reluctantly, along several axes. One is from the particular to the general, where several of you have voiced discomfort with the intellectual compromises and papering-over that this inevitably entails. Another is that which moves from West to East. Here, Ussama, in particular, has warned us against comparisons that are as invidious as they are historically inaccurate. There is also a third, intersecting axis: from the remote past to the contemporary present. As historians, I think most of us usually operate without much concern for the present-day relevance of what we research, write, and even teach—which in a sense is how it should be. After all, the essential remoteness of the past, its specificity in a time (and place) *not* our own, is part of what makes the knowledge we generate important and unique. But clearly we are also called—by our students, by an interested public, by our own awareness and conscience—to reflect on the relationship between what we know and study and what is happening in our world that cries out for some move toward comparison. Sometimes, as in our conversation, the really proper move is to insist that

the comparison is unwarranted, misleading, or even mischievous, especially in the face of a public so hungry for simple analogies disguised as explanations. But surely we can conceive of legitimate responses that go beyond this cautionary, essentially negative reaction. Readers of this conversation will come to it alert to the contemporary relevance of this topic. Indeed, I would be less than honest if I did not admit—no surprise—that it was conceived with the contemporary world in mind. My sense is, however, that professional historians are somewhat reluctant to confront and discuss out loud how they think about the past they write about and the present they live, for fear that it would compromise the disinterested stance they cultivate. The question, then, is to ask you to reflect on how you respond—and with our topic in mind—as a professional student of the past to the pull of the present.

**Stephen Ellis:** I think most writers on historiography or on the philosophy of history would agree that reconstructing the past always involves our current situation. We cannot dissociate ourselves from who we are. Even if we are investigating a very distant period, the questions we ask and the judgments we inevitably bring to bear are related to our point of view now. Moreover, the task of reconstructing the past in its full complexity is quite impossible, even if we had unlimited primary sources of information, and it therefore involves making choices. In view of this, any claim that historical research does not in some way reflect our present preoccupations would not be convincing.

We are being invited to reflect on what is sometimes called contemporary history. The latter could be described as the history of processes that are operative today. The methodology of researching contemporary history therefore involves, first, considering what are the most salient or interesting processes at work now, and second, determining in what period and in what circumstances they were formed or became operative. There is no doubt that this is a particularly hazardous undertaking. Perhaps rashly, it is something that I have striven to do for quite a few years. Originally I became committed to contemporary history not out of choice, but simply because after I had done my Ph.D. I had a couple of jobs outside the academy that required me to analyze contemporary events. I found my historian's training very useful, and since then, contemporary history is something I have become engaged in on my own initiative.

Even more than in other branches of our profession, contemporary history carries a risk of teleology. If we adopt the technique of identifying current patterns and then following them backward to see where and when they started and how they have changed over time, there is an obvious danger of losing sight of other factors and of producing a highly determinist form of history writing. I think this is probably the single biggest risk involved in the whole enterprise. But it can be countered by cultivating an awareness of ideas or events that seemed very important in the past but that hardly speak to us any longer because they do not appear to have had lasting consequences. This is something like what A. J. P. Taylor meant when he referred

to turning points at which history failed to turn.<sup>48</sup> Since the Editor has revealed that the subject of our current conversation was conceived with the contemporary world in mind, let me say that I have often detected this tendency to teleology in official (and sometimes also in academic) discourses on religious violence, by people who trace certain patterns of violence backward in time in such a way as to give the impression of an almost inevitable progression from one state of affairs to the next, a straight line from the past up to our own time. It seems important to be aware of the element of human error and of coincidence in human history and the fact that historical lines from A to B are rarely straight. In this respect, historians would do well to maintain a certain skepticism in regard to social science, which has had such a huge impact on history writing. Although social science can help us a great deal, there are many historical events and processes that cannot be understood by strictly scientific techniques alone. Why did the First World War start in 1914, and not a couple of years earlier? Why did it happen at all? Was it unavoidable? I don't think social science can answer these questions fully, any more than it can predict the future.

However, we are being asked to think not only about the roots of the contemporary world, but also about deliberate comparisons. I am sure the Editor is correct in thinking that historians instinctively dislike comparisons for the obvious reason that one is never comparing like with like. But I don't think it is very helpful for a historian to protest indefinitely that his or her own preferred period of study is unique and therefore not suitable material for comparison. If *we* don't make the comparisons, someone else will, quite likely a politician. This may cause us to think about what elements are really consistent in the human condition or in society over time, and how we can study them. Which brings us back to social science. It seems that we can neither fully accept social science nor fully reject it.

**Jeffrey Kaplan:** The Editor's question raises a particularly interesting set of issues for the historian in the current wave of religious violence and religiously motivated terrorism. Of course, the historian instinctively recoils from the public demand—and even more so from the demand of policymakers or intelligence agencies—to draw too close a parallel between the actions of contemporary actors and the historic contexts in which the actions are rooted. The complexity, however, is that religiously motivated groups are often explicit in their adherence to “Golden Age” models, will often couch their demands in the textually based language of the distant past, and will even base their contemporary demands on the restoration of conditions, legal systems, or the reconstitution of polities of the distant past. If the actors themselves raise the specters of past epochs, and if press and public demand of the historian to be told in accessible terms “what it all means,” and if states themselves demand explanations of the seemingly arcane dreams of the “enemy” so as to better “understand” and thus “defeat” them, the historian's pleas that without vital historical context much of the meaning of the actions and events is lost are in vain. The cost

<sup>48</sup> A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of Germany since 1815* (London, 1945), 68.

of absolute fealty to this principle is irrelevance, and in the age in which we live, that can be a high price indeed.

The dynamic is not new, and examples abound, as do examples of the costs of scholarly irrelevance. In the U.S., the event that best illustrates the case is the disaster at Waco, Texas, in which the Branch Davidians under the leadership of a self-styled messiah named Vernon Howell (who dubbed himself David Koresh as a Davidian leader) rather clearly spelled out his aspirations to an audience of scholars—particularly historians of Christianity such as James Tabor and Eugene Gallagher.<sup>49</sup> For the FBI, however, Koresh was spouting “Bible babble,” the warnings of historians were ignored, and the result was a tragedy for all concerned. The example is particularly apt, for in good historical fashion, the event itself is in the past. Even scholars of new religious movements, the most critical of our number about the actions of state authorities, have in the last few years concluded their interviews with surviving members of the community and come to a rough consensus on the events. But here was an example, somewhat contra to the spirit of the Editor’s question, perhaps, where the distant (biblical) past and the present came together in a way in which the historian had a unique insight to offer the public and the authorities without compromising, I believe, his or her integrity as a historian.

Stephen’s observation on the teleological nature of history is interesting in this regard. In the view of religiously motivated terrorists, and to a degree the most extreme of the communities that the media lumps together under the convenient heading “fundamentalists,” history is not only teleological, but it runs in one continuous stream. The distant past was just yesterday, the eschatological future is tomorrow (or perhaps sooner), and all this has practical implications for the movements themselves, and thus for the historian called on to explain the movements to a perplexed public and their elected representatives.<sup>50</sup>

Examples again? One of the best which comes to mind was Gush Emunim in Israel. To make their intense focus on the Whole Land of Israel as the marker of redemption work (i.e., 1 centimeter of the biblical patrimony put back under the control of Israel = 1 centimeter further in the messianic process of redemption for the Jewish people, and through them for all the world’s peoples), the laws, commands, examples, and lessons derived from the Hebrew Bible as interpreted through the rabbinical literature that flourished in the first two centuries after the Exile must be seen as every bit as binding and relevant in the world of today as it was in the ancient days that the texts describe. The distant past was just yesterday. And by stringently applying these laws and principles, and especially by repatriating the Land to Jewish control, the messianic process is taken into human hands, much like fulfilling a contract. With

<sup>49</sup> On Waco and the religious freedom questions it raised, see James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher, *Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995). For a much wider-ranging consideration of the interactions of scholars, governments, and intelligence agencies, including primary source documents, see Jeffrey Kaplan, ed., *Millennial Violence: Past, Present, and Future* (London, 2002).

<sup>50</sup> How this works in the lives of adherents of radical movements is fascinating. For a number of fieldwork-based examples, see Jeffrey Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America: Millenarian Movements from the Far Right to the Children of Noah* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1997).

God's help, it could happen tomorrow—or perhaps this very afternoon. Not the stuff of the historical method, to be sure, but historians can well understand the process, would know the precedents, and can act in good conscience in the role of intermediary, translating the historical background of the “Torah Babble” or “Mishna Babble” of such groups into the realm of—as in the task that Jonathan Z. Smith famously called on historians to undertake in the wake of Jonestown—the “known and the knowable.”<sup>51</sup> We have seen all this before.

The public educational role in this sense for historians is perhaps greatest in the Western world with regard to Islamist groups which make specific reference to the reconstitution of the Caliphate (although this is never done in very specific terms; the devil is always—as Nasser and the generation of the Arab Nationalists before them learned to their cost—in the details). Here, the appeal to history is so strong, and the knowledge of even recent Islamic history so utterly lacking among the Western public, that virtually any contribution made by the historian—or at least in so polarized an arena, the historian without an overriding personal or ideological agenda à la Bernard Lewis of late—could and should make a positive contribution to the public discourse without worrying overmuch about compromising his or her integrity by the unavoidable omission of contextual material.<sup>52</sup> For this, we have our classrooms, and at least in my own experience, three-hour blocks of time per week are barely sufficient to scratch the surface of what I would want my students to know in this field. But for the public, the press, the makers of policy, so dire is the image of Islam in many cases that what linkages we can make in explaining the ideology, the demands, or the future dreams of the movements which we study allow us to serve as bridge-builders. Some will listen, and take pause. Most will not. But we try, and that, I think, is what is important and unique about our topic.

In contrast to many historical disciplines, the student of religiously motivated violence or religious terrorism almost of necessity is thrust into the role of public scholarship. I was trained by Martin Marty at the University of Chicago, and in truth, despite my involvement in the Fundamentalism Project and contra Professor Marty's teachings and personal example, I was always, for many of the reasons outlined in the Editor's message, rather ambivalent with regard to the role of the public scholar. The misinformation and outright disinformation that has been the common coin of the post-9/11 American media has brought me, not for the first time and I'm sure not for the last, to see that Marty was right all along. Historians do have at times to, quoting the Editor, “compromise the disinterested stance they cultivate.”

**Nora Berend:** I agree with Stephen on the impossibility of dissociating ourselves from our own times, and would like to challenge the notion, expressed by the Editor, that historians conduct their research in an ivory tower, cut off from the present. The rebuttal of such an idea was eloquently formulated by one of my favorite historians, Marc Bloch. Writing about a visit with Henri Pirenne to Stockholm, he reported that

<sup>51</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, “The Devil in Mr. Jones,” in Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago, 1982), 111–112.

<sup>52</sup> For example, Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (Oxford, 2002).



Pirenne wanted to visit the most modern building first, and seeing Bloch's surprise, said: "If I were an antiquarian, I would have eyes only for ancient things. But I am a historian. That is why I like life."<sup>53</sup> Bloch maintained that it was vital to keep this link between historians and the present, that the ability to understand the living was a key to historical understanding. As with our judgments and questions, referred to by Stephen, our choice of topics is often influenced by the present. This choice is not the same as the manipulation of the past to suit a present ideology or aim.

Engagement with the present may even include direct partisanship by historians, as Eric Hobsbawm discussed. Debunking myths and standing up against the improper use of the past (such as "historical" claims to territories) can be a crucial aspect of historical writing. Such partisanship can be beneficial to history and academia as well as to politics.<sup>54</sup> I agree with Jeffrey that historians should make their knowledge available to the public in the hope that some may listen.

Historical method is the other way in which we can bridge the gap between the past and the present. As historians, we try to understand the actions of human beings. This is good training for applying the same analytical skills and critical thought to the present, as Stephen has done.

Thinking about religious violence, what I have found most helpful from my study of medieval history is the understanding that religion can be a real motivating factor, but that religion does not stand on its own, and needs to be understood in the context of a given society. That applies just as much to the present situation as it does to the Middle Ages. Religious conviction can lead people to incite violence through treatises and rhetoric, and to perpetrate violence against adherents of other faiths, "heretics," etc., but it does not always do so. Christianity existed for centuries before the invention of the crusades and continued to exist after their demise. Christianity in itself can be, but is not necessarily, a trigger for religious violence. Therefore we need to understand what conjunction of factors leads to religious violence. And that can be applied to religious violence in the contemporary world as well: the presence of religious ideas that can lead to violence, but not without the existence of other motivating factors. Analyzing rather than labeling religious fundamentalism, we can draw on our knowledge of the past. For example, it would be possible to compare medieval Christian fundamentalists (although of course they were not known by that name) to modern Islamic fundamentalists, studying the combination of religious beliefs and social context (which of course in their specificities will differ in the two cases) that created such fundamentalism. This would undermine any easy conclusions about the inherent characteristics of one specific religion leading inevitably to violence. Instead of facile analogies or comparisons based on superficial similarities, we can bring the analytical and critical method that we use for the study of the past to issues of the present.

<sup>53</sup> Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire; ou, Métier d'historien* (Paris, 1993), 95–96.

<sup>54</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (London, 1998), 164–185.

**Jack Miles:** Let me respond as a consumer rather than a producer of history—that is, not as a fellow historian but as the opinion journalist that I have been and, intermittently, still am. Journalism is proverbially history's first draft; and because opinion journalists or pundits write the first draft of historical interpretation, punditry no less than reportage is a part of history's first draft. Increasingly, our leading pundits have advanced degrees and even academic appointments. George Will, Paul Krugman, Niall Ferguson, and Thomas L. Friedman are just four who come quickly to mind. And yet, as producers of punditry or commentary, they are, if only because they write on deadline, necessarily consumers of published history. As such, it is they, more often than professional historians themselves, who mediate the application of deep historical knowledge to incoming reportage on contemporary life.

My point is simply that when historical knowledge is sought for application outside the classroom, it is usually the press rather than the government doing the seeking. While working as an editorial writer, I developed great respect for the best members of the professional staffs of, especially, our best-educated and most experienced senior senators. But at the same time, I learned to expect organized expertise from these members of the permanent government mainly on a range of complex technical questions. One could turn to them for help on a topic like toxic waste disposal, but not for help with the historical background on the Third Balkan War. One sensed that on a topic like that one, they would be turning to journalism for help.

Let me close this last contribution to a conversation in which I am honored to have been included by taking up two more substantive questions inspired in part by the crash course I had to give myself on the history of the Balkans and in part by this very conversation.

First, when was the last time *before* the Third Balkan War (of the 1990s) that the West found itself threatened by a true religious war? Don't the textbooks that some of you have co-authored say that past the late seventeenth century, religious war generally faded away in the West? With one of our group, I have privately raised the question of whether Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* could be considered the last gasp of substantial, conventionally religious conflict before Slobodan Milošević. I set aside the rhetorical inflation of Nazism and Stalinism into pagan religions. I set aside the conflict in Northern Ireland as marginal, geographically contained, and finally nationalist. If, in fact, the Third Balkan War marked the first major recrudescence in more than a century of something Europe had not expected to see ever again, should we ask "Why the recrudescence?" or instead "Why the surprise?" The question matters.

Second, is the secularization/modernization paradigm really in trouble or not? The critique of it was familiar among social scientists well before 9/11, but I find this paradigm, on the whole, operative in much of the conversation I have just taken part in. Yes, 9/11 has forced the question of religiously motivated violence to the fore, but must one, in the process of problematizing it, concede anything serious to religion other than its intermittent capacity to motivate violence? If one thinks not,

then one tends naturally to seek other-than-religious explanations for even violence of ostensibly religious motivation. Thereby, I would maintain, one tends to reaffirm or rehabilitate the secularization/modernization paradigm. The specifically historical question—and for me, it truly is a question—is one of contending scotoses: Are our historians, the ones the journalists must turn to for help, seeing something as over when it isn't, or not over when it is?

**Philip Benedict:** In responding to the Editor's interesting question, I first have to ask: Do professional historians as a group really cultivate a disinterested stance anymore? Objectivity is not neutrality, as Thomas Haskell stressed in a very important review of Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream*.<sup>55</sup> Disinterestedness is probably something slightly different again, on the far side of neutrality. All three terms, but chiefly "objectivity," may once have helped make up the dominant professional ideal. Now all three too often get scrambled together and rejected *en bloc* as an impossible delusion. Many historians make no bones about writing from a distinctive subject position with more or less explicit political goals. It has been twenty years since the AHA's Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession resolved that historians have a responsibility not to allow scholarship to be used against the interests of their political cause. One need hardly add that in carelessly rejecting the ideal of objectivity along with that of neutrality while taking transparently political stands, those who embrace and voice such positions undercut the real influence historians can have on public discussions by making it easy for the nonacademic public to dismiss historical knowledge as merely disguised special pleading. So let's rephrase this question and speak about the stance of objectivity and respect for the complexity of the evidence that historians cultivate. Some historians.

Surely most historians study the subjects they do in part because they think these subjects echo with their own time, and in part out of their sense as researchers that there are insights to be had or discoveries to be made about them that haven't been made before. The exact mix is probably different from case to case. As I look back on the evolution of my own research interests, I can clearly see that I chose the subject I did for my thesis because it had interesting resonances with the upheavals of the 1960s. My undergraduate professor had argued that the Catholic League, which I intended to study, was the first "revolutionary party" in European history. When I went to the archives, however, the sources didn't permit me to continue working on the League as I had expected. I altered the scope of my thesis, and since then my research has chiefly engaged with what seemed to me to be the most interesting large questions suggested by the friction between the archival documents I encountered and the prior reading I had done, both in the secondary literature of my field and in the social sciences more broadly. I've followed the meanders of my own curiosity—in the rich eighteenth-century meaning of that word—more than I have followed the solicitations of the present. Often it has only been well after getting deep into my research on a given topic that I have seen whatever contemporary

<sup>55</sup> Thomas L. Haskell, "Objectivity Is Not Neutrality: Rhetoric versus Practice in Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream*," *History and Theory* 29 (1990): 129–157; reprinted in Haskell, *Objectivity Is Not Neutrality: Explanatory Schemes in History* (Baltimore, Md., 1998).

relevance it had. But when it suddenly happened that one of my subjects, religious civil war, came to have a degree of topicality it had lacked when I first worked on it, this provided strong incentive to continue working on the subject. I've now made it one of my goals to try to write the final product of my current long-term research project on the critical years of the French Reformation and the origins of the Wars of Religion in a manner accessible to general readers. As of yet, however, I haven't let go of my ambition to work through all the most important relevant sources before starting to write, even if there are times when I think that the subject is so timely that I really should get a book out on it soon, even if this means cutting some research corners.

I agree with the remarks of the others who have already said that while historians will always resist overly facile comparisons between past and present, they have an obligation to try to communicate to a larger public what they know about the past that is relevant to the present. This is not simply because if we don't try to explain these things to the best of our capacity, others will do so, and often less well. It's because providing as informed and balanced a picture of those aspects of the past relevant to present debates as we can is one of the most important social functions we historians have. We owe it to the public in return for their support of our research and the freedom they give us to follow our curiosity where it leads us. That said, I have to add right away that I haven't found it easy to live up to this obligation. It's *hard* to boil down the complexities of what we know well into the short paragraphs of journalistic prose. Some years ago I tried to write an op-ed piece linked to the four-hundredth anniversary of the Edict of Nantes. I wanted to suggest how the provisions of that successful edict of pacification with regard to questions of memory and forgetting, truth and reconciliation, differed from the practices for restoring order and justice in the wake of civil wars that many human rights activists advocate today. But I just couldn't write that kind of prose any longer, even though long ago I did so as an undergraduate working for what we then proudly called Ithaca's only morning daily. Maybe the problem was just that I only worked on the essay late at night—a sign of how low a priority these kinds of initiatives have in comparison with the classroom, administrative, and research obligations that press in upon us.

While we're in confessional mode, let me add that the question of how we should respond to contemporary concerns in our teaching is worth attention as well. Joining in this conversation has reawakened the sense of guilt I've felt ever since I let drop an idea I had in the wake of 9/11 to mobilize colleagues in religious studies who were specialists in the history of Islam and Judaism to create with me a comparative course on war and violence in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Such a course seemed to me an essential service to the university and its students when I returned to the States in 2002 after a year of research leave abroad. Alas, nothing whatsoever came of those good intentions. The specialist in Islam was on leave the year I returned from leave. Far from there being active university support for organizing new supra-departmental team-taught courses, attempting to do so meant overcoming all sorts of resistance from deans and chairs alike. The investment in preparation time required for such a course was daunting. I quickly took the measure of the difficulties and let the idea

drop. Joining in this discussion has shown me how much I and a lot of students might have learned from such a course and made me regret that so few universities have effective means for nurturing the creation of such courses.

So, yes, historians should not be so concerned about respecting every nuance of what is particular about their subject that they shun wider comparisons and questions suggested by present concerns, even while they are right to resist overly facile comparisons and questions framed in excessively loose categories. Informing a wider public about unfamiliar aspects of the past while showing their contemporary relevance isn't easy to do, and we should honor those of our colleagues who can do it well more than we do. We should also reflect about why so few academic historians do it as well as nonacademic journalists and historians, and what features of current American academia, both institutional and intellectual, account for this.

**Ussama Makdisi:** This last question is, for me, perhaps the easiest to answer. Most scholars who specialize in the Middle East are immersed, whether they like it or not, and whether they acknowledge it or not, in the politics of the present. Not all, of course, choose to respond directly to contemporary affairs. Nevertheless, in a manner inconceivable, I believe, for a French medievalist or an American antebellum historian, a historian of medieval Islam or nineteenth-century Ottoman history is often asked, at any rate often expected, to speak about current affairs. In other words, I don't think the field of Middle East history is nearly as insulated from the "pull of the present" as are many other fields of history. What also separates the field of Middle Eastern history from, say American or French history is the enormous mass of hostility, ignorance, and orientalism toward the Middle East in the public sphere. This is more akin to the "burden of the present" than any pull. This is something that Jeffrey has already raised in his reference to the "dire" image of Islam here. This hostility/ignorance is readily apparent in mainstream American politics, on the airwaves, and in the print media, which together have consolidated a belligerent attitude toward a diverse region of the world. My own students are not only deeply aware of, but quite steeped in, the pervasive discourse about a fanatical Islam. Moreover, those of us in Middle Eastern studies face today an unrelenting assault by organizations such as Campus Watch which are intent on muzzling academic freedom. Even now, tenure decisions are being subjected to brazen nonacademic considerations relating directly to the Arab-Israeli conflict. These are issues, I believe, which affect the integrity of the entire academy, but which are most acutely felt by those of us who work in Middle Eastern history.

The way to respond to this assault, or more generally to what the Editor has described as the "pull of the present," is to try to get students to think historically about present-day problems, rather than think politically about history. The distinction, for me, is crucial because it separates those of us who historicize from those of us who simply politicize the past. I would agree here, obviously, with the point raised by Stephen that we should impress upon our students an awareness, as he puts it, of ideas and events that were deeply relevant in the past but are no longer compelling, and also, by extension, of the contingency of ideas that seem so timely today—on



this note I cannot help but ask why we always frame the problem of 9/11 as a question of “religious violence” as opposed to simply “political violence”—as if contemporary Islamic fundamentalism/fanaticism/radicalism (whatever one chooses to call it) can be and must be analytically separated from American policies and violence in the region, or from repressive Arab and Israeli state policies. By framing the problem as “religious violence,” we seem to be encouraging comparisons to “Christian” or “Jewish” violence, even medieval episodes of such violence, as suggested by Nora. In any case, rather than start from today and think backward, which is what I believe most students are inclined to do when they enter our classrooms, it is imperative that we reverse this way of thinking and illustrate how and why the contemporary political positions which seem so entrenched, so fixed, so natural, were constructed and have changed over time. As Jeffrey admits, we may not have much of an effect, we may ultimately educate only a small percentage of our students, but that should not stop us from trying.

The more difficult assignment is raised by Philip and Jack, namely how to insert ourselves effectively into the public arena, where our knowledge is not necessarily a comparative advantage—perhaps it is even a disadvantage. Journalists are trained to compress, and have less difficulty and inhibition about generalizing than we historians do. The problem, as I reflect on what is out there in terms of accessible histories about the Middle East, is not so much our willingness to engage in the public arena, but our ability to change an entrenched discourse even when we do enter this arena. Philip seems to indicate that if we don’t, others will; my fear, given how the Middle East is still being represented (despite the efforts of a generation of scholars from all backgrounds who took seriously books such as *Orientalism*), is that even if we seek to make ourselves “relevant,” it takes far more than historians to change public perceptions.<sup>56</sup> Despite the sincere attempts to recover silenced voices of the past, from slaves in the United States to the subaltern in colonial India, here we are in 2007 with Guantanamo, and not much we can do about it. My fear is that we are only able to make an impact after the fact, when, as it is said, the question is merely academic.

**AHR Editor:** This has been a wide-ranging, stimulating, and long conversation. Just as it has prompted several of you to reflect upon these matters in different ways—especially in terms of comparisons across time and religious cultures—so I hope readers will come away from this discussion with a renewed appreciation of the advantages of sharpening our knowledge against the grain of others’ expertise. Usama’s final, rather pessimistic comment about the dubious impact of historians beyond the academy is, I fear, well-placed. But if we truly believe that—beyond any specific ideological positions or policy prescriptions—the most important lesson we as historians have to impart to a wider public ultimately rests on the conviction that ignoring historical context and the specificity of historical experience can only produce error and ignorance, then our job is clear: to keep doing what we do best but try to do it in a way that does not exclude all but scholars. This is, indeed, one of the impulses behind this very Conversation.

<sup>56</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

**Philip Benedict** currently directs the Université de Genève's Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation, after teaching for twenty-six years at Brown University. He is currently working on a history of the critical years of the French Reformation and the origins of the Wars of Religion, 1555–1563. His most recent books are *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Droz, 2007); *La Réforme en France et Italie: Contacts, comparaisons et contrastes* (Publications de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 2007), co-edited with Silvana Seidel Menchi and Alain Tallon; and *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability* (University of Delaware Press, 2005), a festschrift for Theodore K. Rabb co-edited with Myron P. Gutmann.

**Nora Berend** is Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of History, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of St Catharine's College. She has published numerous articles and is the author of *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), co-editor with David Abulafia of *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Ashgate, 2002), and editor of *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus', c. 900–1200* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

**Stephen Ellis** is a senior researcher at the African Studies Centre, Leiden, the Netherlands. He worked as a researcher in the International Secretariat of Amnesty International from 1982 to 1986, and later as editor of the newsletter *Africa Confidential*. He has also been director of the Africa Program of the International Crisis Group. His most recent book (co-authored with Gerrie ter Haar) is *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

**Jeffrey Kaplan** is an Associate Professor of Religion at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh and the Director of the UW Oshkosh Institute for the Study of Religion, Violence and Memory. He has published nine books and anthologies, the most recent of which are *Millennial Violence: Past, Present and Future* (Cass, 2002), *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalization* (Alta Mira Press, 2002), and, with Bron Taylor, the two-volume *Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature* (Continuum, 2005). In addition, he has authored numerous articles for a diverse selection of academic journals. His work in progress, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism: Terrorism's Fifth Wave*, is under contract with Routledge.

**Ussama Makdisi** is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Rice University and is the first holder of the Arab-American Educational Foundation Chair of Arab Studies. He is the author of *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (University of California Press, 2000). He has co-edited with Paul Silverstein *Memory*

---

*and Violence in the Middle East* (Indiana University Press, 2006). His new book, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, will be published by Cornell University Press in January 2008.

**Jack Miles** is Professor of English and Religious Studies at the University of California, Irvine; Senior Fellow for Religious Affairs with the Pacific Council on International Policy; and general editor of the *Norton Anthology of World Religions* (forthcoming). His book *God: A Biography* won a Pulitzer Prize. He is currently a MacArthur Fellow.

---

## Featured Reviews

---

ALESSANDRO SCAFI. *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. 398. \$55.00.

In modern society, concepts like “Eden” and “the terrestrial paradise” are most familiar either as metaphors or as hyperbolic advertising motifs. But for more than a thousand years, the location of the Garden of Eden within the physical world was a matter of genuine concern for theologians and mapmakers. The orientation of many medieval *mappae mundi* placed Paradise at the very top of the world, often straddling the oceanic boundary between this world and the next. Although priorities of mapmakers—and the orientations of their maps—changed over time, the location of Eden remained an important issue. Under the influence of Jewish and Arabic scholarship, and inspired above all by the rehabilitation of Aristotle, thirteenth-century authors postulated that Paradise might be found on or beyond the equator, perhaps at the summit of a giant mountain that lifted it beyond the miasma of the post-diluvian world. By the sixteenth century, the proposition that Eden remained inviolate at the edge of the inhabited world had been rejected. Theologians increasingly accepted that the terrestrial paradise was no more, but thought that traces of the lost garden might be discovered in Mesopotamia. In support, they propounded imaginative parallels between ambiguous hydrographies of Genesis and the river systems of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Even over the last two centuries, the search has been continued, both by Assyriologists and orientalist seeking tangible topographical connections between the literatures of the ancient Near East, and by a handful of isolated individuals driven by their own religious impulses.

Alessandro Scafi’s stimulating overview of these varied mappings of Paradise provides a striking an invaluable contribution to the history of cartography. Ranging from the earliest maps of late antiquity to the biblical geographies of the present day, Scafi provides an exhaustive study of a fascinating phenomenon. But this is far more than a survey of scholarly esoterica. By viewing the history of cartography through these varied representations of an inaccessible utopia (and vice versa), the author provides a number of invaluable new perspectives upon an increasingly familiar body of evidence. At once an impressively detailed assessment of *mappae mundi* in their intellectual context, a rehabilitation of early modern religious cartography, and a valuable corrective to the surprisingly persistent view

that maps can only be judged as “scientific” tools of spatial description, Scafi’s study will be of interest to many *AHR* readers.

Following a short prologue on the persistent allure of Eden as a subject for cartographers, Scafi begins his survey with a discussion of the historiography of his subject. If the history of mapmaking has always fallen somewhat uneasily between the stools of history, geography, and antiquarianism—at least until the first volumes of the monumental *History of Cartography* (1987–) emerged under the editorial guidance of J. B. Harley and David Woodward two decades ago—the discussion of mapped paradise has been a fringe interest within a fringe interest. The physical representation of Eden on medieval *mappae mundi* was frequently held by the early twentieth-century historians of cartography—most famously Raymond Beazley, John Kirkland Wright, and George Kimble—as an obvious vindication of their contention that medieval mapmaking was motivated by the fabulous and frivolous rather than the scientific. The study of medieval cartography has, of course, come some way since then. Natalia Lozovsky’s *The Earth Is Our Book* (2000) has done much to situate early medieval mapping within its intellectual context, and recent studies such as Scott Westrem’s incomparable edition of the *Hereford Map* (2002) have laid firm foundations for future projects. As a result, the geographical knowledge of the medieval period is increasingly celebrated as a genuinely innovative synthesis of geographical, theological, and historiographical impulses. Yet in spite of this attention, Paradise itself has rarely been brought in from the edge of the map.

Scafi sets out to redress this imbalance, first with a discussion of the issue of terrestrial paradise among Judaic and early Christian theologians. As any reader familiar with Genesis will know, the opening chapters of the Bible provide frustratingly little in the way of detailed geography or topography. We discover that Eden was located either spatially (“in the east”) or temporally (“at the beginning”), depending on the interpretation of the ambiguous Hebrew term *miqedem*. Beyond that, we are told only that four rivers flowed through (or possibly “from”) the Garden: the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Gihon, and the Pishon. While this latter point offers a measure of topographical precision, the fact that neither of the latter rivers was ever identified with any confidence

exemplifies the controversies that surrounded the subject. More significant still is the fact that Genesis actually includes two separate Creation narratives, and that the two seemed to contradict one another. How could these traditions be resolved? Were these chapters intended to be read literally or allegorically? And where did this leave the historical reality of the Garden of Eden itself?

As in so many cases, it was Saint Augustine who provided the most lasting solution to the problem. Reluctant to relinquish the literal truth of the Old Testament, and hence to compromise the absolute authority of Scripture, Augustine stated firmly that the Garden of Eden did indeed have corporeal reality. Simultaneously, however, he maintained that the creation narrative and the topography of Eden had a profound typological significance with relevance for the whole of Christian history. Eden was, of course, a tangible reminder of the prelapsarian state of bliss, but the creation of Adam might also be read typologically as an anticipation of the Incarnation and the promised Second Coming of Christ. In much the same way, the Garden itself needed to be seen as figurative of the triumph of the church and of the eternal delights of Heaven. In this sense, Eden represented a place in the past, present and the future simultaneously: a prominent reminder of the mystical rhythms of Christian time even as chroniclers, exegetes, and historians struggled to calibrate the passing of the years. Exegesis of Genesis was by no means uncontested, of course, and Christian chronology was similarly beset by contradiction and dispute, but this is the context in which the medieval mapping of Eden must be understood, and Scafi does an admirable job both of unpicking the niceties of this debate for an uninitiated audience, and of demonstrating how the ongoing dispute continued to be felt in the cartography of the period.

This patristic prolegomenon may seem like a circuitous way into medieval cartography, but it demonstrates an essential point. Scholars have long maintained that *mappae mundi* were intended to be *read* as well as viewed, and that they must thus be regarded as texts quite as much as maps. What Scafi demonstrates, however, is that these maps could in themselves provide important articulations of patristic and postpatristic theologies. That these maps were not simply visual representations of the world is clear, but nor were they simply world histories. Instead, they were fully articulated images of the Christian *Weltbild*, which were valuable—and unrivalled—vehicles for the transmission of certain ideas.

Understanding that medieval *mappae mundi* present simultaneous temporal, spatial and eschatological images of the world helps to explain the consistent historical balance of these texts. The upper (“Asian”) section of almost every one of the great historically charged maps is littered with sites of Alexandrine, or Old Testament, significance. By contrast, the lower (European) registers tend to be devoted to more contemporary, historical sites, with Jerusalem as the fulcrum or omphalos of the world. As Scafi suggests, this balance facilitates multiple readings of human history,

from a straightforward scriptural narrative to the eschatological *translatio imperii*, derived from the exegesis of Daniel 2:31–45 and expounded by writers like Eusebius and Orosius in more or less geographical terms. Yet most important of all is the realization that this was a living history for those who influenced, designed, and interpreted these *mappae mundi*. Paradise *did* exist, not merely as a visible symbol of Creation or as a reminder of the delights of heaven, but as a map-able place within the terrestrial world.

Responses to the physical world, both secular and sacred, were always changing. The philosophical and scientific revolution of the thirteenth century saw contemporary scholars return to the vexed issue of the location of Paradise. Inspired to a large degree by the influx of Judaic and Arabic thinking, as well as by the rehabilitation of Aristotle, the scientists and theologians of the period increasingly regarded the spatially ambiguous representations of paradise within the *mappae mundi* as incompatible with more modern understandings of the terrestrial globe. Scholars like Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne, and Roger Bacon all accepted that Eden was to be found on the globe but that it lay in an inaccessible region, beyond both the reach of the weather systems of the inhabited world and the waters of the Great Flood. Their solutions, as might be imagined, were varied, but all sought to reconcile scientific and theological understanding of the world. Relatively few of these geographical speculations appear on maps, but the question of Paradise was nevertheless central to the thirteenth-century shift in geographical thinking. During the later Middle Ages, the world was viewed less in purely symbolic or typological terms, and geography was increasingly driven by a need for spatial specificity.

The last phase of world maps before the great discoveries of the late fifteenth century offers an instructive case study in the changing significance of Paradise. As Scafi demonstrates, the process of transition from medieval *mappae mundi* to the neo-Ptolemaic maps of the Renaissance was a prolonged, and often confusing, one. As the orientation of fifteenth-century world maps changed, and no longer gave priority to the east, Paradise also slipped around the periphery of the world, sometimes appearing in the Ethiopian kingdom on the fringes of Africa, at other times remaining in the orient. By the middle of the century, the process had gone one stage further. In his world map of c. 1450, Fra Mauro weighed up the patristic and medieval authors on the issue of Paradise and eventually located Eden in a cartouche beyond even the boundary of the ocean. Paradise remained important as a symbol, but no longer had a place within a map of the terrestrial world.

By the sixteenth century, religious geography had been destabilized yet further by the increasing popularity of neo-Ptolemaic cartography, the convulsions of the European Reformation, and of course by the implications of the great discoveries. It was within this context that the attentions of theologians shifted away from the search for a “living” Paradise at the edges of the world and toward the identification of traces of a



lost Eden in the topography of Mesopotamia. This peculiar phenomenon, which included John Calvin among its more celebrated participants, is largely known to modern scholars only through a number of studies of sixteenth-century biblical geography. Scafi's most significant contribution, therefore, comes in setting this material within its appropriate technical context. For many students of the history of mapping, the later Renaissance is a period dominated by the Mercators, the Ptolemies, and the Ortelii, and of course this is understandable. But Scafi provides a timely reminder that such grand narratives can easily omit many of the more intriguing—and lasting—disputes within cartographic history.

Much of Scafi's discussion is stimulating and thought provoking, and by setting all of this mapmaking within its theological context, the author has done the scholarly community a tremendous service. Yet broad as this context certainly is, the strict focus on cartography does leave one or two important issues unexplored: not least the broader significance of paradisiacal representation in other media, which fed, were influenced by, or perhaps replaced cartographic forms of representation.

Given the medieval emphases of much of the volume, the most obvious of these is perhaps the function of paradisiacal landscapes within the poetry, prose, and painting of the classical, medieval, and postmedieval worlds. Beyond the discussion of the small vignettes of Adam and Eve in their walled garden, little discussion of landscape representation is included within this study. Similarly, although reference is made to Dante's Mount Purgatory, which was certainly influenced by the medieval geographical traditions that the author explores, the discussion is a short one and reveals little regarding the mutual interdependence of literature, theology, and geography. Perhaps more seriously, Scafi only once refers to the *loci amoeni* of classical verse: the stylized images of perfect landscapes that found their first great master in Virgil, but that became the standard trope of medieval landscape poetry and prosody until the twelfth century. Even this reference is made in the context of nineteenth-century antiquarianism. Yet this *topos* formed a central element within medieval topographical description both in verse and in image. The Edenic implications of these "delightful places" were underscored in the biblical verse of poets like Arator and Avitus, and in the hexameral writings of the Church Fathers. In some senses, therefore, any use of the *locus amoenus* motif within medieval Latin writing was a con-

scious evocation of Eden, and hence an assertion of the continued relevance of the Creation narrative far from the distant walls of the garden itself.

This, of course, only supports Scafi's central contention that the representation of Eden within medieval maps was not simply a geographical operation but had a wider resonance throughout the world. Significantly, recent studies of landscape representation in poetry and painting—most notably Chris Fitter's remarkable *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Towards a New Theory* (1995), which itself ranges far beyond the medieval period—further complement Scafi's identification of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a period that witnessed a major conceptual shift. Following Jacques le Goff, Fitter identifies a movement toward topographical realism in the representation of the period, and away from the tropology and typology that defined early medieval responses to the world. This shift, it seems to me, is analogous to the cartographic shift identified by Scafi toward a geographical literalism in attempts to locate Paradise.

Eden also has a peculiar resonance in the modern world, of course. In his opening and closing pages, Scafi includes a variety of contemporary images from a magazine advertisement for Air Mauritius ("Paradise begins in Air Mauritius") to a fabulous Christian "street map" of salvation, which depicts the road to enlightenment as a pathway through American suburbia. Frustratingly, although both are granted short explanatory captions, neither is considered fully within the body of the text. Many other examples spring immediately to mind. Stephen Oppenheimer and Richard Dawkins, for example, have both boldly reclaimed the symbol of Eden in their own narratives of human evolution (and in so doing have unknowingly followed one later medieval tradition in asserting that the "true" Eden was in eastern Africa). These are not perhaps cartographic representations of Paradise *sensu stricto*, and to include instances of this kind would very probably have turned an already substantial book into a small library, but Scafi's interpretations of these manifold modern Edens would have made a rewarding afterword to the volume. In creating a new grand narrative of cartography, however, and one that takes such entertaining and unexpected deviations, this book represents a valuable contribution to a growing scholarly field.

A. H. MERRILLS  
University of Leicester

KATHERINE PARK and LORRAINE DASTON, editors. *The Cambridge History of Science. Volume 3: Early Modern Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxvii, 865. \$160.00.

The Scientific Revolution has served as the linchpin of the history of science at least since the late nineteenth

century, although it did not acquire that name until the 1930s. Usually referring to the period between Coper-

nicus and Newton (roughly 1500 and 1700), it has traditionally served as the *terminus ad quem* for the ancient and medieval developments that preceded it and the *terminus a quo* for all that followed. According to traditional accounts, this period witnessed the birth of modern science and its attendant methods and institutions.

Like other historical disciplines, the history of science has experienced profound changes in the last two or three decades; and like other great historical periods such as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, the defining characteristics and significance of the Scientific Revolution have been seriously revised. A growing emphasis on social history and cultural studies has turned the attention of many historians of science away from the close reading of texts and a focus on conceptual developments to the consideration of the institutions in which natural knowledge was produced, the political and social contexts and meanings of these practices, and the various classes of people involved in producing natural knowledge. Where older studies of the Scientific Revolution gave pride of place to the mathematical and physical sciences, recent scholarly developments have recognized the important roles played in early modern developments by disciplines no longer considered relevant to modern science—for example, theology, alchemy, and astrology—as well as by nonmathematical disciplines such as natural history and medicine.

Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston's volume in the new, eight-volume *Cambridge History of Science* fully embraces a revised picture of natural philosophy and the sciences from the early Renaissance to the early eighteenth century. The explorations of the New World, Africa, and Asia and the discovery of hitherto unknown plants and animals revealed the limitations of ancient authorities such as Ptolemy in geography and Pliny in natural history. The increasing use of mathematics to solve problems in natural philosophy violated Aristotle's classification of the sciences, a classification that had defined disciplines on the basis of their subject matter and methods and had declared that physics and mathematics were separate disciplines. The title of Isaac Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687), traditionally viewed as the herald of modern science, would have seemed to embody a category mistake to scholars working a century earlier. Emphasizing actors' categories rather than the anachronistic categories of modern science that traditional historians of science tended to impose on the early modern period, Park and Daston stress the fact that disciplinary boundaries have changed over time and that the early modern disciplines do not map onto those of the modern sciences. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Aristotelian classification of the sciences was giving way to incorporate a variety of sources of new knowledge. This historical insight is an important theme linking the thirty-three essays in this volume.

The volume's organization reflects important changes

in the historiography of the Scientific Revolution. An opening section, entitled "The New Nature," consists of four essays focusing on changes in the philosophical foundations of early modern intellectual developments: the rise of the mechanical philosophy against the background of Aristotelianism, chymical philosophies, Renaissance naturalism, and Pythagoreanism; changes in what counted as scientific explanation; the early modern understanding of the terms "experience" and "experiment"; and the different kinds of proof and rhetorical strategies used in the various disciplines. Part two, "Personae and Sites of Natural Knowledge," contains articles about the different kinds and classes of people who contributed to natural knowledge and the sorts of institutions with which they were associated. Finally, after 362 pages of social and philosophical context, part three, "Dividing the Study of Nature," provides accounts of conceptual and intellectual developments within the various disciplines as they were understood at the time. The volume concludes with part four, "Cultural Meanings of Natural Knowledge," containing essays on religion, literature, art, gender, and European expansion. The philosophical foundations and social history of natural philosophy and the sciences are significant and, in some cases, add new dimensions to the study of the history of science. However, a newcomer to the field would find it confusing to encounter those issues before learning about the conceptual changes that lie at the heart of the Scientific Revolution. Without knowing the intellectual content of these changes, a reader might well ask what these philosophical issues and social history are about.

The organization of the volume reflects assumptions underlying recent trends in scholarship. The lengthy part two focuses on the contributions to natural knowledge made by women, artisans, shopkeepers, members of households, military engineers, and other members of the popular classes. Although there are also essays on the universities, courts, and new academies, these loci are downplayed. There is no question that the popular classes possessed knowledge of the natural world that contributed to natural philosophy and the sciences and that natural philosophers like Robert Boyle learned many things from ordinary people; nevertheless these groups did not engage in the abstract thinking and the methods that characterized the intellectual efforts of astronomers, mathematicians, chymists, natural historians, and others whose work is comprises the heart of the Scientific Revolution. Most of the articles in this section implicitly assume definitions of the terms "science," "natural philosophy," and "natural knowledge." However, they fail to describe the criteria by which the historical actors distinguished these enterprises. A non-anachronistic way to explore these distinctions would be to consider the kinds of questions asked by artisans and technicians in comparison to the kinds of questions asked by natural philosophers and other intellectuals. This section of the volume seems to adopt an anti-elitist tone, but without significant, new, or convincing historical insights to show for it. While

recognition of the contributions of the popular classes and women is a salutary compensation for an almost exclusive emphasis on great men in earlier scholarship, the fact is that the profound changes in the understanding of the natural world and methods for finding out about it was largely the work of social and intellectual elites who worked in universities, libraries, and courts and gathered in exclusive academies. Writing about them does not undermine our twenty-first-century politics of inclusion. Rather we need to understand the origins of the social status of natural philosophy, medicine, and the mathematical sciences and the way it affected the intellectual development of these disciplines.

The third part of this volume, which deals with the intellectual content of the various disciplines, implicitly rejects the nineteenth-century positivist classification of the sciences, a classification that regarded mathematics and physics as the most fundamental sciences and ranked the others in an order of decreasing status. This assumption permeated earlier accounts of the Scientific Revolution. As a result of this often unacknowledged positivism, historians have highlighted the mathematization of physics in the seventeenth century, thereby marginalizing developments in other areas of natural philosophy, medicine and natural history. Radically deviating from the positivist order of the sciences, the third part of this volume opens with an article on natural philosophy, which is followed by articles on medicine, natural history, cosmography, alchemy and chymistry, astrology, astronomy, acoustics and optics, mechanics, the mechanical arts, and pure mathematics. Although the departure from positivist assumptions is to be commended, the rationale behind this new order is obscure.

What is the intended audience for this book? Its organization would make it very difficult for a newcomer to the history of science to read sequentially from beginning to end. The essays in the first section would be almost impossible to understand without first knowing something about the intellectual developments within the sciences and natural philosophy. For readers familiar with the history of science and the older historiography, the essays in most cases contain good summaries of relevant scholarship and useful bibliographical references, but without the detail that would point toward further research or provide material for preparing lectures on unfamiliar topics. As a source of such information, Wilbur Applebaum's *Encyclopedia of the Scientific Revolution: From Copernicus to Newton* (2000) is more useful. In a way, this volume stands as a monument to the state of selected scholarship at the present time, but as such, its practical utility is questionable.

Despite its apparent comprehensive coverage of relevant topics, this volume suffers from some important omissions. The fact that both Boyle and Newton devoted long years to the pursuit of alchemy receives very little notice. There are other serious lacunae as well. Andreas Osiander, whose preface to Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543) had

serious consequences for the reception of heliocentric astronomy, is mentioned only once, and then in the essay on coffeehouses and printshops. William Gilbert, whose experimental study of the magnet was very influential receives scattered mention in several articles, but there is no sustained discussion of his experiments and ideas. William Harvey, who established the circulation of the blood experimentally, receives very little attention. Discussion of scientific instruments is sparse, even though both the telescope and microscope were new inventions in the seventeenth century and played important roles in astronomy, anatomy, natural history, and medicine, as well as raising new problems about epistemology and method. Despite the fact that the volume contains an essay on women, there is no mention of either Margaret Cavendish or Ann Conway, both of whom were intellectually active during this period and both of whom have been extensively discussed in the scholarly literature. There is no general bibliography, so it is necessary to scour the footnotes to find useful references. The index would benefit by including more references to important subjects such as "air-pump," "barometer," "qualities," and "occult qualities."

The essay on religion concentrates on issues of education, politics, and authority. It takes little notice of the relationships between theology and the sciences, important themes in the history of the period. Different attitudes to the reception of Copernicanism reflected different theological positions. The preoccupation of many early modern thinkers with the dangers of materialism, deism, and even atheism posed by the mechanical philosophy is absent from the book. Some of the most exciting developments in recent scholarship have demonstrated the way religion and theology were inextricably connected in this period, but discussion of these issues finds no place in this volume. Such issues are central to understanding figures such as Pierre Gassendi, Henry More, Boyle, and Newton. While a return to an emphasis on great men is not particularly desirable, fuller portraits of some of the major players would enhance this account of early modern natural philosophy and the sciences and contribute to its central theme concerning changes in disciplinary boundaries. The modern separation of science and religion was not a feature of early modern thought. Seventeenth-century treatises on natural philosophy regularly included discussions of such theological topics as God's providential relationship to the world he created, evidence of design in the world, and the immortality of the human soul.

Some of the essays contradict the claims of others. For example, Peter Dear focuses on the mathematical sciences and argues that "set-piece experiments seem first to have entered significantly into knowledge-making practices in the domain of the mathematical sciences." Although he considers the meaning of experience and experiment in a number of disciplines, he does not consider the work of either chymists or artisans. Pamela Smith, by contrast, discusses the rise of laboratories and "a new epistemology" in the context of al-

chemy, with the practices emerging from the artisanal workshops and studios. And William R. Newman emphasizes the emergence of an experimental approach in the work of the alchemists.

Surely, one role that a volume such as this should serve is to alert readers to current controversies in the field. Several books that have spawned serious historiographical debates in the history of science are cited in this volume as if they were accepted authorities, when, in fact, they have stimulated serious controversies. Two of the most well-known of these studies are Mario Biagioli's *Galileo Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (1993) and Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer's *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (1985).

Producing a definitive history of a field in flux is a daunting, if not impossible, task. The old master narrative of the Scientific Revolution is no longer tenable, at least not in its unadulterated form. This volume presents a wealth of scholarship and a number of points of view, but it does not offer a new story to replace the old one. While it is probably not possible at this juncture to formulate such a narrative, a clearer indication of some of the historiographical controversies and the significance of new directions of scholarship would have produced a more satisfying volume.

MARGARET J. OSLER  
University of Calgary

HOWARD G. BROWN. *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice, and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 461. \$45.00.

Howard G. Brown's challenging and controversial book examines the period of French history from 1795 to 1802—years that witnessed the end of the National Convention, the government of the Directory (1795–1799), Napoleon Bonaparte's seizure of power in the Brumaire coup of 1799, and the opening phase of his initial regime, the Consulate. The author proposes an interpretation of these years that will, in his words, “alter our vision of the revolutionary period.” Using chiefly military and judicial archives as well as sociological and political theory, Brown maintains that the Directory's repeated and “heavy-handed” use of military repression undermined its own version of a liberal democracy and laid the foundations for what he calls the “security state” of the Napoleonic period. Indeed, for Brown the French Revolution failed in its effort to establish liberal democracy chiefly because the government resorted to a range of exceptional measures that infringed on civil liberties and violated the Constitution. Readers of his previous articles will be familiar with his notion of liberal authoritarianism and his emphasis on strong-armed military policing as an essential insight into the regime. The author also proposes to re-periodize these years, asserting that the French Revolution ended in 1802, not in 1799.

Brown's research focuses on the repeated attempts by the French state to repress the violent civil strife that prevailed in much of the country from the mid-1790s through the turn of the century. Like many other scholars, he argues that it was ultimately the army that provided the state with its most powerful and effective tool in the struggle against brigandage and rebellion. Military tribunals in various incarnations—*tribunaux militaires*, then *conseils militaires* in 1795, then *conseils de guerre* after 1796—not only tried soldiers for misconduct but also targeted *chouans* and other rebels, and in

1798 were empowered to hear cases of brigandage. But a far more daunting prospect for bandits and other enemies of the state was to be apprehended and sent before a *commission militaire*. Brown analyses the military commissions that, as historians have noted, appeared in two main waves. Following the political coup of Fructidor (September 1797), the Directory established several temporary military commissions and directed them to arrest and try counterrevolutionary suspects: rebels, *émigrés*, and nonjuring clergy. The second main wave came after the Directory's fall, when Bonaparte created new military commissions. Charged with repressing brigands and bolstered by “flying columns,” these commissions dispensed a “Consular Terror,” pursuing their targets aggressively in the field and staging executions. Indeed, the author submits that it was ultimately the summary justice of the military commissions, and the support they received from the members of local communities, that broke the back of brigandage in the south.

The French state fashioned still other strategies to safeguard law and order. Brown discusses the efforts of the Directory to reorganize the *gendarmerie nationale* by eliminating the old command structure, paring down the officer corps, purging the brigades. He also notes that during the Second Directory (the period between the coups of Fructidor and Brumaire) more than 220 communes were at various times put under a “state of siege”—an expedient that allowed the military to take direct control of policing and public order in the town. The book also treats the ordinary criminal courts, based on research conducted in the archives of four of the some ninety courts operating in France under the Directory and Consulate. Brown reviews the structure and judgments of these tribunals, discusses jury nullification, and argues that the criminal justice system of the



Directorial period dispensed “massive amounts of repression.” He bases this conclusion on a comparison between rates of execution in some tribunals under the Old Regime and Directory. But he mistakenly credits the *code des délits et des peines* of 1795 with introducing a host of procedural safeguards for the accused and thus with spurring the development of a new legal culture. In fact, almost all of the roughly two dozen safeguards that Brown describes—among them, public trials, access by the accused to court-appointed legal counsel, the vote of ten of twelve jurors required for a conviction, and the right of the defense to cross-examine witnesses at trial—made their appearance not with the code of 1795 but with the famous legislation of 1791. The foundations of the new legal culture in France derived not from the work of the Convention after Thermidor but from its predecessor, the Constituent Assembly.

In the realm of periodization, the author stresses much more continuity between the Directory and the early Consulate than the vast majority of historians, whether judicial, constitutional, or political, have traditionally allowed, although some scholars, like Soboul in his volume for the “Que sais-je?” series and P. M. Jones in a recent overview, have offered a similar periodization. In explaining the Directory’s failure and Napoleon’s success in restoring order and ending the Revolution, Brown states that the Directory used military repression to push French society in a more revolutionary direction. He holds that in place of the Directory’s “arbitrary tyranny of exceptional measures,” Napoleon established his own “Caesarism” by acting with the goal of simply preserving domestic order rather than of pursuing a revolutionary agenda. In this respect at least, Brown admits a sharp contrast between the Directory and Consulate. But in so doing, he merely reaffirms the longstanding historiographical emphasis on the Second Directory’s revolutionary use of state power and on Napoleon’s abandonment of destabilizing revolutionary objectives. Brown gives this transition new rhetorical adornments: he imagines a “Faustian pact” by ordinary citizens with the forces of order that permitted the consolidation of the “security state.” But such flourishes, even while exaggerating certain aspects of this process (such as the complicity of the populace as a whole), are grafted onto what is, at bottom, a traditional view of revolutionary excess after Fructidor and its abandonment in Napoleon’s quest for domestic order.

This book, divided into twelve densely written chapters, relies in part on research conducted in national as well as departmental archives. Brown should be commended for drawing on some revealing sources in provincial archives: most important, his discovery and exploitation of the records of the military commissions created after Fructidor that had only partially been studied by Victor Pierre. These documents shed new light on the extent of the repression of the so-called Directorial Terror. Otherwise, his study of military and criminal justice from 1795 to 1802 rests chiefly on the

records of extraordinary commissions created by Napoleon in some of the western and southern departments, the judgments of four criminal courts, the registers of judgments from different *conseils de guerre*, and a variety of military correspondence taken primarily from four of the military districts in the country during the Directory and the Consulate. His study of these local court records is helpful in expanding an increasing body of literature by French, Belgian, and American scholars on the criminal justice of the period. His work on brigandage and on the exceptional justice mobilized against it also adds to the existing knowledge.

Throughout his work, Brown makes strong claims to his own originality. Yet, as in the case of criminal justice, many of the subjects he examines have been treated, and treated well, by other historians. Bernard Gainot has astutely analyzed the neo-Jacobins of Grignac in his book, *Un nouveau jacobinisme? La démocratie représentative, une alternative à Brumaire* (2001). And local monographs like those by Marcel Marion (*Le brigandage pendant la Révolution* [1934]), F. Saurel (*Les brigands royaux dans l’Hérault et autres départements du Midi sous la République et le Consulat* [1893]), and, more recently, articles by Bérénice Grissolange, Stephen Clay, and Xavier Rousseaux, have already made ably and amply many of the points that Brown advances. Etienne Delcambre, in his *La vie dans la Haute-Loire sous le Directoire* [1943]), for example, stressed that to “repress brigandage, the department relied on the gendarmerie and the colonne mobile.” The present reviewer has published research, dating back to an article in 1996, establishing that the juries in sixteen departments acquitted defendants at rates hovering around forty-five percent, that crimes of violence and especially political crimes were more likely to elicit acquittals than property offenses, and that the juries treated political crimes more severely in the wake of the Directory’s Fructidor coup than before. Some noteworthy works on the period are not mentioned by Brown, like Clay’s important article on the state of siege, or are noted in a way that slights their significance, like Valérie Sottocasa’s excellent book on political and religious conflict in Languedoc, criticized for having failed to cite one of Brown’s own articles. Sadly, it must be noted that many other specialized works cited by the author are accompanied by a jab at their alleged shortcomings, captiously diminishing their importance for readers. The overall effect of all this is to overstate the novelty and importance of his work.

Moreover, Brown has a penchant for sweeping statements, not all of which are adequately substantiated. For example, he states that “The coup d’état of Fructidor was a dramatic response to a genuine royalist conspiracy with international connections” (p. 152), an idea promoted by the Directory itself at the time, but for which no irrefutable proof has as yet been uncovered. He makes blanket comparisons of levels of violence between departments when the very complexity of this phenomenon makes such comparisons extremely delicate. He also remarks that “the criminal courts of



the First Republic were impressively busy as well as shockingly repressive" without qualifying the statement to reflect that his own research only began with the year 1795, not with 1792 when most of these courts started their operations; in fact, the earlier courts (based on findings in sixteen departments) ordered far fewer executions than those of the Directory.

Much of the book is informed by theoretical constructions, often drawn from theorists in other disciplines. At times, the effect is to reduce excessively the complexity of history when it suits his broader argument. Brown sees, for example, a transition from the "organic society" of the Old Regime to the "security state" of Napoleon—from a society where local communities policed themselves and implemented their own forms of dispute resolution, to one in which state authority in policing and justice eclipsed local control. The very notion of *ancien régime* communal life as essentially "organic" remains to be proven and greatly simplifies eighteenth-century society. What is more, the rise of the military-bureaucratic state was a long-term process with roots deep in the seventeenth century: the

use of the military to quell collective violence was one of the staples in the repressive arsenal of the monarchy. The "organic society"/"security state" polarity both overstates the contrast between the repressive techniques of the two periods and posits an Old Regime where the role of state repression did not evolve in any meaningful way. Similarly, Brown's explanation for the Directory's fall dwells on certain factors but neglects others essential to an understanding of the period, like the war, local elections, and parliamentary intrigue. In his book, repression is posited as the major factor in periodization, while many others are downplayed.

Brown's work has the merit of affirming the relevance of archival research for a study of the years between 1795 and 1802. His discussions of military policing, military commissions, and criminal courts will aid our understanding of the period. But his work is a difficult read and his language often opaque, and his general theory of the period is sure to invite much specialist critique.

ROBERT B. ALLEN

*Stephen F. Austin State University*

DAVID A. BELL. *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 2007. Pp. x, 420. \$27.00.

The wars revolutionary France waged from 1792 on helped radicalize the revolution, as the revolution, more gradually, radicalized war. Political and social change made possible new motivations for military service and new manpower policies, which after much trial and error led to changes in the army's organization, tactics, and operations. Initially the wars were defensive, even as they strengthened the Left in the Convention. New ideological fervor and traditional French interests turned them into wars of conquest. Opponents of the revolution were slow to recognize the new that emerged from the seeming disorder of the French forces; but that German military circles began to debate such matters as the value of enthusiasm in combat indicates that foreigners, too, were coming to understand that a transformation of war had begun.

Just as the generation that experienced it, historians have not been blind to the magnitude of this transformation. In the nineteenth century they interpreted the changes as important steps toward war in the age of industrialization and nationalism. In the twentieth century they saw the transformation as anticipating aspects of the wars of the modern age, whether limited or total. Early on they also recognized that military change could not be interpreted in isolation, since war and society acted on each other, and the push and pull between them occurred in all areas: political, social, and cultural. This interaction was, of course, not unique to France in the 1790s. It is perennial, and some historians have always been attentive to its variety and reach, even in this country in the 1960s, when it was not uncommon

to hear war dismissed as a problematical subject of study and teaching. From Voltaire and Johannes von Müller, who based his history of the Swiss on his reading of their passion for freedom and their passion for war, to Thomas Babington Macaulay, Jules Michelet, Leopold von Ranke, Jakob Burckhardt, and their successors, historians who integrate the study of war, politics, and culture in their interpretations have found the omnipresence and significance of the interaction a rewarding subject, even as they have been challenged by its breadth. Historians habitually maneuver between generalization and the unique fact. Here they must also decide how far to pursue the particulars of the two interacting extremes, war and peace.

The subject of David A. Bell's book—the changes in thinking about war and in the conduct of war from the French Revolution to the Empire—demands this broad integrative perspective, and his work is exposed to its challenges. That a pronounced contemporary orientation informs his study adds to the analytic complexity. Like others before him, though with greater insistence on the character of totality of the changes after 1789, and on basic identities between then and today, Bell analyzes the new conceptualization and conduct of war. But he goes further and argues that two contradictory elements—the Enlightenment's belief in the disappearance of war as humanity progresses, and the French Revolution's tendency to identify and treat its enemies as evil—have come to dominate current thinking about war. Today, Bell writes in his introduction, "it has become very difficult to discuss war in non-apocalyptic

terms"—surely too broad an assumption, but one that is thematically significant. It leads him to ask why "the West [has] returned again and again to the twin visions of an end to war and apocalyptic war?" In his book he intends to "explore why and how the pattern began" (p. 5). A few pages further he adds that he is trying to show "how the modern culture of war and peace first took shape" (p. 18).

The task of Bell's four-pronged analysis, which addresses the Old Regime, the French Revolution and Empire, the present, and the years between, is to demonstrate the emergence and growing dominance of the "twin visions" without slighting the complexities of each of these very different times. In military thought and in the conduct of war over the last two centuries, the apocalyptic option is, of course, only one among several. The potential destructiveness of war has increased. Yet wars continue to range from the fullest mobilization and use of force to limited efforts, and it is worth noting that even major efforts may have aims short of the absolute (examples include Otto von Bismarck's policies in the wars of 1866 and 1870). An added difficulty is the uncertain meaning of "total war." Broadly speaking, the term refers to the complete or far-reaching mobilization of a society's resources, and the use of methods that erase distinctions between combatants and non-combatants to bring about major changes in the opponent's political system and territorial extent. Bell finds this meaning adequate only if it is "applied to war in a broad political and cultural context" (p. 7). He agrees with Jean-Yves Guiomar, whose recent work *L'invention de la guerre totale: XVIII-XX siècle* (2004) is in some respects a model for his own, that it is a "fusion of politics and war that distinguishes modern 'total war' from earlier incidents of unrestrained . . . warfare." But this takes a narrow view of both culture and politics. A conflict between two prehistoric tribes, ending in the extermination of the defeated, is as embedded in the culture of these tribes as it is in their reasons for fighting, which are in part political, however their political authority is structured.

Bell's exploration of the twin vision of the end of war and of apocalyptic war, and its impact over two centuries, consists in the main in an expansive narrative history of conditions and events in France from the later eighteenth century to Waterloo, including comparisons with other states and societies of the time, and references to politics and wars in later periods. He traces the policies of successive French governments and summarizes a number of campaigns and their political and social consequences, in the course of which we learn that the "first total war" of the book's title does not refer to a particular conflict, but to the entire sequence of wars from 1792 to 1815—which, it must be said, were marked by great differences in goals, intensity, and methods. Analytic precision is further tested by the author's expansion of the scope of total war to include campaigns the French Revolution waged against internal enemies, principally in the Vendée. Can a civil war, even one marked by extreme violence,

set the parameters of modern total war? The author believes that "every territory [Napoleon] occupied had the potential to become a Vendée," and that throughout the occupied areas "insurgents declared total war on the French" (p. 215). But most revolutionary and Napoleonic campaigns did not trigger civil conflicts of such magnitude, and the insurrections that did erupt were hardly total war. A guerrilla war against a foreign invader whom locals support may become a civil war, but the invader also makes it something else. In the Vendée foreign assistance to the Royalists was marginal: French soldiers fought French priests and peasants. The opposition to foreign occupation in the Tirol and in Spain differed significantly from the internecine butchery in the Vendée.

Bell's analysis combines military history with the history of ideas and culture. But as he notes, he is less detailed about war than about politics and culture (p. 17). That is the case even when he addresses a socio-military development central to his thesis: the French Revolution's imposition of conscription and its retention under the Empire. Conscription in the service of the nation certainly changed widely held attitudes. Yet even the *levée en masse* excluded married men and widowers with children, and that the Directory increased exemptions and allowed conscripts to buy themselves free also deserves analysis. If the well-to-do could evade military service, the social, ethical, and ideological absolutes of conscription were compromised, and the conclusion that conscription meant "that every male citizen should stand prepared to give up 'civilian' life" (p. 12) should be qualified. The rhetoric of total war is a significant historical fact, as is the failure of policy to match it.

That it is risky to make absolute change determinative of "the first total war" is again shown by the author's statement that such revolutionary generals as Dumouriez and Lafayette were "the first examples" of a genus that reached full development with Napoleon: "They typified and helped advance the dissolving of boundaries between politics and the military that characterized the age of total war" (p. 132). Politically active generals were important in the Revolution; but that they were preceded by such commanders as Albrecht von Wallenstein, Oliver Cromwell, and Eugene of Savoy, to say nothing of Charles XII, Frederick the Great, and other rulers who determined policy and commanded in the field, changes them from "first examples" to what? Nor were rhetorical expressions of total war a significant innovation. Bertolt Brecht's modern vision of permanent war, *Mother Courage*, was inspired by a seventeenth-century novel. A similarly problematical identification of differences supposedly marking the first total war asserts that "no prince of the Old Regime would have attempted to impose an entirely new social or political order on a conquered state" (p. 212). Attempts to force social change may have been unlikely, imposing political change was not. In the Seven Years' War Prussia's opponents hoped to reduce the Hohenzollern to minor princelings; it was a character-

istic diplomatic arrangement of the Old Regime that brought about the First Partition of Poland in 1773, and despite armed opposition the country's extinction before the end of the century. If there was something like "the first total war" it cannot be identified by such distinctions.

An interesting part of Bell's study relates to his belief in a decline in aristocratic ethos, to which he attributes much of the rise of modern war. With Voltaire he emphasizes the cultural function of war as a test of aristocratic conduct. But he goes further and writes that despite "the fact that European elites had war as their principal purpose"—an almost romantic disregard of their determined hold on society, government, and much of the economy—"eighteenth-century aristocratic culture helped place surprising limits on war" (p. 44). Bell accepts a common characterization of the eighteenth century as "an age of military restraint" (p. 50), but in a daring interpretive leap speaks of a "style of warfare [presumably the totality of doctrine and practice] that today seems a consequence of the aristocratic code and of the relative absence of religious and ideological conflict" (p. 71). That religion and ideology were no longer—nor yet again—powerful issues certainly reduced the impact of war on society, as perhaps did the concomitant rise of a belief in a more rational ordering of human affairs. But neither development can be said to reflect primarily aristocratic attitudes, even if we could identify a common ethos among the Old Regime's exceedingly diverse aristocratic and noble elites, which were constantly altered by

new creations. Nor is it likely that this ethos, whatever it might have been, worked against the sacking of towns and living off the land. The practical need to keep control of the troops, either mercenaries or men forcibly enrolled, would have been reason enough. It would be equally difficult to argue that the character of eighteenth-century combat resulted from or reflected aristocratic attitudes. Linear tactics demanded stolid courage from officers and rank-and-file alike. Still, the question how far the style of warfare was a consequence of elite attitudes deserves further, truly comprehensive cultural-military research.

In the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars new ideas emerged and old ideas returned in new form, to be implemented fully or in part. Innovation and adaptation coincided. Some of the results anticipated tendencies and policies of wars of a later time. But similar ideas interacting with societies, cultures, and technologies two centuries apart, produce different results. Over extended periods, the concept of totality is relative. To label both the earlier and later wars as total, using the same term for very different conditions, may sharpen our recognition of similarities and of their development. But pushed to extremes, general statements blind us to the particular. Overarching theses can accommodate inconsistencies and retain explanatory power even in the face of contrary evidence; but there is a tipping point.

PETER PARET

*Institute for Advanced Study*

ROBERT D. CREWS. *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 463. \$29.95.

In early twentieth-century Russia, over twenty million, or fifteen percent, of the tsar's subjects were Muslim. Only the British rulers could boast of more Muslim subjects, most of them across the seas in India, a safe distance from the metropole. By contrast, Russia's Muslims resided within the empire's immediate boundaries adjacent to the neighboring Islamic polities: the Ottoman and Persian empires, Afghanistan, and the Chinese Xinjiang.

With the exception of the Volga Tatars, whose former homeland was soon transformed into another province of central Russia, most of Russia's Muslim population stretched across the Eurasian plain in a virtually uninterrupted chain. From the Crimea and the Caucasus in the west to the deserts and steppe of Central Asia and Siberia in the east, they formed the empire's southern rim.

The specter of the hostile and united Islamic front always loomed large in the minds of Russian officials. How to rule and keep Russia's Muslims and other non-Russians loyal was no small imperial challenge. Arguably, the non-Russian dimension of the Russian Empire

may in many ways account for Russia's distinct historical blend of geopolitical insecurity, ideological schizophrenia and denial, internal colonialism, and the ineffective authoritarianism that set Russia apart from the contemporary European empires.

In his well-written and informative book, Robert D. Crews tells a story of Islam and Muslims under Russian rule from the toleration policies initiated by Catherine the Great in the 1780s to the demise of imperial Russia in 1917. It is a laudable attempt to draw a comprehensive picture of Islam in Russia, both chronologically and territorially, but it falls short on both counts.

The chapters examine the plight of the Tatars and Bashkirs in the Volga-Ural region, the Kazakhs in the steppe, and Muslims of Central Asia, while leaving out the regions of the Crimea and Caucasus with the population of over three million Muslims. An examination of Russian rule in the North Caucasus where the Sufi orders exercised significant influence, and in Azerbaijan with its Shi'a Islam would have provided a broader spectrum of the colonial dynamics.

Moreover, Crews gives short shrift to the previous

centuries of Russian conquests accompanied by violence, legal and administrative mistreatment, immense corruption, coerced conversion to Christianity, discrimination, enslaving of the natives, and forced resettlements. By ignoring the history of the massive rebellions and simmering discontent among the indigenous population, Crews presents an overly positive picture of Russia's management of Islam.

In fact, Crews claims that the Russian administration of Muslims was mostly misunderstood and that the Russians were far more tolerant and successful in governing their Muslims than traditionally assumed. But what constituted tolerance in nineteenth-century Russia, and how does one measure success? Before the April 17, 1905, Toleration Law, Russia's tolerance, which Crews emphasizes frequently, was of a distinctly pre-modern type, offering protection from massacre and expulsion but not against official and popular discrimination against its second-class subjects, who, most of the time, remained a target of one or another assimilating agenda.

Often, and this book is no exception, the longevity of the Russian Empire and its subsequent Soviet reincarnation is taken as a measure of success in ruling its heterogeneous population. But what major European empires collapsed before the twentieth century? Some lasted until after World War I, when the Russian, Hapsburg, and Ottoman royal houses folded, and others until World War II, when the British and French finally devolved. (By this standard Portugal must be the most successful of the colonial empires, since its African colonies lasted longer than those of its imperial rivals.) Should we judge all of them successes? Or were they failures, since imperial disintegration appears to have been inevitable regardless of the different imperial dynamics?

One of Crews's main arguments is that "the empire rested upon confessional foundations" (p. 10), and that historians have ignored how the Russian Empire grounded its imperial authority in religion, making Islam one of its pillars. In chapters that follow, Crews demonstrates how the state created, funded, and used the Islamic hierarchy as an arm of state policies. Along the way, the author makes several insightful and nuanced observations: Catherine's policies of tolerance were influenced less by the ideas of the French Enlightenment than by the German cameralists who believed that Islam and Christianity had much in common; the state continued to be suspicious of the Muslim clerics, who were finally granted a limited exemption from corporal punishment and taxation in 1850, fifty years later than their Orthodox counterparts; the creation of the vertical hierarchy in which the Orenburg Muslim Assembly could overrule the local *ulema* (the Islamic scholarly authorities) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs could overrule the Assembly resulted in an appellate procedure and the emergence of a new interpretation of Islam in Russia. The last point, however suggestive, remains unsubstantiated (perhaps the author meant the novel application of the *shari'a*).

Yet Crews's emphasis on Russia's confessional approach hardly justifies his conclusion that "the confessionalization of the population of the empire allowed the state to govern with less violence, and with a greater degree of consensus" (p. 8). Viewing its subjects "through the lens of religious affiliation" did not exclude multiple other categories that the imperial authorities applied to the population. The Russian administrative system remained a complex web where territorial, ethnic, national, confessional, and estate principles were curiously intertwined, as Uyama Tomohiko has argued. Likewise, using the Islamic clergy in the interests of the state was not synonymous with success. In Azerbaijan, as Firouze Mostashari has shown, and in other places, the Russian support for the *ulema* had only served to discredit the Islamic establishment in the eyes of the local population, pushing the latter further into the arms of the anti-Russian Sufi orders.

Russian rule over non-Christian peoples was highly opportunistic and dependent on the local power brokers, be they a religious (the *ulema*) or a secular (tribal chiefs) elite. Thus, the government relied on the former in the regions where the *ulema* was an ultimate authority with deep roots in the local society (the Volga region, Azerbaijan, Central Asia), while relying on the secular authorities where the power continued to be concentrated in the hands of tribal elites (the North Caucasus, Kazakhs, Turkmens). When confronted with the choice of supporting one or the other, Russian authorities, with a few exceptions, preferred to rely on traditional secular elites.

Crews's frequent comparisons to the Ottoman Empire suggest that his use of the confessional prism might have been inspired by the Ottoman *millets* (the Jewish and Christian communities). Yet, if anything, the Russian and Ottoman empires moved in opposite directions when it came to the governing of their religious minorities. From 1839 until the rise of nationalist sentiments in the early 1900s, the Ottoman government granted an increased autonomy to the *millets* and equal rights and privileges to its non-Muslim subjects. The autonomy of the *millets* was possible because the Christian and Jewish religious authorities maintained the rights over their property, which provided an independent source of revenue. By contrast, until 1905 the Russian government sought a tighter integration of the non-Christian communities into imperial structures. The government policy of confiscating the lands belonging to the Islamic religious endowments (*waqf*) and putting the *ulema* on the government payroll transformed the latter into salaried and licensed government officials fully dependent on the state.

In short, if the *millets* existed apart from the Ottoman state, in Russia, the Islamic authorities and their communities became a part of the state. Different approaches toward the religious minorities were a reflection of the structural dissimilarities between the two empires: the Ottoman Empire was primarily a fiscal-administrative state concerned above all with revenues; the Russian



Empire was a military-police state preoccupied with the matters of geopolitics and internal stability.

There is a remarkable dissonance between the main thesis of Russia's relative tolerance and success in governing its Muslims and the narrative material of the chapters. For the chapters illustrate the government's constant attempts to micromanage Muslim affairs: controlling marriage and funeral rights, restricting the number of mosques and imams, doling out pilgrimages to Mecca as a reward for loyalty. Yet the author often reaches conclusions contrary to the material he presents. For instance, Crews describes the 1848 case when several imams petitioned to be relieved from saying prayers to the tsar on occasions listed in the government circular. They argued that it was sinful to do so on days other than Fridays and Islamic holidays. The petition was deemed subversive. The police launched an investigation and the petitioners backed down. In a strange twist of logic, Crews concludes that "this incident points to a sense of the possibility of arriving at a coincidence of interests between Muslim religious authorities and tsarist officials" (pp. 89–90).

Some statements by the author are certain to raise eyebrows. To say that "relatively few resisted Russian rule once it was established" (p. 9) is to ignore the long history and different forms of Muslim defiance of the imperial authorities. To suggest that "the Turkish government in many respects was more severe than Lenin's" (p. 366) is to be carried away by one's own rhetoric. Suffice it to point to the fate of imperial families: the Ottoman sultan died peacefully in exile, and the Romanov dynasty executed in cold blood. In Turkey, modernization and secularization were the ultimate goals; in the Bolshevik Russia they were just the beginning.

The book also suffers from some serious methodological problems. Crews assumes a revisionist stance on the basis of several dozen new archival documents while ignoring volumes of published archival material. Even more puzzling is the author's uncritical approach to the documents, which he invariably takes at face value. Crews does not seem to be aware that the communication between the imperial authorities and native population was a complex process laden with genuine misunderstandings and deliberate distortions. An examination of court documents, police reports, and petitions requires sensitivity to the intermediary issues of literacy, translation, and projected expectations of Russian, Islamic, and customary law, as well as the role of

interpreters and native and government officials in manufacturing expressions of loyalty and consent.

Crews accepts the official language of the Muslim petitions, which refer to "the Almighty God, the protector of Russia" and which offer gratitude to the tsar, as evidence of Russia's Muslims' genuine appreciation of Russian rule (p. 92). In the most striking example, Crews quotes extensively the proclamations of "devotion to the throne and love for the motherland" by the members of the Islamic hierarchy gathered in the imperial capital in 1913 on the occasion of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanov dynasty (pp. 350–352). (There is no mention of the fact that on this day the Muslim leaders consecrated the foundation of the first Grand Mosque in St. Petersburg.) To take such ritual public declarations of "loyalty and fraternal unity" as proof of the Muslim patriotism and devotion to the empire, as Crews does, is no different from accepting at face value the old Soviet canard about "the eternal friendship of the Soviet peoples."

This book elevates the subject of Russia's Muslims from the focus on specific issues addressed in recent monographs to consideration of a larger picture. My criticisms and disagreements are meant to encourage further debate, which is needed now more than ever. In the post-World War II Soviet Union any discussion of Russia's non-Russian and non-Christian subjects was buried under the slogans of fraternal friendship. Even throughout the liberal 1990s, these issues were deemed to be too politically sensitive, and genuine debate received no traction.

Ironically, the same topics that were taboo during the Cold War remain taboo in the atmosphere of rising Russian nationalism. Most recently, the Kremlin decided to resurrect the sham anniversaries concocted by the Soviet propaganda machine. It decreed celebrations in various constituent republics to mark the four-hundred-plus years of allegedly voluntary integration of indigenous peoples into the Russian Empire and their subsequent harmonious life within the Russian and Soviet states. Once again, it seems that a serious examination of Russia's ethnoreligious complexities must take place in the West. Crews's book is a welcome contribution to this process.

MICHAEL KHODARKOVSKY  
Loyola University,  
Chicago

ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE. *L'École des Annales: Une histoire intellectuelle*. (Histoire.) Paris: Odile Jacob. 2006. Pp. 366. €29.90.

JONATHAN DEWALD. *Lost Worlds: The Emergence of French Social History, 1815–1970*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 241. \$50.00.



Two books, two master craftsmen, same topic: French social history. Their conclusions diverge, due less to their authors' different nationalities, although that is probably a factor, than to their methodological distance. Jonathan Dewald has produced a dispassionate pastiche of sometimes unrelated essays that look briskly, comparatively, and disparately at the whole genus of French social history across a century and a half. André Burguière painstakingly, almost intimately, glosses the gaggle of geniuses representing one gospel to whom and to which he feels "profoundly tied" (p. 18). Neither man, it might be said, elects a really *Annaliste* approach, deploying social science vocabulary to analyze both *mentalité* and structures of social insertion and practice. Dewald comes closer, with his occasionally comparative look over a *longue durée* and his occasional remark about an individual's sociopolitical background. Burguière, for his part, executes something more like a eulogistic, "old-fashioned" intellectual history on the textual production over an intense period of six decades, 1925–1985. This is unusual coming from a practitioner whose "school" belittles such an approach. The results in the case of both books, thus, run rather against Marc Bloch's admonition that historians should cease seeking so much "to know" as to "understand."

This being said, these books are laden with knowledge and insight, and one learns a great deal from them—particularly if one is not himself a scholar of French social history, as this reviewer. Dewald opens his book at the table down at Magny's, the place where Edmond and Jules de Goncourt and Gustave Flaubert and Ernest Renan and Hippolyte Taine and Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve dwelled, and proceeds to make an extended and interesting case for the revisionist thesis that the academic study of French social history, including its later *Annales* version(s), finds its *fons et origo* in a gaggle of brilliant writers who often dined together. They had familiar names, and they wrote for, and were highly rewarded by, the *grand public*. These men wrote an enormous amount of history, yet they were not "professional historians" in the way that a small academic elite was defining (and would continue to define) "history." That said, however, apart from the punctilious Alphonse Aulard, most contemporary professionals read and generally applauded their work.

The historical books (often big sellers) turned out by these famous and gifted amateurs—including a bit later, Alfred Franklin—eschewed traditional political narrative in favor of "everything in human history [that] interests the psychologist and provides him with documentation." Although most of these authors were "frightened of democracy and advocated racist ideas of social differences" (p. 11), their historical writing nevertheless provides ample proof—this is a major Dewald thesis—that these men are the unacknowledged precursors, virtually progenitors, of *Annaliste* historiography. That is to say, they established and delighted in the "otherness" of the past, while yet orienting their books to serve the present ("as all good history must," Dewald

adds [p. 15]). These writers laid claims to being "scientific" and thus utilized archives and other primary sources, while banishing God from the horizon of causality in human affairs. Dewald's point is that "Lucien Febvre and his colleagues entered an already existing field of inquiry, rather than creating something altogether new" (p. 15). Perhaps Dewald's best illustration of unjust *Annaliste* pretension is his long dissection of the voluminous study of private life by the Third Republic librarian, Franklin, which goes shamefully unacknowledged in Georges Duby's and Philippe Ariès's voluminous history of private life.

Dewald's essays cover large splotches of turf, such as the arguments among social historians over the status and decline of the nobility; the inattention between French and German scholars in the twentieth century, and their opposite takes on the peasantries in their respective countries; the evaluations attributed to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by various historians, for various reasons, etc. They are important topics, well treated. Dewald writes better than Burguière. His prose is livelier, less abstract; "lost worlds," for example, is more evocative of the *Annaliste* concept of the alterity of the past than Burguière's hard-breathing locutions. *Lost Worlds* amounts to a tour de force of books and authors. I defy readers not to be seduced into adding Sainte-Beuve's *Port Royal* to their retirement list of "must reads." Dewald is excellent at showing how certain issues, such as the tensions over religion and *laïcité*, are ever green, their treatment having "changed little between the 1820s and the 1940s because the questions themselves [a]re not merely historical" (p. 75).

Ultimately, however, his case for envisioning the Magny gang as progenitors, not merely precursors, of the *Annales* school feels tenuous. Between Taine's novel, *Notes sur Paris: Vie et opinions de M. Frédéric Thomas Graindorge* (1868), and Febvre's *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: La religion de Rabelais* (1942), there does not exist, at least not in this reader's mind upon finishing Dewald, anything like an umbilical cord of piano wire. When Dewald writes of Taine et al. that "their best writing meets high scholarly standards," (p. 53), the reader is dubious, not to say incredulous. Surely, this is not true in the way that Bloch's, Febvre's, and Fernand Braudel's work meets these standards. In its anticlerical zest and finely wrought style, *Port Royal* is far more reminiscent of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* than it is of Catherine Maire's dense, analytical study of Jansenism. In sum, Dewald may overstate his thesis, relying on the fact that many of his "Anglo-Saxon" readers are already convinced that *Annales* historians have taken their own uniqueness too seriously, have villainized their predecessors too strenuously and have, a generation ago, run out of paradigms, as well as out of geniuses.

Where Dewald and Burguière treat the same topics, there are a few similarities: both challenge the value of traditional periodization; both praise the return of politics; neither discusses the anti-Marxist thrust in later *Annales* history. More often there are sharp differences

of tone, regard, and substance. These are not always the expected ones: for example, Burguière, not Dewald, notes that Febvre's thesis on the so-called "unthinkability" of atheism in sixteenth-century France has been severely challenged (pp. 82, 242). By and large, their differences stem from angle of view, not nationality. Burguière dwells *intramuros*; he celebrates the genius and novelty of his subjects, admitting only a kind of vague, generalized influence over them by the likes of Karl Marx, François Guizot, Jules Michelet, and Fustel de Coulanges. Dewald's regard, by contrast, is external; he is ever reminding us that the *Annalistes* were "intervening in debates that had preoccupied French intellectuals throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (p. 99).

Despite apologies about "the national insularity [*enfermement*]" of so much French historiography, Burguière resolutely turns his back on the kind of comparativism that his tradition calls for, and in which Dewald delights. Clifford Geertz, Walt Rostow, Geoffrey Lloyd, Cornelius Castoriadis, and Immanuel Wallerstein come in for brief appearances, but by and large, his is an insider's close look at the works which, he believes, made the era 1925–1985 "undoubtedly the most brilliant since the two great flourishes [of French history writing] of the 1820s and the 1860s" (p. 19). He cites Bloch and Febvre for admonishing historians that, if they wish to be scientific, they must take up "a position of externality" toward the past (p. 312), but his own *problématique* is anything but that. Instead, Burguière takes us on "un voyage à l'intérieur de l'univers mental" (p. 223), and we end up with a Diltheyesque *Verstehen* that at many moments can be quite marvelous. His book is studded with gems of judgment and analysis—large and brilliant, subtle and beguiling—which one cannot inspect *à la loupe* in a review essay. Burguière shows that postwar French Marxism (in the person of Louis Althusser), with its refocus on ideology and the state, deftly resurrected "the political." He notes that Pierre Bourdieu replaced Michel Foucault as the "comet" in the French philosophical welkin (without, however, indicating which aspect of the comet he was referring to: its dynamism or its susceptibility to widely differing interpretations by shamans). For economical brilliance, consider his summary of Roger Chartier's views: "social actors do not act according to their interests or their social positions but rather in the ideas that they fabricate for themselves of these" (p. 272).

The jewels in Burguière's crown also include a lengthy section on Bloch and Febvre: on their work, but also their intellectual interaction, and even, unusually, their "stormy friendship," which he compares to the relationship between an "old married couple" (pp. 54, 64). His thumbnail comparative portrait is worth repeating: "Lucien Febvre was not a revolutionary but a *révolté* who believed in the insurrectional power of ideas. He liked the nonconformist posture of the artist, while Marc Bloch preferred that of the artisan" (p. 68). Burguière considers the men's dialectical relationship

with their mentors, Emile Durkheim and Henri Berr; and he displays a Febvrian contempt in his reference to Charles Seignobos's "methodological sleep" and "epistemological defeatism" (pp. 120, 85). Burguière probes the *Annales* founders' concern with presentism (history as serving the living), and their "quasi-religious credo" about history's ability to make scientific claims (p. 48). Bloch, he notes, *en passant*, proved to be more right than Febvre about the importance to the discipline of sheer erudition and archival digging, not just concept creation (p. 67).

Dense but valuable pages dissect the subtleties and evolution of *mentalité*, its contrasts with "representation," and its relationship to the later concept of *l'imaginaire*. Burguière notes that in Le Goff's hands, *l'imaginaire* is "the creative part of the field of representation, the part that requires and permits the active intervention of the individual." By contrast, Duby may speak of *l'imaginaire*, but he "really means ideology" (p. 296). Himself an anthropological historian, Burguière deftly limns the debate after 1970 over two conceptions of anthropological history: first, the "radical and restrained" view, which sees history as a study of representations; second, the "more open and careful" view that preserves the "aleatory character of the relations between mental universe, social universe, and the natural world" (p. 241). In all events, the dominant "property of historical anthropology, and perhaps of anthropology, *tout court*, is not to be able to resign itself to the idea of a human nature that is once and for all given" (p. 231).

At the end of the day, however, it is disconcerting to note how satisfied the author remains with telling, never *showing*, us what the *Annalistes* did. Thus, we confront the paradox of Burguière's criticizing Ariès for not demonstrating "the least consideration for the consequences of changing social context" (p. 236), yet the author himself never raises sociopolitical context in discussing Ariès. He contrasts Michele Vovelle's and Ariès's views on death, emphasizing their sharply differing categories of understanding: "the Sunday historian" (as Ariès quaintly referred to himself) considering only funeral practices and mental structures, while the hard-driving Sorbonnard, Vovelle, acutely focused on social and demographic change. How can one discuss this divergence without some serious reflection on Ariès's background in the *Action Française* and his reactionary sociopolitical views, and on Vovelle's commitment to Marxism? Dewald, for all that he properly rejects any facile equations between a scholar's politics and his work, nevertheless does a better job of taking external factors into his analysis, but only Gérard Noiriel, with his tripartite interaction among *savoir*, *mémoire*, and *pouvoir*, is truest to a genuinely *Annales* approach to the history of history.

By the end of Burguière's book, one wonders whether, after four score years of world-renowned productivity, *Annales'* methods and approaches have become spread so widely and thinly that they—unlike, say, psychoanalysis or even Marxism—no longer exist as an

identity? It perhaps explains why Burguière closes his tale in the mid-1980s—that is, *before* the famous *Annales* editorials calling for new approaches. (Burguière was a member of the editorial board at the time, as he still is.) Is the *Annales* in this sense like Christianity, on Marcel Gauchet's telling: "the religion that marks the exit from religion?" Is the future of the "school" behind it already behind, and is that "decline," if this is the right word for it, symptomatic of the larger decline of French power and cultural *rayonnement*? This is the unnamed anxiety that vaguely haunts Burguière, as it does his *Annales* confrère and sometime co-author, Jacques Revel.

In the search for paradigms, Burguière, to his credit, turns sternly away from the "realms of memory" and commemoration; the Blochian in him has no patience for the exclusion of reason and the inclusion of emotion and subjectivity they entail. ("In the moment when our relationship to the past is allowing itself to be invaded by the fantasy of patrimony, those who have the mandate to rethink the teaching of history would be well advised to recall that their task is not to reassure heirs but to form citizens and, above all, free men" [p. 317]). This leaves—and here one feels a trumpet voluntary is perhaps called for—the Great Excluded of the *Annal*-*es*ian past: the political. Dewald cites the German social historian Werner Conze to the effect that "there is no social structure that has not arisen from political forces or whose changes are not politically conditioned" (p. 198). Burguière of course is hastily baptizing a newcomer whom he dare not overlook, even if he personally, in his own (mainly anthropologically oriented) work, hardly knows him. *Le* and even *la* politique is now a strapping infant or a rowdy teenager. Having crept back into the world of the *Annales* on little cat's feet, with Maurice Agulhon and Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie in the 1980s, it has, since 1990, been strutting down the Boulevard Raspail in full dress to its home at number 105 (the Centre Raymond Aron), with scarcely a tug of the forelock before the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme at number 54.

But then why should it? If political history is flourishing, it is thanks first to René Rémond, François Furet, and Claude Lefort, then to Pierre Rosanvallon. Burguière has the annoying tendency to pull everyone in sight under the umbrella of *Annales*, including Labrousse, Vovelle, Agulhon, Chartier, and Mona Ozouf, even though many of these might well look askance at such casting. Most have been diffusely affected by concepts such as *mentalité*, *problématique*, *longue durée*, *culture*, and *conjuncture*, but none may be said to be *Annal*-*es*ian in their identity—for all that every practicing political historian feels a debt to the Marc Bloch of *Les rois thaumaturges*. The larger cultural heft of these names, and the fact that certain of them occupy(ied) leading positions outside, as well as inside, the walls of the university, apparently comfort Dewald's point that

we "need to think of professional historians as intellectuals, who contribute to structuring the cultural life of their society . . . especially in France" (pp. 214, 218). The author has surely convinced us that in the France of pre-World War II, far more than in the United States, high culture and its torch bearers strongly influenced the world of the university in its choice of approaches and topics, and even in its self-evaluation. But if I say "apparently," it is because in truth the magisterial Republic of Letters has lost much of its influence on the discipline of history as practiced in France these days. Here, as elsewhere, the field is becoming increasingly academic.

More to the point, notwithstanding the diffusion of many of its ideas into the ether, *Annales* is no longer the sleepless Colossus that bestrides the passes to legitimacy. Today it is more like a well-oiled turnstile through which the crowd passes into the stadium to participate in the free-for-all. This is certainly the perspective Burguière and Revel strive to give. Revel revels in the fact that *Annales* has no identity beyond "a series of successive attempts at reformulating the conditions of a dialogue—always difficult and uncertain—between history and the social sciences." On these tellings, we are all just pulling together, in deep awareness of and gratitude to our Titan predecessors, Febvre, Bloch, and Braudel. In such an irenic mood, Ariès and Duby, if they were writing the introduction to their study of private life, would today not only mention and thank Franklin but cite him as a predecessor.

But all of this hard steering toward convergence feels tendentious to those who recall the days, not so very long ago, when divergence and rupture were the word. In the 1960s and 1970s, to quote LeRoy Ladurie, "the new history had to kill to live," or believed and acted as if it did. "Total history," as wielded by Braudel, was ripping and slashing, belittling positivists left and right, while entertaining imperial (indeed universal) pretensions, and admitting to no antecedents, except the very greatest patriarchs, safely dead. Fortunately, there are works—above all Noiriel's—that keep historians historically minded when they are writing about themselves (i.e., analyzing the day-to-day conflicts over "pouvoir," not merely the long accumulation of "savoir").

Ah, if only Braudel had retained his original thesis title, *The Mediterranean Politics of Philip II*, instead of taking his mentor Febvre's advice and dropping one word, think of what we would have missed by way of strife and gain! In a discussion of fashionable (and fruitful) concepts, however, perhaps it is best to leave the last word to Ernest Renan. "I envy the future," he wrote in his memoirs. "It is to one's advantage to arrive on this planet as late as possible."

STEVEN ENGLUND  
Paris, France

---

## Reviews of Books

---

### METHODS/THEORY

CHRISTOPHER BIGSBY. *Remembering and Imagining the Holocaust: The Chain of Memory*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 407. \$35.00.

In this book, the prolific American studies scholar Christopher Bigsby makes a foray into the realm of Holocaust literature with essays on nine writers whose work centers on memory, in general, and on the memory of the Holocaust, in particular. As he discusses in his introduction, Bigsby wrote this collection of essays out of his desire to honor the work of his late friend and colleague, W. G. Sebald. Taking Sebald as the first link in his "chain of memory," Bigsby goes on to explore the modes and uses of Holocaust memory in the writing of eight authors whose work was important to Sebald's. Those authors include Rolf Hochhuth, Peter Weiss, Arthur Miller, Anne Frank, Jean Améry, Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel, and Tadeusz Borowski.

Throughout the volume, Bigsby argues, contra Wiesel, that memory is never "unadorned" (p. 10). Memory can only be articulated by means of translation into language, and indeed the limitations of language to convey the truth of victims' experiences is an issue that many survivors and writers who are not survivors address in their work. What is more, on occasion memories conflict with each other and with recorded fact. At the same time, Bigsby insists that there is a crucial difference between "the misremembered and a lie" (p. 11). He is unreservedly critical of Binyamin Wilkomirski's *Fragments* (1996), which he refers to as a case of "memory theft." But this in no way diminishes Bigsby's nuanced discussion of memory as necessarily aestheticized. According to Bigsby, a strict division between fact and fiction is false, whether in a diary, testimony, novel, or play. Bigsby sets up Sebald's work as the clearest example of the ways in which the truth of the past can be captured in fiction, thereby rendering problematic the categorization of Sebald's work as "fiction" or "non-fiction."

The essay on Sebald is the volume's strongest, although all of the essays contain readable prose that is largely devoid of theoretical interventions. Bigsby contextualizes each writer biographically, retracing these authors' main literary works and ideas. The portraits Bigsby paints will be familiar to scholars in the field of

Holocaust studies, based as they are on published biographies, but nevertheless many of these essays offer sensitive readings of some canonical and some lesser-known works of literature that center on memory of the Holocaust. Bigsby manages to avoid writing hagiographies, while remaining respectful of the writers, of their personal experiences and literary accomplishments.

The issues Bigsby raises in relation to each of the nine authors' work are laid out in the introduction to the volume, which contains an eclectic discussion of a host of issues related to Holocaust memory. Drawing heavily on Lawrence Langer and George Steiner, Bigsby asks these questions: what is the purpose of remembering? For whom do we remember? How should we go about remembering? Is there an ethics of remembering? Who owns Holocaust memory? How can truth be established in literature? What are the ethics of aestheticizing Holocaust memory, particularly in the form of theatrical dramas? He attempts a novel approach to answering these questions by modeling his literary criticism on Sebald's writing, using the art of "indirection," as Bigsby characterizes Sebald's technique, to forge links between one author and the next (p. 37). One could describe Bigsby's writing in terms similar to those he uses to describe Sebald's: indirection is as much a moral as an aesthetic choice, intended to inspire a "meditation on memory" rather than a direct confrontation with it (p. 7). For example, in revisiting the by now familiar controversy surrounding the appropriation of Anne Frank's diary by different writers and audiences, Bigsby has us meditate on the allo-historical image of a Frank who survived the Holocaust in order to make the point that there is no way to establish the "real" Frank. He suggests that, as an adult, even she might have disavowed "her younger self," seeing in her diary the voice of a person she no longer recognized (p. 256).

While each of the nine essays in the volume stands on its own, the book is not without its flaws. One is left wondering what new light this unconventional grouping of essays sheds on the issues of memory, imagination, and the Holocaust. There are several egregious copyediting mistakes, including the repeated misspelling of Charlotte Delbo's name. Bigsby tends to generalize about the history of the Holocaust, and many of his generalizations do not stand up to the most recent historical scholarship. Nevertheless, the volume offers a well-



expressed rumination on the complexities faced by writers of Holocaust literature and the controversies that have surrounded specific literary works.

ALEXANDRA GARBARINI  
Williams College

ALEXANDRA GARBARINI. *Numbered Days: Diaries and the Holocaust*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 262. \$45.00.

Alexandra Garbarini has produced an engaging interpretation of diaries as an untapped archive of Jewish experiences in the later years of World War II. As a near contemporaneous source, individual diaries and group witness chronicles, such as the *Oneg Shabbes* underground archive from the Warsaw ghetto, occupy a rather privileged status among scholars of Holocaust representation, who regard them as comparatively more authentic and visceral accounts of Jewish wartime responses than postwar testimony, memoirs, and other autobiographical narratives. Garbarini does not depart from this critique. She ascribes to her diarists the vague vocation of "meaning makers" that they themselves agonizingly struggled to claim. Diary writing gave Jews in hiding and in ghettos a literary agency—as amateur journalists, family historians, and community chroniclers—that historians have neglected. Compulsive and sustained acts of diary writing, argues Garbarini, can provide new, experiential source material for historians and literary scholars about Jewish everyday life in the Holocaust.

Based on her reading of one hundred, mainly unpublished, diaries of Jews in Eastern Europe, and in Germany and France, Garbarini argues that the desire to maintain diaries was a normative practice, a tradition that continued European cultural production of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Garbarini's first chapter on history and theory thus sets up a reading context for the diaries, for their writing as a secular practice, and as a constructed vessel of self-realization from various cultural, religious, social, and political influences. This chapter usefully elucidates tensions between the witness as a teller of objective and subjective truths and the afflicted self as a reluctant writer in combat with language to represent extremity.

The most interesting chapters focus on the limits of language to narrate experiences for which there were no historical analogies, as detailed in innumerable acts of evidence gathering of the authors, painfully told through sometimes violent personal experiences and observation. Although Garbarini claims diary writing in the Holocaust should be lifted from its causal context, it is difficult to treat the compulsion to witness in isolation from the policy of genocide, especially from 1942, the year of temporal crystallization and existential turning point in Nazi intentions for Jews across Europe. Garbarini's skill is to select evocative and despairing vignettes that focus on these years of near-inescapable fates in locations at the center and periphery of this policy. "Historians and Martyrs" compares and con-

trasts the biographies and geographies of Chaim Kaplan in the Warsaw ghetto and Lucien Dreyfus in the south of France, tracing how each diarist embraced and rejected faith, and liberal humanism, as vessels for working through their ambivalent responses.

In "News Readers," Garbarini examines Jews as critical analysts of news texts, acts that continued European cultures of readership and in wartime sought to establish communal and linked spaces of news consumption irrespective of Jews' location. The interpretive advantage of looking at diaries from 1942 onward telescopes why Jews responded with unavoidable pessimism to news of the increasing pace of deportations to the East, when the artifice of resettlement was finally exposed. Vignettes from numerous diaries, including those of Viktor Klemperer, confirm the shift in emotional registers from episodic optimism to desolation.

One of the book's primary strengths is the offering of Holocaust diarists as empowered witnesses. Garbarini's attempt to create a historically valid identity for them refutes the alleged passivity and sentimental heroism so often associated with victims' cultural responses. Reverence for the victims too often inhibits reasoned analysis of choice making and actions, and Garbarini sensibly avoids this valorizing tone. Methodologically, the book experiments with re-presenting similar historical events in several chapters to address how ghetto diarists in different locations grasped experiential and narrative challenges. Some readers may find this approach jarring, but it does permit a revealing reading of the inconsistencies of Nazi policy from the victims' perspective.

One of the book's main weaknesses is its lack of reflection on the importance of the Holocaust diary outside of World War II. Although Garbarini contends that the diary was a product of European cultural modernity, she does not revisit the questions initially posed about narrative continuity and discontinuity in the depiction of traumatic events, and the authoring personas and practices they produce. The repetitive statement that the Jews wrote diaries to give meaning to their predicament is self-evident, considering the commonality and evidentiary necessity of the practice. Like other *non-Jewish victims*, Jews were forced to become reluctant, self-disclosive messengers in their diaries, urgent testifiers to their lives as genocide witnesses. Although the book is impressive in its ability to narrate a Holocaust victims' history from these multilayered texts, the rather narrow analysis might have also benefited from thinking about the diary as a liminal text, as an archetype of, and break with, crisis writing in the twentieth century.

SIMONE GIGLIOTTI  
Victoria University of Wellington

A. JAMES GREGOR. *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 306. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$23.99.



A. James Gregor is a scholar of Italian fascism driven to writing this book in disgust at the loose way in which the term "neofascism" is nowadays used. The left tends to hurl "Fascist!" at anyone on the right with slightly authoritarian tendencies—men like Barry Goldwater or Silvio Berlusconi. Now the right joins in with terms like "Islamofascism." Gregor reprimands many scholars in the course of his case studies on recent European rightists, Islamic jihadis, Hindu nationalists, black nationalists, and post-Mao Chinese nationalists. He concludes there is little real neofascism in the world today. Fascism died in World War II. To define and decry today's evils, we should find new and better categories of analysis. The argument is lively and sophisticated while the case studies mostly convince and are sometimes quite fascinating. This is a book to enjoy.

But it does depend on what we mean by fascism, and Gregor's understanding of it is distinctive. He almost invariably capitalizes it, as "Fascism," by which he means only Italian fascism. He notes that other scholars also deploy the term "generic fascism," referring to a common core of doctrine or organization shared by Italians, Germans, and others, but Gregor is ambivalent about this. He repeatedly stresses that Nazis and Italian fascists were different: Nazis were racist, Italians were not. Yet he does sometimes slip generic fascism back in. Moreover, he has a distinctive understanding of Italian fascism, drawn from his earlier work: its commitment to economic development. So when discussing the Islamic jihadis, their lack of interest in this disqualifies them from being neofascists in Gregor's eyes. Scholars who do not privilege fascist developmentalism might disagree. And irritatingly, he never defines any of these terms—(Italian) Fascism, (generic) fascism, or neofascism—though this does not prevent him in all of his case studies from concluding whether or not the subjects are neofascist.

In Europe the major far-right movements, like Gianfranco Fini's *Alleanza nazionale* in Italy or Jean-Marie Le Pen's *Front National* in France, accept parliamentary democracy, which Gregor says disqualifies them from any fascist label. Moreover, their nationalism is domestically focused, not linked to notions of Darwinian struggles between nations or races. Unlike those of early twentieth-century Italy, European movements today cannot not claim to represent a "proletarian" nation exploited by foreign "plutocratic" nations. The Europeans are the plutocrats. There are some tiny neo-Nazi fringe groups, but no longer any neofascists. This is convincing, though Gregor does not consider Eastern Europe or Russia, where he might find a little more.

There follow two very interesting chapters on American black nationalism. Gregor notes that although few have linked Marcus Garvey's movement to Fascism, Garvey himself made the connection. He had an economic program comparable to Benito Mussolini's. He emphasized nationalism, statism, and collectivism. He saw struggle between nations and not classes as the fundamental dialectic of history and said that force, not

reason or moral principles, must govern this struggle. His movement was avowedly authoritarian, elitist, and with paramilitary trappings. Gregor concludes that it might be considered "generic fascism," but its profound racism was not Fascist; it was closer to National Socialism.

Then Gregor expounds the extraordinary racial doctrines of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims. In their racial story of creation, blacks are the "God-created people," and Caucasians are a "race of devils" that usurped power. Whites "by nature" are homicidal, degenerate, and filthy, while other races come in for lesser venom. Violence is the only answer, but since actual violence is for Allah alone, the Black Muslims only engage in rhetorical violence against other races. Gregor says such racism never characterized Fascism. But he is so busy detailing Black Muslim racism—and this is rather gripping—that he neglects to tell us if they share other fascist characteristics.

"Islamofascism" is dismissed because the jihadis are transnational, not national, and because they are interested only in spiritual, not economic development. More interestingly, Gregor points out that the earlier "Arab socialism" was actually more Fascist than it was socialist. The resemblances of Gamal Abdel Nasser (and to a lesser extent Saddam Hussein) to Mussolini are quite striking.

Gregor lets off lightly Hindu nationalism, *Hindutva*. He says its party, the BJP, is pro-democracy, while its development program is not very statist, and it tolerates non-Hindu minorities (provided they accept that India is a Hindu state). He mentions the massacres that periodically disfigure Hindu-Muslim relations but does not note that *Hindutva* militants are the main perpetrators, sometimes with connivance from local BJP authorities, as in the horrendous Gujarat massacres of 2002. He quotes the former BJP leader Gowalker in moderate mood, but not his words in 1939 commenting on Adolf Hitler's treatment of the Jews: "Race pride at its highest has been manifested here . . . a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by." He does not mention that the main function of the RSS, an affiliate of the BJP, is to raise and train paramilitaries. There are more fascist tendencies within *Hindutva* than Gregor acknowledges, but they are restrained by Indian democracy. Faced with the pragmatism needed to win elections and rule, the BJP has moderated at least at the national level.

Indeed, the best protector against fascism has always been liberal democracy, and so the gradual spread of democracy across the world is lessening fascism's appeal. That is why Gregor's polemic against seeing neofascism under every stone is substantially correct.

MICHAEL MANN  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

ANTOINETTE BURTON, editor. *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*. Durham, N.C.: Duke

University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 396. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Antoinette Burton gathered seventeen scholars to reflect on archives as physical and political entities, archival research, and the nature of historical evidence. Their regions of study include Egypt, Australia, North America, South Africa, Central Asia, Russia, India, Britain, France, and Germany. Postmodernism, post-colonialism, and an emphasis on contingency dominate their approaches. The result is a stimulating tour of archives and research experiences that makes this volume appropriate for inclusion in all history graduate training programs. Burton enhanced its appeal for teaching with a rich introductory essay and selected bibliography. Experienced historians will also find much here to inspire reflection on their own "archive stories."

The essays highlight the intentions behind the construction and subsequent management of archival collections, reveal the universally contingent nature of the researcher's interaction with the archive, and challenge scholars to expand their definitions of evidence to include oral testimonies from persons typically omitted from archival collections as "dominant regions of truth" (p. 2). The volume thus attacks "head-on the lingering presumptions about, and attachments to, the claims of objectivity with which archives have historically been synonymous" (p. 7). In Burton's apt phrasing, the scholars' experiences bring to light "fugitive traces of subjectivity" in all historical scholarship (p. 14). That subjectivity renders the notion "that history is or can be a delivery system for absolute truth" a "fantasy" (p. 19).

The most straightforward essays trace the development of individual archives to reveal the ideological, political, or national intentions encoded in their founding, structures, and management. Jennifer Milligan presents the history of the Archives nationales as "a history that is deeply implicated in the politics of the nation-state" (p. 160). Her analysis of the contest between family honor and public interest in controlling documents related to the duc de Praslin's apparent murder of his wife in 1847 reveals the triumph of state legitimacy over family honor in the Archives' mission to support "the public interest in stability and sovereignty" (p. 170). Jeff Sahadeo explores what becomes of a state archive's management when the state as empire disappears, and a former colony gains the opportunity to redefine the archive's mission. His case is Uzbekistan, where the archive shifted from servitor of Soviet domination to handmaiden to Uzbek national identity. Sahadeo also notes a development many Western historians observed after 1991 in former Soviet archives: the population in reading rooms expanded beyond state-approved historians and supervised foreign scholars to ordinary citizens now "permitted the study of documents from the region's past" (p. 53). Many of these citizens were searching for their own family's past, turning to state records of arrest, exile, and execution to track down lives that had been swallowed up in restricted state records under the state-imposed imper-

ative of protecting "stability and sovereignty" in the tradition of the Archives nationales.

Such postcolonial transitions in archives' missions underscore the need, as Peter Fritzsche insists in his essay on Germany, to be alert to "the historicity of the uses of history," recognizing that archives "manage the technologies of power" (p. 185). Helena Pohlandt-McCormick's account of her experiences researching the 1976 Soweto Uprising, starting in 1989 and extending beyond the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1996, exemplifies every scholar's dependency on the contingencies of historical developments and the ensuing alterations in access to and nature of archival evidence. Her experience also demonstrates how crucial it is for historians to move beyond archives-as-technology-of-power to evidence from those excluded from power, in her case through oral history interviews.

Several essays argue for such alternative bodies of evidence. Adele Perry's analysis of the Aboriginal land rights case involving claims by the Gitksan and Wet-suwet-en peoples of British Columbia displays not only "colonialism on trial" (p. 327) but also the exclusive claim of written documents on recognition as legitimate evidence presumed by the presiding judge. Horacio N. Roque Ramirez extends the claim of legitimacy for historical scholarship to the queer Latino community in California and celebrates the queer, transvestite prostitute Alberta Navaerez/Teresita La Campesina's bravura construction of her own oral history archive as she was dying of AIDS. Ramirez declares her work "a weapon of evidence against historical erasure" (p. 124). The conceptual, political, and spatial distance is very large indeed between the Archives nationales's monumental buildings in the Marais district of Paris and Teresita's performance at the Mexican Museum in San Francisco.

One of the virtues of these essays is the history they provide about the issues and events at stake. The reader learns about the history of the U.S. passport in Craig Robertson's piece, the Bakunin family's role in Russian intellectual history in John Randolph's essay, marriages between Indian women and British colonial personnel in Durba Ghosh's description of her divergent research experiences in England and India, and an episode of colonial violence in Tasmania as the cause for the prolonged "Australian history wars" analyzed by Ann Courthoys. All contributors display mastery of their research topics, thereby adding authority to their critique of archival fetishism, their proposals for more self-conscious interactions with archives-as-technologies-of-power, and their summons for a wider embrace among historians of alternative bodies of evidence.

CATHY A. FRIERSON  
*University of New Hampshire*

BARBARA BUSH. *Imperialism and Postcolonialism*. (History: Concepts, Theories and Practice.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2006. Pp. xxiv, 280. \$27.99.

Students of imperialism in a global age—that is, those interested in global empires of the past and those aware of the ramifications of global imperialism in the contemporary moment—are seeking authoritative syntheses and overviews of the British Empire for research and teaching purposes, and historians of empire are obliging. Publishers have flocked to meet market demand, through series and short titles, primers and blockbusters, many of which rehearse the rise and fall of Victorian imperialism from its early triumphs through its mid-twentieth-century dissolution. This book by Barbara Bush, part of a series emphasizing history's "concepts, theories and practices," is more than a standard narrative of the empire's fate, although readers will find aspects of that story herein as well. What makes Bush's contribution unique among the recent gaggle of British Empire books is her conviction that "new approaches to imperial history need to build upon existing conventional studies within a critical framework that incorporates fresh insights informed by postcolonial theory" (p. 6). Although this hardly seems a revolutionary proposition, given the impact of postcolonialism on imperial studies in the three decades since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), the fact is that few texts explicitly embrace such a claim. Equally distinctive is Bush's determination to decenter British imperialism—to provincialize it as one of several imperialisms at work in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—and to insist on a comparative method that allows us to evaluate extra-European rivals in the same frame of analysis. The result is a rich, stimulating, and at times breathless account of how and why imperialism "is one of the most influential forces which has shaped, and is still shaping, the world" (p. 7).

For Bush, taking account of postcolonial insights means attending to questions of race, gender, sexuality, representation, indigenous agency, and colonial resistance. This objective produces a fairly predictable litany of counternarratives, many of which grow out of her expertise in African and Caribbean history. It also results in assessments of the usual cast of characters—Said and Homi K. Bhabha, Michel Foucault and Partha Chatterjee—whose body of work is put in dialogue with empire's historiographical tradition, although not as freshly interpreted as someone familiar with postcolonialism and subaltern studies might seek. Bush's book, which alternates between giving revised histories of familiar events in the story of Britain's emergent imperial supremacy and offering genealogies of the debates that lie behind how that supremacy has been historicized in the last half century, is not a typical "history" but rather a generic hybrid with a style that appears at times to be driven by the series' aims rather than a self-conscious critique of the discipline. In this context, "untangling imperialism" (p. 42) means tacking between conventional narrative accounts and theoretical riffs on the substantive and methodological stakes of postcolonial and other theory.

More ambitious is Bush's attempt to reposition the British Empire in a truly global context: that is, to see

the global as a genuine reorientation device (to borrow from Sarah Ahmed's *Queer Phenomenology* [2006]) rather than merely as a residue of British imperialists' self-referential view of the empire's reach, power, and historical distinctiveness. Her emphasis on the simultaneity of British imperial ambition and Chinese and Japanese imperial aspiration is more effective in this regard than her comparisons of India and Ireland, although attention to intracolony connections is certainly welcome in a historiographical literature that has begun to reference the transnational but to equate it with the transimperial rather than the transcolonial per se. Bush's treatment of China and Japan ends up being fairly self-contained: as imperial players (rather than as objects of British global design) they inhabit very discrete spaces in the text rather than being integrated more purposefully into the larger analytical framework of the book. In this respect, like gender and anticolonialism, these "other" Asian empires are not fully constitutive of the big picture Bush wants to draw. The story of British imperialism still drives that narrative, and it remains the standard against which those others are measured. As an enduring, if unacknowledged, ground of comparison, the British Empire remains at the heart of the book, in part perhaps because postcolonial theory itself is so derivative of the career of the British Empire and its worldly ambition—a historical phenomenon that has scarcely begun to be countenanced by either its friends or its foes.

These are flaws of execution that I believe are symptomatic of the admirable challenges Bush has set herself. Decentering the British Empire in global history so that British imperial history is no longer understood as self-evidently synonymous with global history requires a leap of imagination and a methodological reorientation of the kind that few historians of empire have begun to imagine, let alone think through or practice. If only for that reason, we should be grateful for this book.

ANTOINETTE BURTON  
University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

SANDE COHEN. *History Out of Joint: Essays on the Use and Abuse of History*. (Parallax, Re-Visions of Culture and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 307. \$55.00.

In his first book Sande Cohen mounted a critique of academic "historical culture" (*Historical Culture: On the Recoding of an Academic Discipline* [1986]); here he expands his view to historical writing more generally, although the readership is unspecified. This book, which claims to be a work of "philosophical criticism" (p. 2), is a set of complex variations on post-Nietzschean themes in which the author worries over a large number of contemporary opinions and (largely French) post-World War II theories about history, both event and interpretation. With almost every argument built on a quotation or its refutation, the book illustrates Friedrich Nietzsche's view that "there are no facts, ev-

everything is in flux, incomprehensible, elusive; what is relatively enduring is our opinion" (*The Will to Power*). Yet somehow Cohen hopes to connect "history" as historiography and history as culture, and for him, as for Nietzsche, this means working out the paradoxes of language. Cohen is skeptical about historical knowledge but not really about his opinions and the possibility of "escaping from" narration for the public good. In this effort Cohen also turns to the *Los Angeles Times*, Joel Fineman, Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, and many others. Not that he wants to be bound to the past, for he says, "I read Nietzsche because I am besieged by words of command" (p. 34), and as "last reader" he wants to be his own master.

For Cohen the "Nietzschean moment" has not passed, nor have the opinions of the French school whose members were part of it. He is a commentator on the commentators on Nietzsche from Derrida onward, but he wishes to extend "criticism" (not "historicism") to journalism and connoisseurship, where the "use and abuse of history" (and language) have been particularly evident. Cohen also discusses Taiwan (and Taiwanese and Taiwan-ness) as a victim of historicist narrative—that is, ideology—that makes it either part of or independent of Chinese tradition. For historiography is a form of legitimation competing with other stories and interests. Cohen applies the same sort of subtle, paradoxical, and inconclusive analysis to the art world of Los Angeles and that special leftist sort of hypocrisy he calls "Designer Marxism" (p. 91).

All this leads up to the "figuring forth" of the question "Who is the Historian today?" (p. 103). The answer is not clear (none of Cohen's answers is clear or conventional), though it seems that today's historian is not the old-fashioned academic historicizer but a post-Nietzschean public figure who is the critical interpreter of the opinions of others and fabricator of other futures in these "unsettled times." One candidate for the position has been Isaiah Berlin, who is presented here through his posthumous images: that is, according to the monumentalizing views of acolytes and admirers (p. 120). The time has passed in historical discourse when the writer and the reader share common presumptions and values and when it can be assumed that "the referent is speaking for itself" (p. 26). No working historians are discussed but rather Hayden White, Deleuze, and Guattari, for whom "schizophrenia" has become the condition of historical writing.

It is the critique of the uncritical use of historiography that turns Cohen to the question of the anecdote, which at once violates and fulfills historical narrative, contributing as it does an essential discontinuity (epistemic break) into the comfortable but misleading continuity possessed by historicism against the more politically correct practice of the new historicism. Cohen introduces the anecdote as a remedy for the failure of grand narratives and teleology proclaimed by Lyotard. Perhaps a better word, suggested by Derrida's *Specters of Marx* (1994), is "haunted," and the ghosts of our post-

Marxian age lead to the new science of "hauntology" (p. 164). Through a thicket of free but undisciplined post-Derridean interpretations Cohen hopes to move from historiography (back again?) to history itself, as it had been for Karl Marx, and thence to the "meta-mediation" of the new scholar and perhaps to the true legacy of Marxism. Here Cohen introduced another post-everybody term, "historiospectrography" (p. 177), whose metaconceptual bag I shall not try to unpack.

Next on to Lyotard and the "nearly unbearable cultural and political tension" (p. 182) of his criticism of historiography, attended as it is by the phenomenon of violence. What Cohen calls an "event" can be accommodated neither by act nor by narrative, since rationalization, or historicism, of some sort always intrudes, whether to moralize or to shape the future. After Nazism history is filled with "dangerous analogies," which determine the postmodern, posthistorical condition. Historiography originally grew out of an alliance between politics and power, that is, the state; and criticism has opposed this in the name(s) of other events, without given origins, "becomings," or futures. For Deleuze language cannot capture changing events, and Cohen's anti-foundationalist discourse builds repetitively on this point. Without "shared knowledge" history must go "out of joint" (p. 258), and more interpretation is evidently called for. But this book is not really for practicing historians; it is for any intellectuals who want to carry on the arcane post-Nietzschean conversation about the use and abuse of history.

DONALD R. KELLEY  
Rutgers University

#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ELLIOTT HOROWITZ. *Reckless Rites: Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 340. \$35.00.

There are at least two kinds of scholarly works in the study of Jewish history. The first functions within the boundaries of an accepted scholarly thesis (part of a "school"), examining a dimension of history or literature in order to deepen its thesis or, as in many cases, to challenge some of its assumptions while remaining generally true to its basic tenets. Then there are studies that one may call iconoclastic, rubbing against scholarly (and often popular) opinion as a way of challenging how historians have constructed the past. Of course, the former often begin as the latter. Sometimes a book appears that seems to elicit a kind of cognitive dissonance among peers, as if to say "this simply cannot be true" even given the detailed evidence and argumentation to the contrary. This is often because of the audacity of the thesis and the way it challenges how we understand the present. Elliott Horowitz has written one of those books. Horowitz's study of the history of Jewish violence extends from late antiquity to modernity, culminating (and beginning) with the Jewish settler Baruch



Goldstein's murder of twenty-nine Muslims in a Hebron mosque in 1994. Many may find it hard, and painful, to accept Horowitz's thesis that the biblical Book of Esther, the festival of Purim, and the genocidal biblical commandment to destroy Amalek cultivated a violent consciousness among Jews. One could argue that this is a book of historiography as much as it is a book of history and, in fact, I think its contribution will be largely historiographic in nature.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part examines the reception of the Book of Esther and the genocidal commandment to destroy Amalek in Christian anti-Jewish/antisemitic literature and in Jewish literature. By the Middle Ages, Jews believed they had three enemies. The first was Christendom viewed as a reflection of Edom and ultimately Esau, the spurned brother of the biblical Jacob (pp. 125–129). The second was Islam viewed as an extension of Ishmael, the brother of Isaac (Genesis 21). The third was the Amalekites (Exodus 17:8–26), a murderous tribe that the Israelites encountered in their desert wanderings. Scripture has a rather harsh and uncompromising commandment to destroy the Amalekites—men, women, children, and livestock—with no mercy or compassion (Exodus 17:15; Deuteronomy 25:17–19; I Samuel 15:3). This is most prominently displayed in the First Book of Samuel (I Samuel 15: 2, 3, 8f.) when King Saul captures the King of Agag (a descendent of Amalek). Rather than kill him Saul captures him and the Israelite people spare the best of Agag's flocks rather than destroy them as is required. The prophet Samuel rebukes Saul, strips him of his royal crown, takes a sword and mercilessly kills the jailed Agag (I Samuel 15:34).

The rabbis had a cautious inclination about this problematic commandment yet seemed to have a sustained attachment to it. They simultaneously suppress Amalek and let him grow. In their reading of the story of Purim—a story of Jewish peril and ultimate salvation from the hands of the wicked Haman who plots to kill them in the city of Shushan in Persia at the end of the first exile—the rabbis stress linking Haman (who is called an Agagite) to Amalek, thus making the command of genocide a part of Jewish ritual and liturgical life and arguably the centerpiece of the Purim celebration. For the rabbis, Purim gives Jews occasion to fulfill the commandment to destroy Amalek by publicly hearing the biblical words “remember to forget” Amalek, the perennial enemy of the Jews. The rabbis include the biblical passages about Amalek in the public Torah readings on Purim and thus Amalek and the genocidal command to destroy him remains deeply embedded in Jewish consciousness.

The second part of the book is a detailed account of Jewish acts of violence against Christians and/or Christian property in the Middle Ages, beginning with the hotly debated incident in 614 C.E. when Jews ostensibly massacred tens of thousands of Christians after the Persian conquest of Jerusalem. Horowitz's analysis culminates in a short section entitled “Ancient History in the

Service of the Modern State” (pp. 242–247) detailing how this massacre was ignored or seriously sterilized in late Zionist historiography. Zionists wanted to portray themselves as “new Jews” distinct from their submissive diasporic descendants, but they did not want to carry the mantle of such an atrocious abuse of power on the part of their ancestors. Horowitz's discussion of the massacre of 614 C.E. comes at the end of almost one hundred dense pages describing medieval cases of Jewish violence against Christians and Christian property, both sacred and non-sacred. It is surely correct that if we simply make a laundry list of such crimes it does not amount to much. But this misses the point. Horowitz argues that the canonical interpretation of Purim linking Haman to Amalek keeps alive the genocidal commandment in the collective minds and imaginations of Jews and this may have contributed to the cultivation of a consciousness of demonizing the gentiles, providing justification for violence against them (real and/or imagined).

One of Horowitz's most salient points is the way he exhibits how the name Amalek was unmoored from its genealogical roots and became applicable to anyone deemed an “enemy” of the Jews, of Judaism, or of a specific Jewish community. It is, of course, understandable that the Nazis would be called Amalekites (of course no lineage could be determined), but we also have Rabbi Elhanan Wasserman who perished at the hands of the Nazis in 1941, calling those who “cast off the burden of Torah” (secular Jews) Amalekites and the great Talmudist and legalist the Hafetz Hayyim (d. 1933) claiming that Jewish communists were descendants of Amalek (p. 141). This all culminates with the infamous comment by the ex-chief Sephardi rabbi of Israel Ovadia Yosef who, in 2000, likened the secular leftist Knesset member Yossi Sarid to Haman and Amalek (pp. 8, 146).

Is this just rhetoric? In large part yes, yet, more recently, it has become less benign, even malignant. The fact that rabbinic leadership permitted and, at times, encouraged the expansion of Amalek from an ancient desert tribe to any (perceived) enemy of Israel has had tragic consequences for Judaism.

This takes us to the third part of the book, which serves as its frame. In his introduction Horowitz notes that he was in the last stages of his study when Baruch Goldstein woke up early Purim morning in 1994, walked into the Mosque at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, and shot at a large crowd of Muslims kneeling in pre-dawn morning prayer, killing twenty-nine civilians. He returns to this event in the final page of the book. In spite of the travesty of such an event, Horowitz seems less moved by Goldstein than by the settlers' reaction to his act. What was surprising (troubling, shocking?) to Horowitz were the ways in which some of Goldstein's compatriots not only justified the massacre but heralded Goldstein as a hero having fulfilled the commandment to destroy Amalek. The ease with which some settlers equate the Palestinians with Amalek should at least ask us to consider the roots of this trou-



bling stance. In his last footnote Horowitz mentions in passing the renowned American-born Lubavitch teacher and mystic Rabbi Yizhak Ginsburgh, who contributed to a book on the Goldstein massacre entitled *Barukh ha-Gever* ("Baruch the Hero"). His essay offers a detailed explanation, using many traditional sources, of why Goldstein's act was not only justified but necessary. I think we all need a book like Horowitz's right about now.

SHAUL MAGID  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

JACK D. FORBES. *The American Discovery of Europe*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 250. \$34.95.

Jack D. Forbes chose a promising subject. There is plenty of underexploited material on the indigenous side of the story of the New World's encounters with Europe, and Forbes has the audacity required to make the attempt to use it. But his book is narrow in focus, short of evidence, weak in argument, inattentive to much of the scholarship, and heedless of the most interesting problems.

Forbes has two objectives: to insist that people from the New World reached Europe before Europeans reached America, and, to emphasize that they continued to do so subsequently. He takes no interest in how indigenous peoples perceived Europeans, or how the encounters influenced them. Concerned exclusively with possible routes of transatlantic navigation from west to east, he refers only to the Caribbean and maritime North America. There is nothing about how and with what effect people elsewhere in the hemisphere made their discoveries of Europe.

Save for excursions of undetectable relevance, the first six of seven chapters are devoted to speculations about pre-Columbian transnavigations. The reader's confidence dissolves within the first few pages, which concentrate on the supposed problem of Christopher Columbus's prior knowledge of the New World. Forbes begins with the assertion that "we do know . . . that two or more Americans . . . reached Galway" (p. 4) and that Columbus saw them there; but this claim rests on an unsupported remark of Columbus, and on the explorer's dubious identification of "people from Cathay." Forbes subscribes to the myth of Columbus's "absolute certainty that he could sail westward to Cathay" (p. 4), which modern scholarship has dispelled. Idiosyncrasies and inconsistencies in transcription and transliteration contribute to the amateurish air.

Works listed in his bibliography seem to have had no influence on Forbes. He muddles the chronology of the marginal annotations in Columbus's books, and makes unwarranted assumptions about when, and in what order, the explorer read them. He makes no use of any of the relevant scholarship—not even of Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso's wayward but well-informed *Mirabilis in altis* (1983), which anticipated Forbes's own claims. In

chapter three, where Forbes investigates the nautical skills of pre-Columbian Caribbean people, he shows no knowledge of the standard works on the subject by Adam Szászdi Nagy.

Howlers, vapid speculations, and fallacious logic abound. A typical passage concerns the tradition—which the author admits to be false—that an Irishman sailed with Columbus. "But before we write off the entire tradition," says the author, with every appearance of seriousness, "Let us consider the possibility that it is based on a genuine albeit altered notion of an ancient contact between Galway and land to the west. In other words, the Galwegians had a memory of the arrival of native Americans, which led them to say after 1492: 'Yes, we knew already of people to the west'" (p. 39). Forbes's idea of evidence is robustly instanced on the same page, where he cites "modern Galwegians, some of whom have told me that the local people . . . show some hint of Native American features." In a discussion of ancient European portrait sculptures with supposedly "Amerindian" features, Forbes cites an "alleged Roman" terracotta that allies of the Aztecs "might have acquired" from people on the Gulf Coast of Mexico, who "presumably might have held it for a millennium or more. . . . Of course," the author concedes, "a number of 'ifs' remain in this story, but nonetheless it does suggest an American (Huasteca?) voyage to the European area" (p. 108).

In the final chapter, Forbes declares that Native Americans who came to Europe after 1492 "must have had a decided genetic impact" (p. 169). Any migrant with progeny has a genetic impact, and Forbes is too inexact for the reader to assess the extent of his claims. He suggests, however, a figure of "10,000 to 30,000" American captives in Spain "during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries." No support is offered for this guess, except the unsubstantiated suggestions that ten percent of slaves came from the New World, and that Forbes's calculation yields "a quite possible number given the continuing importation of Brazilians from the early 1500s (and continuing into the eighteenth century)" (p. 170). Readers with patience left for the next few pages will find a compilation of a small number of voyages that brought Native Americans to Europe, larded with irrelevant padding and characteristically futile speculations: Thomas More "perhaps even" talked to Brazilians in Antwerp (p. 177); Brazilians "could have embraced Judaism" (p. 177); abductions "could . . . be a partial explanation" for Inuit kayakers heading for Europe (p. 179). The book continues with remarks on Inuit captives and kayakers in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and ends with feeble moralizing about the "earth-based values of indigenous peoples" (p. 190).

FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARRESTO  
Tufts University and Queen Mary, University of  
London

SAMUEL TRUETT. *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. New Haven,

Conn.: Yale University Press in cooperation with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University. 2006. Pp. xii, 259. \$40.00.

In this richly textured history of the Arizona-Sonora borderlands, Samuel Truett deftly peels off layers of multiethnic, transnational history to reveal what he calls fugitive landscapes. My first inclination upon reading in the prologue that "What follows is a history of this lost world, which became by the early twentieth century one of the most industrialized and urban places in the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands" (p. 6) was one of skepticism. After all, articles and books on this section of the border (Arizona-Sonora) are so numerous that the promise seems brash. Further reading, however, revealed a fresh methodology, buttressed by previously untapped sources and unpublished episodes. Indeed, the promise is fulfilled.

Conventional histories of the late nineteenth-century borderlands portray stages of modernization, accommodation, and resistance. Modernizers are outsiders, armed with investment capital and industrial technology; with the help of local allies, they supply raw materials to a rapidly industrializing world. While this vision is tentatively present in the book, the author also delineates a more excruciating process taking place in transnational communities like Bisbee, Tombstone, Douglas, Naco, Agua Prieta, and Cananea. Traditional culture, preindustrial methods of production, and beast-driven transportation existed side by side with the modern, often blending dialectically into a whole. There is no extinguishing of one historical level in favor of the other.

Truett succeeds in making sense of all this by taking the reader on a historical odyssey of the area, marking out the landscapes created by different episodes of human existence. First to appear are the indigenous Opatá Indian highlands. They are shown absorbing Spanish and Mexican mining endeavors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time an Apache intrusion is taking place. Some areas remain almost exclusively Opatá, others become a blend of Spanish and native, and as the Apache move in, many regions are abandoned to these wandering people. In the meantime, non-Hispanics such as the French Camou family join with Mexicans in extracting maximum returns from the land. The final incursion in the industrializing century is made by Anglo entrepreneurs, of whom copper mining magnate Colonel William Green is a prime example. Like their predecessors, Americans also see opportunity in the borderlands. The result of all this, if diagrammed, would look like a genealogical family tree rather than layered geological topography. One economic, political, and cultural landscape gave birth to another.

Implicitly Truett puts the dramatic need for raw materials, the emergence of surplus capital, and the existence of risk taking entrepreneurs in the nineteenth century within the causality engine of change—as have most historians. But importantly, the author delves into

the minds of his protagonists, vividly teasing out their dreams to understand what drove them to create successful or failed enterprises. For example, in Spanish-Mexican dreams appeared the notion that the Opatá landscape of simple agriculture and hunting could be transformed into a Hispanic European landscape of high yielding silver mines surrounded by vast wheat fields and fruit orchards. Then the Americans dreamed of cosmic organized mines with preplanned houses for workers and for management elites. They foresaw the importation of industrial machines that could aid in extracting copper ore in large quantities. Sometimes the realization of these dreams overstepped the ability of existing landscapes to accommodate such equipment: for example, a huge steam traction engine was rendered useless as it became mired in muddy roads (p. 71).

The result of such complex dynamics could only lead to acute tensions. Often these arose because of racial and ethnic differences, more often because of class antagonism, but perhaps most important, disputes and violence came because of internecine ethnic competition. For example, Colonel Green's efforts to develop his enterprises were constantly challenged by other American entrepreneurs, and both groups sought alliances with local elements on both sides of the border. Traditional interpretations of this region's history see resistance to change as first being offered by those usurped by modernization (preindustrial merchants, transport specialists, and artisans); then by exploited workers in the new industrial sectors; and finally by the numerous and diverse sectors that joined together in the cataclysmic Mexican Revolution. Again, Truett avoids such neat progressions. Instead, the book shows that a dazzling array of actors became involved in the upheaval; ideological cadres, elite cabals, and worker groups. As they struggled to achieve their ends, these strange bedfellows variously cooperated or plotted and fought against each other.

This work compliments classics written by David Pletcher and John Hart on American activities in Mexico. At the same time the study transcends these works because it is not confined to one side of the border. Without overworking the word "transnational," the author presents one of the most significant works on understanding the transnational process. Because the process of development was so intricately interlocked with both Mexicans and non-Mexicans, simple imperialistic schemes are not part of this book; they are perhaps dismissed in too facile a manner. Nonetheless, the study will serve as a model, offering new theoretical constructs without forcing the reader to navigate a tortuous treatise on the meaning of this important framework.

F. ARTURO ROSALES  
*Arizona State University*

LANCE E. DAVIS and STANLEY L. ENGERMAN. *Naval Blockades in Peace and War: An Economic History since 1750*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 453. \$85.00.

This book by Lance E. Davis and Stanley L. Engerman looks at a number of blockades carried out over the past few centuries but primarily focuses on the Napoleonic Wars, the War of 1812, the American Civil War, and World Wars I and II. A rather brief chapter toward the end skims through a large number of post-World War II cases. An unusually large amount of tabular information is reported, primarily taken from other studies, but helpfully concentrating the data in one place. It is easy to forget what the book is about at times, but it is clear that the central question is whether blockades are successful. The answer is that some are and some are not, depending on, among other things, the vulnerability of the target and the capabilities of the blockader. But other questions are raised, including ones about the effects of changing technology and what role international law plays in modifying blockading behavior. The answer to the technology question is quite a bit, with improved technology making blockades more and less likely to be successful, as exemplified by the use of submarines against Japan in World War II and the use of radar and broken codes in the Atlantic theater of the same war. The answer for the role of international law is not much. Belligerents and targets have usually done what they felt they needed to do without much concern about rules proscribing their behavior.

On one level, the book lays out a substantial amount of evidence for the period between 1792 and 1945 that permits one to draw conclusions about blockade efficacy, changing technology, and international law. In this respect, the analysis is successful in answering its explicit questions and showing readers how its conclusions were reached. It is difficult to come away without a better sense of what took place in blockades at various places and times. The authors are to be congratulated for providing so much evidence, even if the long tables are not always discussed in the text. The array of assembled information greatly helps in evaluating the truth claims of various assertions that blockades were crucial or not very important to this or that war effort. The authors are also definitely to be congratulated for examining a number of cases over several hundred years instead of looking at only one case at one point in time.

On another level, though, it is not clear that this book will be the last word on the efficacy of blockades. One problem is that the authors choose to focus on blockades per se but much of their analysis is concentrated on world wars from 1792 on. That means that much of the emphasis is placed on British-French and British/U.S.-German activities in prosecuting global warfare in the 1792–1815 and 1914–1945 eras, with a geographical focus on whether the European region or Britain could be cut off from the rest of the world. These situations certainly involved blockades, and my criticism is not that these activities are not germane to the questions raised. But another way of interpreting these situations is that they represent behavior within a half millennium of Eurocentric, geopolitical conflict beginning in 1494. While Davis and Engerman make some references to

Dutch-Spanish and major power conflicts in the 1580s and 1690s, these eras are not examined. What the authors might have done is to ask how sea power/land power conflict evolved from the 1490s on with sea powers, using fleets in the North Sea, Atlantic, and Mediterranean, attempting to restrict the leading land power on the European continent's ability to obtain non-European resources. The leading land power, by contrast, consistently and belatedly fell back on the *guerre de course* because its sea power was not up to the task of taking on the leading maritime powers at sea. Over time, the *guerre de course* evolved from privateers to U-boats with the goal of intercepting ships before they reached England—even though the modern origins of this behavior arguably can be traced to sea power attempts to intercept treasure fleets from the Caribbean to Spain in the sixteenth century.

One implication of the alternative interpretation is that the authors might not have reached the conclusion that the sea power containment of Germany in World War II failed because the Germans became less vulnerable by conquering the European region. Yet the Germans were still contained regionally (with a great deal of Soviet help). Another is that the evolution of behavior and strategy might look different if examined from 1494 to 1945, as opposed to 1792 to 1945. A third is that one might well ask why similar behavior (the too little, too late efforts of the land powers and the convoys of the targets) recurred with so little memory of earlier precedents. All blockading behavior is not necessarily equally significant.

WILLIAM R. THOMPSON  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

STEPHEN L. DYSON. *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 316. \$45.00.

Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, university and museum-based German scholars led the transformation of classical archaeology from an amateur pastime—often associated since the Renaissance with aristocrats—to a specialized profession. With varying degrees of speed and enthusiasm, Americans, Britons, and the French followed the German lead. In the decades before World War I, all four countries established archaeological institutes in Rome and Athens. The archaeological traditions of these four powers, and of the core classical countries of Italy and Greece, are the central focus of Stephen L. Dyson's book. Russian, Scandinavian, and Iberian classical archaeology, along with prehistoric, Minoan-Mycenaean, and Near Eastern archaeology, are mentioned only in passing. The chronological cutoff is the 1970s.

The international and national politics of archaeology receive careful scrutiny, with the Napoleonic, Franco-Prussian, and world wars all deeply affecting the field. Influential members of political and social

elites, including a growing middle-class component, identified with classical antiquity as a means of enhancing legitimacy at home and imperial ventures overseas. Benito Mussolini posed as the new Augustus, sponsoring huge excavations in Rome, the port of Ostia, and Libya. Although no conqueror like his famous uncle, Napoleon III wrote a biography of Julius Caesar and emphasized Roman archaeology. Massive excavations in the Athenian agora reflected America's vision of itself as the greatest heir of ancient Greek democracy.

In Greece and Italy, national identification with the ancients profoundly affected archaeological practice. Lord Elgin could carry off the Parthenon marbles because they did not interest the Ottomans who then ruled Greece. Independent Greece started off in the 1830s with not only a German king but also with a German founding director of its Antiquities Service. A Greek national soon replaced the latter, however, and prohibitions on exporting antiquities impelled the great museums of Europe to turn to Ottoman-controlled western Anatolia to continue their classical collecting. In Greece itself, the Germans at Olympia after 1875 pioneered a new model of "scientific" "digging only for knowledge," without the prospect of taking any of their finds home. Italy went even further than Greece once national unification in 1870 put an end to archaeological exploitation by northern Europeans; nearly all excavation by non-Italians was banned until after World War II.

Like Mussolini in Libya, the French in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco—and more briefly in interwar Lebanon and Syria—imagined themselves returning Romans resuming a long-interrupted civilizing mission. Dyson might have extended this argument to Egypt, where British proconsul Lord Cromer and French director of Antiquities Gaston Maspero shared similarly Roman imperial visions. Perhaps because pharaonic so overshadowed classical archaeology in Egypt, the book's only discussion of the country is the brief mention of the excavation of the Greek colony of Naukratis. The famous Oxyrhynchus papyri go unmentioned, and except for a single glancing reference, so do Hellenistic and Roman Alexandria.

Dyson gives the efforts of women to establish themselves in the male-dominated profession their due. He emphasizes the tenacity of amateurs in such fields as Romano-British archaeology, where they predominated until the 1960s. His attention to socioeconomic context ranges from philanthropists' funding of museums and excavations to the ever-expanding tourist industry.

At Olympia the Germans inaugurated the "big dig" tradition: long-term, well-financed excavations by major powers of the public architecture of important cities. American examples included the Athenian agora and, after World War II, Morgantina in Sicily. "Big digs" were later criticized for neglecting domestic quarters, periods not in ideological favor, everyday pottery, floral and faunal remains, and agricultural hinterlands.

Military reconnaissance during World War II laid the

foundations for aerial photography as a flourishing archaeological subfield, and underwater archaeology also came into its own. The UNESCO-sponsored excavations at Carthage set a new standard for international collaboration.

On the negative side, the rebuilding of damaged cities after World War II and urban sprawl destroyed ancient remains at a pace that far outran the resources of salvage archaeology. With foreign museums and wealthy individuals no longer able to build their collections through legal excavations abroad, a huge international black and gray market in antiquities flourished.

Coping with notes at the back of a book instead of at the bottom of the page is perhaps a tolerable inconvenience. But here the aggravation is compounded by notes that reveal only the author's last name and necessitate a second end-of-the-book search through the bibliography in order to retrieve the title.

This learned and lucid survey is an admirable achievement, and we need more histories of archaeology like it. Dyson leaves us with a sobering reflection: "probably in the not too distant future, the last Greek farmstead, the last Roman urban neighborhood . . . will have been excavated or destroyed." "Now we face the real possibility that our successors . . . will lack that laboratory in the earth that has sustained classical archaeology since the Renaissance" (p. 254).

DONALD MALCOLM REID  
Georgia State University

ELIZABETH BUETTNER. *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 310. \$45.00.

Elizabeth Buettner's excellent study of Britons living and working in India from the late nineteenth century to Indian Independence in 1947 provides a useful counterpoint to Bernard Porter's *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (2004), in which Porter critiques the "new imperial history" for what he sees as its exaggerated focus on the effects of imperialism within domestic Britain. While Buettner's subject is not the general British population, she nonetheless demonstrates how difficult it is to make clear distinctions between metropole and colony, particularly for non-settler colonies such as India. With two of the five main chapters set in India and the remaining three in Britain, her book illuminates in ways similar to Catherine Hall's *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (2002) how experiences back "home" in Britain were central to the construction of a British-Indian imperial identity.

Buettner succeeds in doing this by concentrating on the family and extending her scope beyond active male colonial rulers to men on furlough; retirees, many of whom returned to Britain after the mandatory retirement age of fifty-five for government officials; women; and, most of all, children. While there is now a significant body of scholarship on women and imperialism,



there is much less on children and empire, with the exception of key works by historians such as Durba Ghosh, Stephen Heathorn, Joy Parr, Satadru Sen, and Ann Laura Stoler, as well as a number of literary studies on imperial themes in children's books. Making a major contribution to this growing field, Buettner skillfully demonstrates that children's education in Britain was essential for the construction and maintenance of a white bourgeois identity in the colonies. With remarkable continuity from the late nineteenth century through the 1930s, medical and household guides warned parents to send children over eight back to Britain, cautioning that India was a physically and morally corrupting environment for children. Fears that the Indian climate caused racial decline along with anxieties about children's close interactions with Indian servants prompted parents to ship youths to Britain. But most of all there was the sense that higher status within the colonial community and better career opportunities for boys depended on maintaining close ties with Britain. Those European families living in India who could not afford to educate their children in Britain were relegated to the status of "country born," a racially suspect category often grouped with Anglo-Indians, or individuals of "mixed" racial descent. Thus, even more than ancestry, cultural practices surrounding children—their education, accents, and networks with relatives and communities in Britain—came to define "whiteness" in the imperial context.

One of the book's great strengths is Buettner's attention to the diverse class backgrounds of British imperialists. Most previous histories of Britons in India tend to concentrate on upper-middle-class men who served in the Indian Civil Service or high-ranking military positions. Buettner examines a much broader assortment of middle-class families who worked as traders, planters, missionaries, and a variety of lower-level administrators. Her case studies accordingly discuss not only some of the most elite British public schools that trained boys in the "gentlemanly" values associated with imperialism, but also less prestigious British schools for boys and girls, as well as a variety of colonial communities in Britain ranging from fashionable Bayswater and seaside towns to the more affordable local of Bedford. The second chapter on education in India provides the most extensive discussion of schooling for the middling and lower middle classes who, at best, could afford to send children to boarding schools in the hill stations of the Himalayas and the Nilgiris or to day schools in the plains. Although this chapter touches on orphanages and charity schools for working-class Europeans in India, the issue of education among these families remains largely unexplored. According to David Arnold, nearly half of all Europeans living in late-nineteenth-century India could be classified as "poor whites" (p. 7), often men who began their careers as soldiers or sailors, in some cases recruited directly from British poor law schools, before settling in India.

Throughout the book, Buettner intelligently uses her sources, combining histories gleaned from official

school records, letters, interviews, and memoirs with careful analysis of how the information contained within these sources is limited by genre and, in some cases, shaped by memory. Fiction, particularly the work of Rudyard Kipling, provided an important model that helped shape adult memories of painful separations from parents, hardships experienced in Britain, and idealizations of "magical" childhoods in India. Buettner deftly concludes her study by exploring how post-Independence memoirs promoting raj nostalgia employ childhood as a way to avoid direct implication in the exploitation of imperialism. One of the best works of the "new imperial history," this book underscores the interrelations between metropole and colony while revealing distinctions of locality, class, and gender. It is essential reading for scholars interested in questions of travel, race, imperialism, and childhood.

LYDIA MURDOCH  
Vassar College

ERICA B. SIMMONS. *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2006. Pp. x, 241. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

This book by Erica B. Simmons is a competent addition to the historiography on Jewish national settlement in Palestine and the State of Israel, exploring the aims and achievements of the preeminent American women's Zionist organization. It particularly complements the superb study of Mary McCune on Zionist and Bundist women in the United States (2005), Marcella Simoni's scholarship on public health in mandate Palestine (1999), and Derek Penslar's outstanding treatment of Israel in comparative perspective (2007). The strength of Simmons's approach is the breadth of her survey, from Hadassah's origins as a small study circle to its current incarnation as an international, formidable nongovernmental body, as well as a continuing fount of vital health, education, and social welfare provision in Israel. There are a number of sharp insights in this work, above all Simmons's recognition that Hadassah's development as a separate sphere for diaspora women's initiative was more a consequence of their marginality, as opposed to empowerment—despite the rhetoric of inclusion and equal status of women in the Zionist movement and Israel (p. 94). Her overarching thesis that Hadassah comprised and nurtured "a synthesis of Progressive maternalist and Zionist ideals" (pp. 2–3) as a distinctly American "civilizing" mission (p. 58) is convincing, and she is sensitive to the pressure on the organization to attain results that would be especially conducive to further fundraising (p. 75). Moreover, Simmons is not averse to disclosing that Hadassah was compelled to ameliorate a number of health and social problems, such as malnutrition (p. 61) and juvenile delinquency (pp. 37–39), which many assumed would be automatically overcome by the inception of Jewish national settlement in the land of Israel.

The focus of the book is on Hadassah's leadership, centered on Henrietta Szold, the diminutive dynamo



who propelled and shaped the organization from its modest origins. Simmons avoids, as much as possible, considering the impact of Szold's personal life on her Hadassah career, as has been explored by Baila Shargel (1997). She also steers clear of the interstices between the private and public under Irma Lindheim, who like Szold has left scholars a rich body of documentation with a great deal of intimate, and often anguished, reflections. Simmons's constraints in this regard seem to have helped in maintaining a concentration on the work of the organization.

As much as this is a commendable study, it is not a comprehensive scholarly overview, and should not preclude further research on Hadassah. The establishment in Palestine of the American Zionist Medical Unit, from which Hadassah grew (pp. 20–22), was enabled by the British government—largely due to the desire of the wartime administration to bolster propaganda surrounding its issue of the Balfour Declaration (1917). The role of the British administration in deliberately abetting Hadassah's publicity is expertly analyzed in James Renton's *The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance, 1914–1918* (2007). Although Simmons aims to illuminate the organization in the context of the evolving Zionist project, the complexity is limited by a reliance on English-language sources. In Zionism's first decades German was its chief medium, which means that Simmons was not able to mine the central organs of the movement, notably the *Jüdische Rundschau*, and she has missed important scholarship, such as the seminal articles of Claudia Prestel (1997, 2006). Certainly Simmons's chapter on Youth Aliyah (pp. 115–145), concerning the immigration of Jewish youth from Nazi Germany under the auspices of Hadassah, fails to reflect crucial dimensions of the phenomenon as revealed in Brian Amkraut's *Between Home and Homeland: Youth Aliyah from Nazi Germany* (2006). Likewise her discussions of the struggle for women's rights in the Yishuv (the Jewish settlement in Palestine) (pp. 87–108) and Hadassah's reception of immigrants from Arab countries (153–186) would have been enhanced by drawing on Hebrew sources and scholarship. There also are shortcomings in Simmons's grasp of Jewish history, where she resorts to generalizations deserving more careful scrutiny, such as the all-too-neat coupling of pogroms with mass immigration westward (p. 11). Her understanding of Hadassah's turn to vocational education would have benefited from a contrast with the ORT (Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor) organization (p. 158). There also are instances where she does not apparently understand that the organization's travails—such as the failed attempts to coordinate efforts with the British-based Women's International Zionist Organization—were tied to the conflict between Chaim Weizmann and Louis Brandeis in which Szold and Hadassah had been embroiled (pp. 26, 34, 97, 108).

Despite these problems this is a helpful text, particularly for providing the major contours of Hadassah's long and mostly admirable role in improving the well-

being of the Jewish and non-Jewish population of Palestine and Israel while facing "hostility and criticism" (p. 23) from the very organization it attempted to support.

MICHAEL BERKOWITZ  
University College London

DAVID EDGERTON. *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History since 1900*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 270. \$26.00.

According to David Edgerton, current studies of technology mistakenly focus on innovation. Historians of technology emphasize inventions, innovations (first use of new things), patents, diffusion of new technologies, research and development, and historical periods determined by breakthrough inventions. Innovation-driven technology coupled to a progressive historical outlook leads to forecasts of a glorious future for humankind. That is how we arrived at our misguided belief in the wonders of the atomic age—unlimited cheap energy—and the Information Age—one world unified by the Internet. The promoters of new technologies have led us astray and it is time we got back on track.

Edgerton argues that we should concentrate on technology-in-use and not on technology as the producer of novelty. A use-based history will "shift attention from the new to the old, the big to the small, the spectacular to the mundane, the masculine to the feminine, [and] the rich to the poor" (p. xiv).

Technology-in-use challenges the idea that progress is a product of technological change and rejects a historical timeline based on "major" inventions. Under the new dispensation, old and new technologies operate side by side and are often jumbled together. The use-perspective of technology reveals that the majority of scientists and engineers do not create novel technologies but operate and maintain existing ones. Finally, we will encounter "creole technology," technology that originates in rich countries but is adapted and transformed by poor countries to meet their special needs.

All of this sounds promising, but the author has only 222 pages to bring about his revolution in the way we think about technology. Edgerton's critical approach calls for one of two strategies. He could present a detailed theory of his new conception of technology, or write a narrative account that covers his main points. Neither of these strategies is evident here. Instead, the book leaps from example to example and from one geographical locale to another. At times an example will illuminate a page or chapter, convince you of its relevance, and then fade away. Moreover, Edgerton gives too much space to military machines. He shows that what we think are new military technologies are often old ones, and that older technologies persist in modern warfare. Nevertheless, military examples rank high in a book that promised technology-in-use, technology at the domestic level, technology that we live by, technology that helps the poor survive.

The first chapter, titled "Significance," is thematic, as

are the subsequent chapters. It opens with a provocative question: Is the condom more significant in history than the airplane? Both condoms and airplanes are discussed, but the question is left unresolved.

One of the extended cases presented in the initial chapter is the familiar one of the failure of the strategic bombing of Germany in World War II. After that there are V-2 rockets, atomic weapons, and nuclear energy. In each of these instances Edgerton's interpretation differs from the accepted, or popular, one. The condom finally reappears as an old technology that is used in the age of the birth control pill. However, the pill, B-29 bombers, and nuclear reactors are the kinds of inventions that marked off the old timeline.

Edgerton does present some first rate examples of user-technology. His commentary on corrugated steel sheeting and its use in providing shelter for the urban and rural poor around the world helps us to understand how poor city dwellers can build immense slums. His discussion of the varieties of rickshaws questions accepted notions of technological change in urban transport systems.

Edgerton introduces "magazines," open areas in Ghana where thousands of men and women work out of doors or in shacks, repairing automobiles, sewing machines, wristwatches, and other goods manufactured in rich countries. There are no replacement parts depots here. Defective parts are repaired, rebuilt on the spot, or fashioned from scratch using ordinary tools: anvils, hammers, wrenches, screwdrivers, files, and the occasional welding kit. "Magazines" are not unique to Ghana. Similar repair and production areas can be found around Africa and deserve more space in a book dedicated to technology-in-use.

Some of the other themes explored in the book's chapters include production, which begins with the domestic scene but all too quickly turns to the factory; maintenance and repair, an aspect of technology that is too often neglected by historians of technology; the ties between nationalism and technology; war; killing, in animal slaughterhouses, execution chambers, and extermination camps; and invention.

The chapter on invention focuses on the history of the rise of research and development in businesses, universities, and governments, a standard topic in the old history of technology. A user-based history of technology should explore the nature of inventive activity at a far different level of society, with another set of actors and institutions.

The author only partially fulfills his promise to write a global history of technology-in-use.

GEORGE BASALLA,  
EMERITUS  
*University of Delaware*

JOHN E. LESCH. *The First Miracle Drugs: How the Sulfa Drugs Transformed Medicine*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 364. \$59.50.

For millennia, infectious endemic and epidemic diseases periodically devastated human populations. As late as 1900 infectious diseases remained the leading causes of mortality, and infants and children were at the highest risk of dying. The tools that medicine had at its disposal—vaccination, antitoxin, quarantine—were helpful but scarcely decisive.

The introduction of antibiotics in the decade before 1945 marked a distinct turning point in the history of medicine (although the decline in infant and child mortality between 1900 and 1940 was unrelated to antibiotic therapy). The development of penicillin has generally occupied the most prominent position in traditional accounts. John E. Lesch argues that the sulfa drugs rather than penicillin played the most crucial role. The development of Prontosil in 1935 gave a powerful impetus to the rise of the modern pharmaceutical industry and the research and development enterprise within it. Moreover, in seeking an explanation for the therapeutic efficacy of sulfa drugs, researchers began to understand how molecular modifications could lead to the development of new drugs and classes of drugs effective not only against bacterial infections but also for many non-infectious diseases, including diabetes, hypertension, gout, and cardiovascular disease. Lesch's goal is to recapture the historical importance of the sulfa drugs, which are often subordinated to the introduction of penicillin in many historical narratives. Any adequate account of the trajectory of medicine and science, he argues, must take into account the critical role of the sulfa drugs.

The origin of the sulfa drugs dated back to the 1880s when organic chemists began to realize the potential of organic compounds prepared in the laboratory in addition to isolating them from natural products. The development of acetylsalicylic acid, marketed as Aspirin in 1899 by the German firm Bayer, was indicative of future developments. By the turn of the century organic chemistry and the germ theory in Germany were merged in Paul Ehrlich's search for compounds that would destroy invading organisms without harming the human host. His research program in turn was incorporated into an industrial research organizational setting in which collaborative research between disciplines was led by bureaucratic managers not averse to risk-taking. Equally significant, there was close cooperation between industry researchers and their academic counterparts. Until World War II Germany was clearly the leader in pharmaceutical research; Britain, France, and the United States lagged behind.

Although not diminishing the role of the individual, Lesch clearly suggests that biomedical advances relied on colleagues and supporting institutions, or what he calls the "industrialization of pharmaceutical innovation." The awarding of a Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1939 to Gerhard Domagk for his recognition of the antibacterial activity of Prontosil "exposed the lack of congruence between the industrialized system of invention examined in this volume, on the one hand, and the individualized system of credits carried

over from earlier patterns of invention and from academic science, and embodied in the Nobel Prizes, on the other" (p. 288). Although clinicians recognized the importance of the sulfa drugs, the rise of the Nazi regime placed barriers in the way of continued advance. Officially sanctioned antisemitism and the propagation of a variety of mystical natural healing methods by the regime created major problems for scientific medicine. Indeed, political developments in Germany both before and during World War II all but destroyed its leadership role in biomedical and pharmaceutical research.

In a brief review it is impossible to summarize the rich narrative of this volume. Lesch deals with a variety of subjects: the differential reception of the sulfa drugs in France, Britain, and the United States; the introduction of a flood of other sulfonamide compounds; the impetus given to biomedical research in other nations; the role of antibiotics during World War II; and the rise to preeminence of the pharmaceutical industry. His discussion of the search for the mechanism of action of the new drugs and its subsequent impact is outstanding. The articulation of the anti-metabolite concept (interfering with an essential metabolite and thus inhibiting growth) proved to be a major stimulus not only to the design of new drugs, but as a tool to explain cell metabolism. Ironically, the introduction of the new antibiotics created novel problems, notably resistant strains of infectious organisms, to say nothing of adverse reactions of patients.

This book is based on wide research in multinational manuscript and printed sources. Admittedly, the volume will hold little appeal for those who prefer a social constructionist approach to the history of the biomedical sciences. But Lesch's analysis—precisely because his narrative is based on an understanding of complex medical and scientific issues—is far more illuminating and deserves a wide readership.

GERALD N. GROB  
Rutgers University

WARWICK ANDERSON. *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 355. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Over the past half century, the focus of historical research and writing on the American colonization of the Philippines has shifted markedly, at times in step with academic preoccupations but as often in response to events in the real world. In the decades following World War II, the political, military, and diplomatic dimensions of the islands' annexation were the first to be seriously explored in studies that were overwhelmingly U.S.-centric. The ensuing waves of decolonization fixed attention on the impact of colonial rule on Filipino society, which contributed to a proliferation of studies on American educational reforms, the consolidation of the Filipino *compradore* classes, and the resurgence of nationalism. In the aftermath of the Vietnam conflict, the focus on Filipino responses shifted to the plight of the

peasantry and agrarian sources of millenarian, nationalist, and communist resistance to American and Japanese rule. The end of the Cold War has seen a convergence of books and essays that emphasize the cultural side of Filipino responses and a revival of interest in American interventions, but with a shift in focus to technology transfers, medical campaigns, and sociocultural transformations.

Warwick Anderson's book demonstrates both the considerable potential and some of the pitfalls evident in post-Cold War approaches to the American colonial interlude in Filipino history. It is the most extensively researched, detailed, and analytically astute of studies published thus far on the introduction—under the auspices of U.S. colonial rule—of allopathic Western medicine and hygiene regimes to the Philippines. In what is in effect a collection of essays based on an exhaustive reading of relevant archival and especially published primary sources rather than a sustained monograph, Anderson provides thematic case studies—illustrated by a wealth of contemporary photographs—of colonial projects ranging from research procedures and sanitary regimes designed to render "white male bodies" less susceptible to tropical pathogens to campaigns aimed at controlling the spread of epidemic diseases (often unleashed by the war of conquest) among the colonized population or to police Filipino hygienic practices (particularly those involving defecation). Anderson also advances in significant, often provocative ways our understanding of the multifaceted, remarkably influential, global impact of the turn-of-the-century rise of germ theory. Among the most compelling sections of the study are those in which he deploys case evidence from the Philippines to explore the growing, but often contested, influence of radically new ways of understanding the etiology of disease on health research and pathogen immunization or eradication campaigns pursued both in the colonies and Western (and Japanese) metropolises. Here he makes some of his most original contributions in his treatment of the turn-of-the-century discourse on racial versus environmental determinants of societal development and the capacity of differing ethnic groups to become clean, vigorous citizens of modern, progressive nation-states.

Given his interest in exploring these broader connections, Anderson's discussion of the critical linkages between contemporaneous, early 1900s campaigns in the Philippines and the U.S.-occupied Caribbean to combat tropical diseases and acclimate American soldiers and officials to environments long considered lethal is surprisingly abbreviated. As David McBride's superb comparative study, *Missions for Science: U.S. Technology and Medicine in America's African World* (2002), shows, American interventions in Cuba, Panama, and other Caribbean locales shared the same military genesis, motivations, and modes of organization that Anderson so effectively tracks through the early stages of colonization in the Philippines. In fact, the overall strategy and disease-specific tactics in the war on tropical pathogens worked out in the Caribbean, and in some cases

earlier in the American South, strongly influenced those adopted in the Philippines, and the circulation of American military personnel, particularly doctors and researchers, within an emerging overseas empire meant that medical advances within occupied areas were rapidly disseminated across colonial empires and in some instances within the U.S. and European metropolises.

Reflecting a broader trend in the currently burgeoning subfields of the history of colonial medicine and psychiatry, and largely due to the nature of the available sources, Anderson's account of American medical initiatives is mainly about the colonizers. Thus, we learn a great deal about the proclivities, prejudices, and activities of pivotal officials, such as Victor Heiser, and compulsives like C. H. Yaeger, who became literally obsessed with boring holes for latrines. Anderson also includes an engaging chapter on the "tropical neurasthenia" that affected the colonizers and has been little studied in colonial contexts. But in contrast to the more narrowly focused contributions of Reynaldo Clemeña Iletto, Ken de Bevoise, and Rodney Sullivan, and aside from Anderson's revealing analysis of the policies followed with regard to the leper colony at Culion, there is little on Filipino responses and no attempt to quantify or even provide an overall assessment of the cumulative, long-term effects of American civilizing initiatives focusing on medical care and hygiene on the Filipino population as a whole.

MICHAEL ADAS  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

JOHN KRIGE. *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 376. \$40.00.

During the era of the Marshall Plan and beyond, U.S. aid played a critical role in reconstructing European science. John Krige's book combines insights from the history of U.S. foreign relations and science studies in order to examine how American patronage shaped the scientific enterprise in Europe after World War II. Cold War politics and American dollars, Krige argues, combined with the aspirations of scientific communities on both sides of the Atlantic to produce a scientific order consonant with American ideals and foreign policy objectives. As Krige puts it, "Scientific statesmen, officials in the U.S. administration, and officers in organizations like the Ford and Rockefeller foundations did more than simply 'share' science or 'promote' American values abroad; they tried to *reconfigure* the European scientific landscape, and to build an Atlantic community with common practices and values under U.S. leadership" (p. 3).

The hegemony alluded to in the title of the book, however, was no simple matter of top-down domination. Krige draws inspiration from Geir Lundestad's "empire by invitation" thesis and Charles Meier's no-

tion of "consensual hegemony," but ultimately he relies on a concept from science studies—the idea of "co-production"—to describe the relationships between scientists in Western Europe and their American collaborators and sponsors. Co-production connotes more active and wholehearted forms of cooperation and participation than Gramscian consent, and it grants actors agency even while acknowledging their subordinate status before more powerful sources of authority. In an immediate postwar period where starvation loomed, European scientists badly needed any kind of American support. At the same time, their own resources—namely scientific reputations and cross-Atlantic connections—lent prominent European scientists the ability to negotiate with their American partners, adapt plans to a significant degree to local desires and circumstances, and place their own creative stamp on new programs and institutions. France's Louis Rapkine, for example, exploited a long-term relationship with the Rockefeller Foundation both to lend advice to the foundation about how to navigate the thorny political thickets of early postwar France, where questions of wartime allegiances always loomed close to the surface, as well as to direct support toward persons he considered scientifically and politically deserving.

Meanwhile, the foundation itself walked a fine line between its own grand objectives and French sensitivities. As Krige observes, Warren Weaver, director of the Rockefeller's Natural Sciences Division, "wanted to take advantage of the fluid situation in France to change the community's attitudes and values, to transform it from being inward-looking and parochial into a full-fledged participant in the international scientific enterprise" (p. 109). At the same time, foundation officials feared that too tight an American rein might lead the French to reject Rockefeller assistance altogether. Such a situation necessarily required co-production: when the foundation awarded a large grant, it allowed the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) full discretion in using the funds. No mere bureaucratic happenstance, the arrangement "shielded the foundation from accusations that its interests, and not those of French science, were behind the grants" (p. 103), and it provided a cooperative basis for allowing both parties to pursue their own ends.

This brief synopsis of the Rockefeller Foundation's initial foray into postwar France barely hints at the richness of Krige's account. The book rests on four main case studies: the founding of the Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire (CERN), still renowned today for its research in particle physics; Rockefeller Foundation patronage and science in France; the Ford Foundation's cultural diplomacy and support for European science; and Massachusetts Institute of Technology physicist Philip Morse's promotion of operations research in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The book employs a wide range of archival sources, as well as ample contextualization within the relevant literatures on international relations, the cultural dimensions of the Cold War, and the history of



postwar science. Krige demonstrates how at every turn, political contexts shaped interactions between states, patrons, and recipients of largesse, and in particular—as the Cold War intensified—anticommunist ideology and objectives weighed heavily in decisions about the shape and direction of European science. By the 1950s, the United States had moved beyond reconstruction and looked to Europe as an important source of scientific manpower. From the American perspective, operations research (OR) also meant not merely the adoption of a technique but a wholesale transformation of the relationship between the civilian and the military through, as Morse once put it, the “interpenetration of scientific and military thinking” (p. 237). The limits of that particular American vision, however, soon became apparent as Morse ran up against profoundly different expectations of OR among Europeans, especially British scientists and government officials.

The American and European encounter over OR and other areas of scientific endeavor involved complex interactions and, at times, unpredictable outcomes. Nonetheless, on the whole, the co-produced order for postwar European science remained well within the boundaries of American Cold War ambitions, and despite some strong disagreements along the way, the transnational elites who built that order generally stayed satisfied that American objectives served Western European interests. As Krige concludes, “The American empire was not all of a piece. It was built up over time and, like lava flowing down a mountainside, sometimes its advance was thwarted, sometimes it had to mould itself to local contingencies, and sometimes it was diverted away from entire sections of the mountain face. But its gradual onward movement was inexorable, and no one could remain unaware of its presence” (p. 265). Whatever the variations in local circumstances, the reality of American power was indisputable; only the precise form of American hegemony remained in question.

JESSICA WANG  
University of British Columbia

AMY L. S. STAPLES. *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945–1965*. (New Studies in U.S. Foreign Relations.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 349. \$55.00.

The study of multilateral agencies during the early Cold War period is a fascinating topic that is attracting the attention of historians coming from different subdisciplines. Historical studies on the Cold War have traditionally concentrated on limited military conflicts and the political tension between the Soviet Union and the United States. Only in the past few years have there been investigations on the influence of the Cold War on the arts, other aspects of culture and society, and the everyday lives of American citizens. There is an understudied dimension of the period from the late 1940s to

the mid-1950s related to the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for hegemony over the United Nations and multilateral agencies.

Amy L. S. Staples's book makes an important contribution by describing and comparing three major agencies—the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), and the World Health Organization (WHO)—that became prominent shortly after the end of World War II. It provides new data that can enlarge our interpretation of the Cold War and its legacies. The author also makes clear how multilateral agencies provided different venues of “modernity” to developing countries during a period of decolonization, population increase, and growing awareness of their wealth in raw materials. There is enlightening information on the role played by John Maynard Keynes in the creation of the World Bank and at the Bretton Woods meeting of 1944. There is also important analysis of the growth of scientific agriculture and the ambitious goals of John Boyd Orr, the first director-general of the FAO (this chapter is the best in the book). Staples's main argument is in line with the ideas of Akira Iriye: namely, the emergence during the twentieth century of an international group of civil servants whose relations transcended national boundaries. She brings the discussion on “development” down to earth, demonstrating the overlapping approaches to the issue and the coexistence of different perspectives, even inside the same agencies. Staples concentrates on the agencies and, more precisely, on metropolitan decisions made in the West that made possible their emergence and first years of operation. The book also provides a remarkable bibliography that will be of great use to any researcher interested in these topics.

The main problems with this book are that it is more descriptive than interpretive, and that the comparisons do not work. The analytic approach does not fully relate Cold War political developments to the works of the agencies studied. A key institutional actor in U.S. foreign policy during the 1950s was the Department of State, and insufficient emphasis is given to its persistent attempts to influence United Nations agencies. Sometimes the author takes at face value what the leaders of these agencies said about themselves: that their decisions would be neutral, rational, and based on technical criteria. Ultimately, the book suggests an uncomplicated development that, at least in the case of the WHO, does not reflect what really happened.

This book reads like three different articles that are not really integrated into a whole. The conclusion is more a useful epilogue on the troubles confronted by international organizations during the past few decades and contradicts the claim made in the subtitle. In any case this book is valuable mainly because of its novelty. Kent State University Press should be congratulated for inaugurating an important new series on U.S. foreign relations. Historians interested in international developments and those working on foreign policy and non-military themes during the Cold War era will learn much from Staples's work, as will researchers interested



in similar themes. In sum, despite its problems, this is a significant book that will enlarge our understanding of the Cold War by taking us beyond the superpowers' diplomatic and military struggles.

MARCOS CUETO  
*Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*

## ASIA

JAMES A. MILLWARD. *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 440. \$40.00.

Currently Xinjiang is in area the largest province-level unit in China. It has gained considerable attention over the last couple of decades because of China's economic and strategic development and because of controversy over separatism by the main ethnic group inhabiting the region, the Uyghurs. A Turkic people, most Uyghurs are Muslim.

This is the first comprehensive history of the region, tracing it from the earliest times to the present. James A. Millward has already established a reputation for excellence in the field of Xinjiang history, especially of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although this book is not all based on primary research, the author presents new interpretations and new material. The sources on which he draws are various, including not only those in English but many in Chinese and some in other languages, such as Russian and French.

What I particularly like about this book is the balance between historical detail and interpretation. In many places, Millward pauses to take up important debates that have raged about the history of Xinjiang. Among a range of issues, one that looms large is Xinjiang's place within China. Successive Chinese leaders have insisted that Xinjiang is an integral part of Chinese territory, but theirs is not a universally shared view. Millward is always fair and balanced. He says that he regards himself as "a friend of both Han [Chinese] and Uyghur peoples and, more generally, of China" (p. x). However, this does not prevent him from making criticisms of Chinese and Uyghur nationalist positions or of official Chinese statements.

There are a few places where I differ slightly in interpretation from Millward, or where I would like him to have expanded his analysis. One has to do with the precise area under discussion. Usually, when we speak of the history of a place, we are including all those territories that are *now* within the designated unit, in this case Xinjiang. But as Millward rightly points out, Xinjiang has, throughout most of its history, not been governed as a contained unit, or even as multiple units within a specific empire or state. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that it was consolidated within China, or the Manchu Empire as it was then. In quite a few of the discussions of the earlier period, the territory that is now Xinjiang was not focal to historical developments or to empires or states that Millward discusses. He is clearly aware of this, but it

would have been useful to discuss the matter in greater detail.

Millward has quite a bit of material about Ya'qub Beg, a nineteenth-century ruler in Xinjiang against whom the Manchu Qing dynasty of China sent troops. Millward is clear that Ya'qub Beg was not an "independence" leader, as some have suggested, and paints a very grim picture of life under his rule. But the question arises: would Xinjiang still be part of China had the Manchu reconquest failed? Millward implies that it would not, and I share that view. But it would have been interesting to speculate about the possibilities, which have important implications for the present.

Millward says that the events of September 11, 2001, gave the Chinese the opportunity to "turn the official, public PRC position on Xinjiang separatism on its head" (p. 338). By that he means that it caused Chinese statements to change from emphasizing the weakness of separatist activity in Xinjiang to exaggerating its strength. This is true but seems to me to give too much emphasis to the importance of 9/11 as against the collapse of the Soviet Union. After all, the Chinese had been working with Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan against separatism for some time, with annual meetings of the presidents of these five countries since 1996. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, one of the aims of which was to counter terrorism, separatism, and religious extremism, was set up in June 2001. Certainly the Chinese authorities made use of 9/11 for their own purposes, but policy had been moving in that direction for some time anyway.

Despite having some minor differences with the author's interpretations, I consider that overall this book fills a gap in the literature on Xinjiang. It has an apt title that reflects the content. It is well written, well documented, analytical, detailed, and stimulating. I recommend it strongly both to general readers and specialists in this important region of the world.

COLIN MACKERRAS  
*Griffith University,  
Queensland, Australia*

MADELEINE ZELIN. *The Merchants of Zigong: Industrial Entrepreneurship in Early Modern China*. (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 406. \$45.00.

Deep in inland China is Zigong county, well known among China historians for two reasons: the historic salt wells, and the abundant records in the county archives. Madeleine Zelin has successfully brought the two together in this volume.

The merchants of Zigong mined the salt wells. The technology involved drilling deep into the ground, to as much as 3,000 feet, pumping out brine, and boiling the brine to produce salt. It would seem that until the 1890s, the brine that was pumped out had been naturally formed. From the 1890s, a new technology arose whereby hot water might be poured into the well to dissolve rock salt. The need to boil enough water to dis-

solve the salt, and then to extract the salt from the brine, meant that substantial amounts of fuel were consumed. In some places, again from the 1890s, a major source of such fuel was natural gas. While all this activity went on, the steam engine had not yet reached the Chinese interior. Pipes were still made of bamboo, machines were turned by men and mules, and the drill bit was a heavy piece of iron that smashed the ground rock upon impact.

The earliest Zigong records on the business structures of the salt wells date from the eighteenth century. It would seem that investment contracts took the form of tenancy: the operators of the wells rented them from the landlords, and both parties shared in the produce. Toward the end of the century, it had become common for the lessees to form a partnership to provide for the capital of well drilling, and their shares might be sold long before salt was actually obtained. At some stage when success in the drilling was apparent, the landlord became a party to the partnership, under strict understanding that he or she (indeed, in one example cited, it was a woman) might not interfere with the operation of the business. The possibility of share transfer gave great flexibility to the restructuring of the business operations. At times, it was needed, as initial capital could run out and new partners would have to be brought in.

By the nineteenth century, some of these partnerships began to look like family firms. The family owned land, invested in salt wells, and actively managed some of them. The business itself was obviously also changing, although it is not altogether clear how and why. One reason for considerable expansion might have had to do with the re-drafting of provincial distribution since the mid-century Taiping Rebellion. Salt distribution had been tightly controlled by the Qing dynasty government, but the need for new revenue had relaxed some of this control. Another reason might have been the injection of capital from outside Zigong. From before the Taiping Rebellion, the Shaanxi banks, small family operations specializing in remittances, had been investing in the Zigong area, even though it is not clear that the initial ventures were devoted to salt mining. What is clear is that the scale of operation through the mid-nineteenth century had been increasing as exemplified, especially, in the transport of brine over 6.6 miles of pipelines between the salt wells of Gongjing and the natural gas-fueled furnaces of Ziliujing. Building these pipelines over privately owned land held in small plots was every part as complicated as building the early railways. No one without substantial finance and political clout could conceivably have participated.

There were further technological changes. The discovery of rock salt toward 1900 coincided with the introduction of steam-driven pumps—ultimately a technological import from the West—and wide-diameter wells (diameters of 4.8 inches compared to narrow diameters of 2.8 to 3.2 inches). The new technology produced a boom-bust cycle, somewhat like the undercurrent of the mid-nineteenth century. Meanwhile, China itself was changing; the empire had been replaced by a

republic, merchant guilds formalized into a chamber of commerce, warlords charged more in extortion than the imperial government in taxes, and wars made the trade routes to the principal markets impassable. The salt wells were glutted with brine while the business operations went bankrupt.

What does this fascinating account of the business history of a corner of China tell us about the general picture? The details are invaluable as snippets into how Chinese businesses operated. They used written contracts; they held shares; they drew up accounts and divided profits; they had ideas of property rights but were not always very efficient in demarcating them; investors and managers worked through family and friendship networks, and that was very much a result of the lack of other channels of financing. Chinese business history is so short of continuous records that its historians must thank Zelin for documenting a continuous account in detail, but none of the features is really very surprising in the light of what we already know. The most surprising finding, perhaps, is how recent the business history of Zigong salt production is. Salt had been produced in Zigong for centuries but only by the eighteenth century were there written records. It is almost as if a trigger were pulled, once the deeds appeared, so that individual operators could negotiate their own agreements, sort out investment and returns, and creatively take management on in a direction allowed by the market. This book details what happened after the trigger was pulled. What that trigger might have been remains a mystery and awaits another book.

DAVID FAURE

*Chinese University of Hong Kong*

PAUL J. BAILEY. *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century*. (Routledge Contemporary China Series.) New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. ix, 246. \$120.00.

Paul J. Bailey uses the term “modernizing conservatism” as a key concept in this book to describe and analyze the debate on women’s education in early twentieth-century China. The term refers to a particular strand of thought concerned with the possible unwelcome consequences resulting from the implementation of a modern education system, while endorsing modernizing changes. The “modernizing conservative” dialogue, which permeated the newspaper and periodical press during the period from the 1890s to the May Fourth Movement in the late 1910s, both reflected and influenced this initial period of women’s public education.

Five chapters are well constructed around this theme. The introduction offers a historical background against which the study investigates the initial move for women’s education. Chapter one reveals that the campaign for girls’ education in the late Qing was organized by government officials, reformers, and male intellectuals who were exposed to Japanese influence. The key issue at the time was not whether women should be educated

but rather the content and purpose of female education. As part of the process of adopting Japan's path to modernization, the notion of "worthy mothers and virtuous wives" (*liangmu xianqi*) dominated the curriculum for girls' schooling and was believed to be linked to China's survival. In 1907, the Qing government formally sanctioned education for women, and the growing numbers of girls' schools from 1902 to 1911 signaled one of the most dramatic social and cultural changes of the time. In chapter two statistical data, media reports, and textbooks and songs used in girls' schools provide detailed information about women's education in practice. According to Bailey, the discourse of women's public education in this period represented both the endorsement of modern education and an "ambivalence about its possible consequence" (p. 45).

Chapter three focuses on new images and representations of women after public schooling for them became available. Female students were used as the symbol for the new kind of woman but also attracted criticism for being "boisterous" and "unrestrained," reflecting conservative fears of the transgression of basic gender boundaries and disrespect for law, public order, and civility. Thus the dress and behavior of young girls became a serious concern in the wake of the 1911 Revolution, and the role of women was once again the focus of the discourse of women's education in this period.

Chapter four demonstrates that government officials, educators, and male intellectuals promoted the "modernizing conservative" agenda in an attempt to "regain control of the discourse and practice" (p. 84) in advancing women's schooling. Critics of female student behavior, comprising the elite of the early Republican era, made efforts to revisit the "behavioural modernization" process begun in the last years of the Qing, in order to curb popular culture.

Chapter five explores the impact of the modernizing conservative agenda on the debate on women's university education in the late 1910s. It shows that even at the height of the May Fourth Movement, the perceived role of Chinese women was still to run the household, and therefore women's educational needs were thought to be different from those of their male counterparts. The idea of training "worthy mothers and virtuous wives" through education had dominated the public and official discourse since the 1890s. This argument is quite contrary to the claims that the May Fourth Movement's call for gender equality in education changed the course of women's schooling.

This book is a serious work of history that demonstrates the author's expertise in the history of the late Qing and the early Republican era. One of the book's most impressive achievements is the clear historical outline against which Bailey analyzes discourse during the three distinctive periods and places his analysis in the context of China's pursuit of modernization. Footnotes comprise a large portion of the book, showing a thorough use of original and secondary sources. Some footnotes contain notes by the author on the sources, providing readers with more insights into the issues dis-

cussed in the text, and also revealing interesting information for further research.

An appendix listing characters for all the Chinese terms used in the text allows readers to check the originals. As the book contains many commentators' names, it would also be helpful if a list of characters was provided along with these Chinese names. Yet this is a well-written and beautifully presented book, and it will be of great interest to students of Chinese history, education in China, and gender studies.

LIMIN BAI-

Victoria University of Wellington

MICHAEL G. MURDOCK. *Disarming the Allies of Imperialism: Agitation, Manipulation, and the State during China's Nationalist Revolution, 1922-1929*. (Cornell East Asia Series.) Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University. 2006. Pp. xii, 348. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$31.00.

The literature on the Chinese Nationalist Revolution of the 1920s has tended to focus on Sun Yat-sen and his campaigns against the twinned incubus of imperialism and warlordism, on the Guomindang (GMD)-Chinese Communist Party (CCP) united front and the Comintern agents, and on the factionalism within the GMD. In his new book, Michael G. Murdock offers a fresh perspective on how the GMD defeated its foes and rivals and eventually rose to power on the back of revolutionary nationalism in 1928. He criticizes the "faction-centered paradigm" in previous GMD studies, questioning the use of such labels as "left" and "right" and "radicals" and "liberals" as there was no consensus on their meaning but a lack of clarity about the political motives of those in question at any point. More importantly, Murdock rejects the view that GMD leaders followed a more or less defined ideology and a master revolutionary strategy. Instead, he argues that "inconsistency—more than culture, ideology, or any other factor—gave revolutionary nationalism its distinctive edge" (p. 13).

In Murdock's account, GMD leaders from Sun Yat-sen to his immediate successors were all political manipulators who responded to situations with extraordinary flexibility and who would do anything to advantage their own positions and to seize power. The party's Central Executive Committee laid down policies, regulations, and guidelines for everyone to follow, but party leaders had no qualms about bending those policies and adapting them to local conditions at any time in order to achieve their objectives. Consequently, their movement was marked by contradictions and tactical options, which Murdock describes as a "dual-prong" approach. Party leaders acted on an ad hoc basis. They operated within a framework of "decentralized centralism," fought and accommodated local and foreign foes simultaneously or at different times, pitted one force against another, unleashed mass agitations against imperialism and the Christian movement one day and disavowed them the next. On each occasion, they exploited

the contradictions between enemy and friend in their quest for power.

The book is a contribution to the growing literature on nationalism. For comparative purposes, Murdock draws on the works of Partha Chatterjee and Homi K. Bhabha on Indian nationalism under British colonial rule. Indian nationalism in Chatterjee's study served as a base of operations for nationalists who used national culture to assail Britain's economic and political control, and, in Bhabha's, as a unifying and pacifying force subsuming an excluded "other." GMD nationalism, Murdock argues, captured both Chatterjee's and Bhabha's definitions of national cultures, and distinguished itself by preserving images of unity, legitimacy, and stability in the revolutionary movement on one hand and dealing with the tensions emerging within the revolutionary movement, on the other. Thus, Murdock speaks of a "bifurcated revolutionary approach" or "bifurcated nationalism," which combined into a single movement of state-building and revolutionary agitation. In adopting this strategy, there was no differentiation between GMD factions themselves or between the Comintern agents and GMD leaders.

The book begins with a background chapter on the "failed revolution" prior to 1923 and then devotes a great deal of space to Sun Yat-sen's difficulties with hostile provincial and local elements in Guangdong and Guangzhou and to the anti-Christian movement, the anti-British boycott, and popular anti-imperialist agitations following the arrival early in 1927 of the National Revolutionary Army in Hankou, Ji Jiang, and Shanghai. For the best part of the revolutionary period, GMD leaders employed this "bifurcated nationalism" to unleash popular anti-British and anti-missionary agitations while cautiously distancing themselves from the same. By 1927, the party had become more focused on state-building, silencing mass agitations in order to seek foreign ties and international recognition in what was the beginning of a counterrevolution. Where possible, previous rivals and foes were assimilated in a process of inclusion into the nation, now redefined by the party, and to embrace the new order. Where loyalty to the new order was suspect, people and groups were excluded in the name of national unity and for purposes of state control. The "bifurcated revolutionary approach" came to an end when the imperatives of state-building overwhelmed the short-term advantages of popular agitation.

The book is an excellent study of "bifurcated nationalism." It is well researched, and the author's basic argument is persuasive. Unfortunately, in correcting the "faction-centered paradigm," Murdock has ignored a whole range of objective factors contributing to the triumph of the Nationalist Revolution, thereby leaving some questions unanswered; for example, why did the warlords compromise with the National Revolutionary Army so readily? To be sure, GMD leaders were political manipulators. But their ability to manipulate, often with remarkable results, and to overcome the many difficulties they experienced needs more explanation.

The Nationalist Revolution could have failed. One last comment: there is a surfeit of factual details that will be of interest only to the meticulous scholar and the specialist.

EDMUND S. K. FUNG  
University of Western Sydney

MADELEINE YUE DONG. *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*. (Asia: Local Studies/Global Themes.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 380. \$50.00.

Madeleine Yue Dong has tackled an extraordinarily complicated subject and succeeded admirably. Republican-period Beijing was a city fraught with contradictions. Both manifest expression of Chinese national ambitions and a local backwater, the city was simultaneously the projected locus of political modernity and a proudly antiquated embodiment of Chinese imperial traditions. Beijing was, in a sense, not one but many "cities": the capital city of officials and bureaucrats; the scholarly city of universities and intellectuals; the Manchu city; the sacred pilgrimage site; the tourist destination; and the plebian city of guilds, artisans, and rickshaw pullers. Each of these "cities" overlapped, coexisted, and only imperfectly interacted, and each tends to be reflected in dramatically different kinds of sources, which greatly complicates the task of any historian attempting to address the city as a comprehensive whole.

Further complicating Dong's task is her decision to address a span of time that is for this city extraordinarily difficult to treat as a single period (even though, for the purposes of this book, the author narrowly defines the "Republican period" as lasting only from 1911 to 1937). Although this was in general a turbulent time, the moving of China's national capital to Nanjing in 1928 had an especially transformative impact on the city. Every aspect of city life was touched, and even the city's name was changed to Beiping as a result. That the title of Dong's work is, strictly speaking, anachronistic for the post-1928 period is an apt reflection of the difficulties facing the historian; the city defies even so simple a characterization as a single name.

Given the complexities of the subject it is understandable that Dong offers a selective, somewhat idiosyncratic, series of analytical sketches rather than the sweeping and comprehensive urban portrait the title seems to promise. There is much about Beijing during this period that the book does not address. There is very little on the rich political history of the city, ethnic dynamics, or religious developments, for example. But what we miss in breadth Dong makes up for in insight, theoretical sophistication, and an eye for the telling vignette. If not the last word on Beijing's republican-period history, it is a smart and valuable contribution to our understanding of the period.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which is entitled "The City of Planners." Dong focuses here on the efforts of municipal administrators to transform



Beijing from imperial capital to a modern city and briefly discusses instances of popular resistance to such plans. A variety of projects intended to spatially or administratively reshape the city are considered, including the opening of new gates in the city wall, the laying of railroads, and the broadening of streets. Such projects extended even to the renaming of many traditional street and alley names from the "vulgar" to the more "cultured" appellations. (Like many twentieth-century historians, however, Dong tends to overlook earlier precedents, and she fails to note the bestowing of more cultured names on Beijing alleyways was a trend whose origins can be dated to the nineteenth century, well before the government-directed efforts of the republican period that she focuses on.)

The second section of the book is entitled "The City of Experience." In one chapter Dong describes the impact on local handicraft production exerted by Beijing's shifting position within the national and international political economy of the time. In another she focuses on the retail marketing system of republican-period Beijing and explores the ways in which consumption differentiated the various urban classes. And in the last chapter of this section Dong presents her work on the twentieth-century invention of, or "cultural recycling" of, the Tianqiao area as a shopping and entertainment center for working-class residents of Beijing.

In "The Lettered City," the third section of the book, Dong discusses what intellectuals of the period thought and wrote about the city. In the three chapters of this section Dong examines the impact of sociological thinking on academics concerned with the social problems and social character of Beijing; describes the evolving interest of intellectuals in the history of Beijing, and Beijing's place in history; and considers how Beijing was reflected in the literature of the period. This book is a well-written, original, and fascinating contribution to our understanding of this important city. It will prove an indispensable work for those interested in Beijing, and China's twentieth-century urban history, for many years to come.

RICHARD BELSKY  
Hunter College,  
City University of New York

STEPHEN C. AVERILL. *Revolution in the Highlands: China's Jinggangshan Base Area*. Foreword by JOSEPH W. ESHERICK and ELIZABETH J. PERRY. (State and Society in East Asia Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2006. Pp. xxxi, 451. \$69.00.

It took Stephen C. Averill decades to complete this book before his untimely death. But this long-awaited monograph is immensely gratifying. It represents one of the best scholarly works localizing the Chinese Communist Revolution. The study focuses on the revolution in the Jinggangshan highlands, a central base area where Mao Zedong and his associates acquired their early revolutionary experiences. Full of rich details and nuances, the book draws on new information from in-

ternal party documents and personal accounts by participants in the revolution. Revising the hagiographic image of Mao depicted in the standard party literature, Averill presents us with a very different perspective: that the Communist revolution was a complex process of policy contests, conflict resolutions, and negotiated compromises. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Jinggangshan was highly accommodative and adaptive, constantly reorienting its revolutionary policies according to shifting political and military circumstances. It is a joy to follow Averill's sophisticated analysis of the CCP debates in various phases of the revolution.

Averill is particularly perceptive in his analysis of three major issues in the revolution. First is the close relation between social ecology and the regional revolution. Located in the rugged and inhospitable terrains, Jinggangshan consisted of a very polarized, militarized, and violence-prone society, which posed all sorts of challenges for Mao and the Red Army. Social cleavages such as lineage disputes, socioeconomic inequalities, ethnic tensions between Hakka-speaking guest people and early settlers, and factional rivalries among bandit groups and sworn-brother fraternities greatly complicated revolutionary mobilization in the region. Ethnicity, for instance, facilitated as well as constrained the revolutionary movement. There existed "some social and behavioral overlap between early settler and guest people communities" (p. 397). Communist land policies did not favor the guest people, Averill informs us.

Second is the crucial role played by local strongmen in the hill country revolution. Lacking military resources in the start-up phase of the revolution, Mao built up the CCP's military strength by mobilizing and co-opting bandit groups in the mountains. In the study, Averill gives us detailed information on the personalities of two local strongmen, their "lamb-hanging" predatory operations, and the party's long trajectory of assimilating and weeding out these two bandit leaders. In Jinggangshan, bandit forces played a more pivotal role in the revolution, and Mao had better luck integrating such groups into the Red Army than other revolutionary leaders did in other regions, for instance, Henan province. But, similar to other areas, the CCP in Jinggangshan was also forced to abandon these bandit leaders because of their predatory behaviors and local attachment. Tension between the party and bandit strongmen became more intense in times of adversity in the 1930s.

Third is the problem of intraparty conflict, especially between indigenous and extralocal revolutionaries. Averill traces the multilayered conflicts among the three forms of authority—local revolutionaries, regional leaders, and high-level party officials—in the highland revolution. Each had its revolutionary visions, vested interests, and revolutionary demands. Party cadres argued over vital political and military affairs such as the consolidation, integration, and coordination of the revolution, the function, construction, and expansion of the base area, combat strategies and tactics, and



the role of the Red Army as revolution-building instrument. The party's long-range strategic considerations invariably came into conflict with local needs and requirements. Instead of looking at these disputes as CCP factional politics, Averill interprets the intraparty disagreements as evidence of conflicting priorities and differing options of military strategies. Mao, as leader of the regional party, frequently found himself struggling against the competing demands of the high-party and low-level cadres. The party skillfully reoriented and redefined its strategies throughout the revolution.

Despite being locally contextualized, the book remains essentially a study of elite party politics and managing the revolution. In many places, Averill mentions efforts to proselytize the peasants and promote peasant associations. This study, however, does not go deeply into these major issues, not even in the chapter on socioeconomic reform, which still revolves around party policies and conflicts. Given the centrality of Jinggangshan in the history of the Chinese Revolution, one would expect a wealth of sources and in-depth information on mass mobilization and consciousness-raising activities in this particular base area. I wish Averill had had more time to explore these issues. But this rich and insightful study has already set a new standard for analyzing the Chinese Communist Revolution. It is a "must read" for anyone interested in local history, military history, ethnicity, revolutionary decision-making processes, and Chinese Communist studies.

ODORIC Y. K. WOU  
Rutgers University,  
Newark

LIU XIAOYUAN. *Reins of Liberation: An Entangled History of Mongolian Independence, Chinese Territoriality, and Great Power Hegemony, 1911–1950*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xxvii, 474. \$65.00.

Liu Xiaoyuan's dense but thought-provoking volume focuses on the Mongolia Question in Chinese politics in the first half of the twentieth century and its connection to China's search for a national and geopolitical identity. It is an essential tome for contemporary Chinese historians as well as those who follow Mongolia, not only because it throws new light on the period, but also because it offers a new paradigm to analyze the Chinese communist drive for national sovereignty. Liu exposes the imperial foundation of both Nationalist and Communist China's relationship with its Mongolian minority as China shook off colonialism and transformed into a modern national state. He analyzes the paradox of Chinese nationalism that sought its legitimacy in restoring the political and territorial domains of its imperial enemy, the Qing. Complicating the picture was the Mongolian secessionist movement after the fall of the dynasty, which challenged China's sense of territoriality and ethnicity.

Liu sees the "Outer Mongolian" de facto successful separation from the Chinese heartland as a multilay-

ered inspirational narrative not only for the Inner Mongolians, but also for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) cadres attracted to the internationalist, communist philosophy espoused by the Soviet Union. He references CCP documents in the 1940s that "defined the Mongolian nation as a member of the *zhonghua minzu* while treating the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) as its 'liberated' half" (p. 109). CCP leaders were confident that the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia was inevitable and that this unified Mongolian nation would join a Chinese communist federation (pp. 110–111). One of Liu's themes is that Sovietization, not Russification, of the MPR helped keep the Mongolia Question on China's nation-building agenda, because "Soviet leaders unwittingly left the door open for a revolutionary China to reclaim the MPR's allegiance" (p. 24).

For China the rise of Mongolian nationalism and pan-Mongolism became intimately linked to superpower politics in the Asian region through the Chinese and Soviet revolutions, the Japanese invasion of China in World War II, the Chinese Civil War, and the early years of the Cold War. Liu believes the interest of outside powers in the Mongolia Question forced an uneasy settlement on China that endures today but only papers over fundamental contradictions in the CCP's conception of Chinese identity.

Liu brings to light many CCP and Inner Mongolian (in Chinese) documents, as well as valuable Russian-language Soviet sources to weave his complicated story. He utilizes new Mongolian materials available now in English such as B. Baabar's *Twentieth Century Mongolia* (1999) and the detailed research by Christopher Atwood and Uradyn Bulag on contemporary Inner Mongolian history and culture. If there is a weakness in this book, it is the failure to establish a voice to reflect the MPR's role in the Inner Mongolia independence movement. Rather, Mongolia is treated as an extension or conduit for Soviet policy—a throwback to typical Western Cold War-era analysis. On the delicate issues of their Chinese Mongol cousins and pan-Mongolism, Outer Mongolia's actions and goals are more complex, differ from decade to decade during the Soviet-controlled era, and need to be further researched. For example, secret documents are just emerging from the Mongolian archives that reveal the MPR sent the "Living Buddha" Dilowa Hutught to communicate with Inner Mongolian communists and later to spy on Chiang Kai-shek's wartime government in Chongqing.

In addition, the author's decision not to include material on the history of Outer Mongolia's break from the Republic of China leads him to conclude that this process was easy because the tie was "flimsy" (p. 18). In fact, this separation was spread out over a long and painful decade and can provide a window into understanding the MPR's vacillating and unenthusiastic policies toward Inner Mongolian independence movements and various Chinese governments later in the century.

The book is divided into three parts. It first examines

China's Mongolian policies from the Qing to the end of World War II. Part two hones in on the crucial 1945–1949 period of Inner Mongolian struggle for autonomy, and part three presents the “two-Mongolias” strategem of Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin to create a new balance of power in East Asia. Liu brings together valuable analysis on the American view of China's Mongolian minority policies and the Inner Mongolian independence movement. He concludes that intelligence information was being gathered, but it did not get back to Washington in a timely manner. Moreover, U.S. officials in China did not receive any instructions on the Mongolia Question to guide American China policy.

Minor problems in this book include the misspelling of the name of the Western Mongol Oirat tribe and an incomprehensible cover photo showing a mounted Kazak Turk, not a Khalkha Mongol ethnic, hunting with a hawk. The volume has a useful section on acronyms and abbreviations, a good index, and an impressive bibliography.

ALICIA CAMPI  
U.S.-Mongolia Advisory Group,  
Burke, Virginia

JANET R. GOODWIN. *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 208. \$48.00.

While we have a fairly solid understanding of prostitution in modern times, Janet R. Goodwin's new book outlines a more fluid and opaque picture of women entertainers in the Kamakura (1192–1333) and Muromachi (1338–1574) periods. Professional entertainers such as *asobi*, *kugutsu*, and *shirabyōshi* entertained their patrons with songs that ranged in tone from pious to bawdy and played an important role in bringing the culture of the street to the aristocracy and, later, to the military elite. The first chapter, on “Delightful Sirens and Delighted Patrons,” combines an examination of the varied sources—including essays, diaries, poems, and tales—for both male experiences with sexual professionals and details about the women's lives. Here Goodwin introduces one of the central points of the book: namely, that it was not moral concerns but the women's proximity to centers of power, their ability to form liaisons with elite men, and their growing visibility as they expanded their areas of operation that contributed to the doubts and fears expressed in male discourse on female entertainers and the sex trade throughout the period.

“Defining Transgression” (chapter two) turns out to be a slippery business. Neither tales nor laws provided a clear figure of the transgressive woman. Rather, context and ill-defined excess determined whether a particular act was censored. Once authorities subjected marriage and sexual relationships to legislation, however, women rather than men ended up being punished for sexual acts, including the unwitting arousal of male desire. While sexual entertainers seemed less problematic than unfaithful wives, conflicts in the way sexual

relationships were presented in even a single collection of tales suggest that it remained difficult to settle on one orthodox mode of sexual behavior.

Chapter three, “Sacred Sex or Sexual Pollution? *Asobi*, Shamans, and Bodhisattvas,” considers issues of purity and defilement in relation to the sex trade. Sexual entertainers have been far more often associated with the sacred (temples, shrines, and holy images) than with the polluted (death, blood, and childbirth). Suggesting that they were based on inconclusive evidence and colored by modern evaluations of the sexual nature of female shamans, Goodwin challenges three conventional assumptions: first, that once shamans lost their positions at shrines and became wanderers, they routinely turned to prostitution; second, that sexual entertainers originated as shamans; and, third, that sexual entertainers were actually shamans either because they practiced shamanic arts or because their trade in sexual services replicated the performance of female shamans as “wives” of the gods they served. Goodwin persuasively argues that there is more historical evidence of sexual entertainers being linked to pollution and groups thought to be defiled than with sacrality and shamans.

In the fourth chapter, “Constructing the Prostitute,” Goodwin highlights the attempts at setting boundaries between social classes and between professionals and amateurs, and the official acknowledgment of the link between older sexual entertainer professionals and both amateur recruits and criminals. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the public image of sexual entertainment trade shifted from a service for largely aristocratic travelers to one designed for a bigger, more heterogeneous audience. Once relatively neutrally named by their professional designation, the increasingly common term *keisei* is clearly pejorative and literally means “castle-toppler,” denoting the seduction of a man in order to bring about his military defeat. By the late Kamakura period prostitutes had become a threat to society because they were capable of diverting men's attention from serious business such as warfare, land or temple management, and the pursuit of Buddhist enlightenment. The marginalizing voices about women in the sex trade were growing stronger and began to parallel the efforts of authorities to regulate sexual behavior.

Goodwin's deep knowledge of the problematic character of her story's sources—most documents were written not by the women themselves but by elite men who were entertained by the women in question—makes her caution the reader against jumping to conclusions. The construction of identities as “prostitutes” was rooted in long-term social and economic developments. The sex trade itself was changing: expanding geographically, appealing to broader social classes, and in some cases neglecting song and dance in favor of purely sexual functions. The most we can say, Goodwin cautions, is that the sources reveal developments that were conspicuous and consistent enough to arouse the attention of literate observers and to impel authorities to act. In her attempt to let caution lead her analysis,

Goodwin's account remains somewhat timid, occasionally burying her own take on some of the most critical questions of her book. This is a minor criticism, however, of an otherwise highly welcome contribution to the study of women and entertainment in premodern Japanese history. It will be easily accessible to undergraduate students and a productive read for graduate students and scholars as well.

SABINE FRÜHSTÜCK  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

RICHARD RUBINGER. *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 238. \$54.00.

Peruse the English-language books on Japanese history published over the past forty years and one is likely to find literacy mentioned in their discussion of Japan's transition from "feudal" to "modern." Typically, such books treat literacy both as a stimulus to modernization and as a quantifiable measure of modernity.

Richard Rubinger mounts a compelling challenge to this calculation in the book under review. Inspired by recent studies in the history of literacy in Europe and North America, he rejects the idea of a single, quantifiable definition of literacy. Instead, he posits qualitative gradations of literacy that change over time and that must be assessed in relation to specific historical contexts. His goal is to produce a more variegated longitudinal study of the development of literacy among the Japanese peasantry between the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. The result is a qualified success: the same factors responsible for the book's originality—namely, Rubinger's openness to a different conception of literacy and to new kinds of primary sources—also raise methodological problems that resist some of his conclusions.

Rubinger, like Brian Platt before him, deserves credit for moving beyond the old formula that simplistically equated Japanese rates of school attendance with rates of literacy, and that was content with estimates for the aggregate population. He makes a convincing case for pursuing a more nuanced, qualitative examination of different types and degrees of literacy among a socio-economically and geographically diverse peasantry, observing that "literacy is not a simple phenomenon, and the application of a single rigid standard [beyond some ability to read and write] can only mislead. What becomes meaningful or functional literacy takes different forms at different times for different sectors of the population. The meaning of literacy, therefore, can only be studied in a specific context" (pp. 2–3).

However, in some cases rejection of "a single, rigid standard" of literacy can also mislead. This is apparent in chapter two, which attempts to measure literacy between 1630 and 1650 by analyzing signatures, ciphers, and seals that appeared on such documents as apostasy oaths and town regulations. In establishing the basis for his argument Rubinger provides a useful discussion of

the origins and purposes of these official documents, together with a fascinating survey (illustrated with photographic reprints) of the various markings used by merchants, village leaders, and household heads to certify these documents. On the one hand, Rubinger cautions that crude markings such as "finger measures" or fingernail impressions, "stem stamps" (made with the blunt end of a writing brush stem), and abbreviated ciphers (consisting of a circle with a dot inside) are unreliable indicators of even basic literacy. On the other hand, following the lead of historians who use signatures to measure literacy in Europe and North America, he concludes that in provincial towns like Nagasaki and urban centers like Kyoto "a high percentage of household heads were not just literate but functioning at a high administrative level as measured by the use of ciphers on a variety of documents" (p. 77).

What Rubinger does not mention is that opinion among historians of literacy in the West is sharply divided on the reliability of signature analysis. Heidi Brayman Hackel cautions that this method blurs the distinction between writing and reading. The significance of handwritten ciphers as a measure of literacy in Japan is further called into question by Rubinger's observation that by around 1650 this method of certification had been replaced by impressing seals on documents.

Rubinger's selection and use of sources also pose a problem in chapter five, which aims to "go beyond school attendance records and analyze data on actual [literacy] skills of lower-level farmers, middle- to lower-class urbanites, and rural women" (p. 137) in the nineteenth century. Instead, the first section relies solely upon anecdotal observations recorded by Western visitors to Japan, including one castaway who averred that "All [Japanese] are educated to read and write" from his remote vantage point as a prisoner on the coast of Hokkaido (p. 139). Even Rubinger seems conflicted about the value of these men's observations, acknowledging "there is no doubt that their view of the spread of literacy in Japan was overly generalized" (p. 139).

Rubinger's more nuanced conception of literacy and his ambitious search for new sources to chart it do not result in a portrait of the Japanese peasantry as solidly literate. During the first half of the nineteenth century, he writes, "Qualitative differences in the attainment of literacy remained," such that "the overwhelming number of ordinary farmers showed only the most rudimentary skills or none at all" (pp. 160–161). The epilogue, which focuses on a survey of male conscripts begun by the Japanese army in 1899, also shows that pockets of illiteracy remained decades after the introduction of compulsory education in 1872.

MARK LINCICOME  
College of the Holy Cross

MITANI HIROSHI. *Escape from Impasse: The Decision to Open Japan*. Translated by DAVID NOBLE. Tokyo: LTCB International Library. 2006. Pp. xxxiv, 332.

The saga of U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew Perry and his mission to Japan in 1853–1854 has taken on renewed vitality in studies of early imperialism. What was once seen as another adventure in gunboat diplomacy has lit fires of research on both sides of the Pacific. Now comes a new entry in the Perry sweepstakes: an English translation of Mitani Hiroshi's study of Perry's arrival in Japan (*Perii raikō* [2003]). Like Michael R. Auslin in his book on the making of Japan's initial treaties (*Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy* [2005]), Mitani plays on the theme of joint responsibility: the Japanese had as much to do with fashioning these international agreements as the Americans. It was imperialism, but not a one-way street with the newcomers forcing an out-gunned Asian country to open its doors and be humiliated. Despite losing face over the treaties, the Japanese could look on as the foreigners struggled to deal with enigmatic new places and people far from home.

Mitani's book identifies the 1858 trade treaty with the United States as the key piece in Japan's great mid-century policy shift. On this view, the coming of international commerce marked the true Japanese entry into the modern world, crucial because it meant Japan was "abandoning national seclusion" after decades of defensive distance vis-à-vis the outside world. It also "touched off the most significant political conflict in early modern Japanese history" (p. 287). Few doubt the centrality of the seclusion policy (known as *sakoku*) in early modern Japanese thought, and Mitani suggests that only the Tokugawa bakufu had the resources to transcend the existing security system.

After Perry left, a major debate consumed Japanese politics, and the bakufu reluctantly relented and negotiated the 1858 treaty with Perry's successor, U.S. Consul Townsend Harris. If we accept Mitani's thesis, we have to downplay Perry's arrival in 1853–1854 as well as the assassination of bakufu strongman Ii Naosuke in 1860. Afterward Edo simply ran out of ways to contain the escalating reform movement, and the Meiji Restoration followed in 1868.

Believing his conclusions to be relevant today, Mitani views the opening of Japan in the 1850s as typical of national confrontations in the modern era. One of his conclusions is that language issues divide the participants in complex negotiating processes, and translation ambiguities did indeed color the history of the early Japanese treaties. But it was the instruments themselves and not the specific words within them that conditioned Japan's new approach to the outside world.

A second and more important conclusion arises from Mitani's use of "impasse" to indicate a problem in foreign policy. While a *crisis* may be understood to demand an urgent response, an *impasse* indicates weakness and lack of room to maneuver. Mitani begs to differ: to him an *impasse* (*fukurokōji* or "blind alley") offers an undesirable but plausible opportunity to resolve problems in a realistic way. His chief example is the bakufu's response to the pressure to open Japan in the 1850s. At first the bakufu wanted none of it, moving instead to

shore up the *sakoku* system. After Perry, however, the seclusion policy left Japan at an impasse, so Edo revised its attitude and hammered out agreements on diplomatic relations and trade. As Mitani sees it, this was the major achievement of the late Tokugawa state. By contrast, Japan faced a new impasse in the 1930s following the successful invasion of Manchuria, but this time the Japanese state and military blundered too far into China, and Japan's empire was ultimately lost. Mitani finds a lesson here for all modern nations, especially the United States in Vietnam and Iraq.

We might recast the author's view of impasse to say that weakness breeds strength if rightly handled—something like applying judo principles to statecraft. To make his point Mitani cites the contrast between Japan and Korea in the nineteenth century: Japan appeared to lose by accepting foreign treaties, whereas Korea avoided such ties and managed to keep its independence. The Japanese drew back, announced the Meiji Restoration, and enacted radical reforms to strengthen the nation, but Korea fell into colonial miasma and suffered conquest and outside takeover. The impasse Japan faced in the 1850s thus led indirectly to an imperial future; Korea's collapse after 1895 gave way to colonialism and national disgrace. The evidence that the Japanese took part in launching their own relations with the imperialists is persuasive in light of the limited American grasp of the situation in Japan. Mitani produces an inventive thesis that deserves to be explored by students of modern Japanese and world history.

A technical issue mars the English-language version of this book: there is no index. The Japanese original has a good one. Since the publisher has seen fit to produce a well-appointed volume, why this omission? There are eighteen pages of informative endnotes as well as a brief bibliography.

GEORGE M. WILSON  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

BALÁZS SZALONTAI. *Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era: Soviet-DPRK Relations and the Roots of North Korean Despotism, 1953–1964*. (Cold War International History Project Series.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 343. \$60.00.

Studying North Korea's history is a frustrating task since no other modern state has been as secretive. Thus Balázs Szalontai's readable history of North Korea focusing on the period from the death of Joseph Stalin to the fall of Nikita Khrushchev is welcome since it is based on previously unexamined sources from the Hungarian National Archives. Szalontai found that officials from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Education who had contact with North Korea during this time paid considerable attention to that country's internal affairs, and he bases much of his book on their reports.

The author does not appear to have uncovered any major new information or revelations about North Ko-



rea. His sources largely confirm what is already known, but they do add interesting details. He uses them to support his argument that P'yongyang after the Korean War, even before 1956, acted quite independently despite its heavy reliance on Soviet aid. Szalontai carefully describes the extent and limits of Soviet influence throughout this period. For example, the Kim Il Sung regime persisted in giving priority to heavy industry, generally resisting Moscow's pressure to invest more in agriculture or in developing its mining sector. The Soviet Union did exercise some leverage, such as in 1959, when it managed to force the North Korean press to publish articles about Khrushchev's visit to the United States. But Kim Il Sung successfully avoided de-Stalinization efforts, limited Soviet films and cultural imports, and displayed an independent streak in his foreign policy. After 1960, Soviet influence declined further, and by 1964 Soviet leaders largely refrained from making comments about North Korean internal affairs.

Szalontai also uses his sources to show the flexibility of Kim Il Sung, at least in the first fifteen years of the regime. For example, he launched his own version of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, but unlike Mao Zedong was quick to modify its excesses. Reports by Hungarian diplomats reveal that as early as the spring of 1959 he saw the need to create a "buffer year" to adjust his development plans to economic reality (p. 138). We also see flexibility in his stance toward South Korea during the fluid situation there between the fall of the Syngman Rhee regime in April 1960 and the May 1961 military coup. Hungarian diplomats in Korea also provide some interesting observations on everyday life in the Democratic People's Republic (DPRK), including the harsh living conditions of the North Korean people (pp. 107–109).

In general, the history of North Korea that Szalontai presents complements and supports what has been published by Dae-sook Suh, Charles Armstrong, and Andrei Lankov. The principal strength of the book is not any new facts but the analytical insights the author derives by placing the DPRK in a comparative perspective. Throughout the text he analyzes the Kim Il Sung regime by comparing it with the East European communist states, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Mongolia, South Korea, and occasionally other non-communist postcolonial states as well as the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Placed in these varied perspectives the trajectory of developments in North Korea appears more comprehensible, more rational, and less eccentric.

Szalontai's prime objective is to understand why North Korea developed into such an extreme form of despotism, why it became a regime that exceeded all others in its cult of personality and its attempts to control all economic, social, intellectual, and cultural life. He contends that this despotism is derived only in part from Stalinist and Maoist models. It was also found in Korea's colonial experience; in the Korean War, which resulted in Kim Il Sung's distrust of his communist allies and of his own population; and in Kim's efforts to

control his own factionalized party. During the period of de-Stalinization in the Soviet empire, Kim was able to achieve a greater degree of political independence, a process Szalontai elucidates well, and North Korea was therefore, like Albania, able to avoid the forced liberalization that occurred in most East European communist states and in Mongolia.

The author makes a convincing case that the nature of the North Korean regime was based less on foreign models than on an intense, xenophobic Korean nationalism. This places him closer to Armstrong and Lankov in his interpretation. Szalontai disagrees with Adrian Buzo's argument that North Korea can be understood as a faithful copy of the Stalinist model. He points to policies of "re-education" and the use after 1961 of small work teams under direct party control to manage factories as evidence that the DPRK often more closely resembled Maoist China. However, the author maintains that these similarities were less the product of conscious modeling than of the fact that Kim and his fellow guerrillas had "internalized" many Chinese Communist ways of thinking during their close collaboration in the 1930s (p. 217). In fact, in some ways such as in its ethnic/racial-based nationalism and effort to seek a degree of economic autonomy despite reliance on foreign aid, North Korea resembled its southern rival as much as it did either of its major communist allies. Szalontai argues that the North Korean regime has been more rational and flexible than it is often portrayed. It has also been fiercely independent and skillful at resisting external pressures. Judging by its history, he concludes, any change will likely result from internal developments rather than from outside economic or military pressure.

The sources Szalontai examines add somewhat to our knowledge of a regime whose archives are still closed and whose actions still bewilder outsiders. But it is the rich array of comparative insights and their clear presentation that should make this book required reading for anyone interested in understanding North Korea.

MICHAEL J. SETH  
James Madison University

TAMARA LOOS. *Subject Siam: Family, Law, and Colonial Modernity in Thailand*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 212. \$39.95.

In this book Tamara Loos focuses on legal reform, specifically in the area of family law, to support a multifaceted analysis of Siam's situation during the age of imperialism. Using policies pursued in the predominantly Muslim southern provinces as evidence, she demonstrates that while Siam became a quasi-colony of the West, Siam's leaders emulated the techniques of the European imperialists in consolidating Bangkok's control over peripheral areas. Supporting earlier revisionist works by Benedict Anderson and Thongchai Winichakul, she argues that Siam cannot be classified exclusively as colonized or colonizer, because it played both roles simultaneously. Loos further contends that Siam succeeded in finding its own path to modernity,



and she challenges the traditional emphasis on the pre-eminent role of the nation's monarchs by emphasizing the important contributions of other domestic actors and foreign advisers to legal reform.

Loos effectively explains the Siamese emulation of British colonial practices in their effort to tighten control over the southern provinces. She mentions episodes of gunboat diplomacy and the fact that Siamese officials dealt with Muslims much as did the British representatives (residents) in Malaya, but she spotlights the decision to establish separate Islamic family courts based on traditional practice in making her case. She also demonstrates how the Siamese government privileged Buddhism, an aspect of Siam's distinctive approach to modernity that contributed to Muslim resentment of Bangkok's dominance.

Parallel to this, Loos describes a long-running internal argument over whether or not Siam should emulate the West by enshrining in law monogamous marital practices despite the longstanding local acceptance of polygyny (the practice of having multiple wives). Harsh criticisms of Siamese polygynous practices by several nineteenth-century foreign visitors and residents, particularly missionaries, had convinced advocates that such an action was necessary to demonstrate that Siam was a "civilized" country. Loos cites several foreign critiques, but she never establishes that foreign governments were much concerned about Siamese marital habits. Had they been, it is hard to explain why, for example, European monarchs warmly received King Chulalongkorn, well known for his "harem" of more than 150 women, on his visits to Europe. Loos also strongly implies that had Siam not finally adopted a law upholding monogamous marriage in 1935 the foreign powers would not have given up extraterritorial rights. Certainly the prolonged domestic debate on the issue held up the legal reform process, but Loos provides no evidence to show that it would have made an appreciable difference had the law adopted in 1935 permitted polygyny. Perhaps it would have, but the case is not made.

In her effort to distance her work from traditional histories Loos occasionally pushes too far. For example, she declares that in implementing policies in the predominantly Muslim provinces "Siam's leaders were less concerned with Siam's survival . . . than with demonstrating their status as equals to the British" (p. 76), but surely the perceived imperative to demonstrate equality could be seen as an aspect of the struggle to survive. In regard to such issues, Siam's situation might have been compared more fully with Japan's. It is suggestive that among Siam's foreign advisers only the Japanese Masao Tokichi argued for laws enforcing monogamy.

The middle chapters of the book, which put legal reform in Siam in historical context, describe the role of foreign advisers, and explicate the particular legal practices implemented in the Muslim south, are informative and original, based on extensive archival research. In particular, anyone teaching Southeast Asian history will benefit from reading Loos's clear explanation of the rationale behind the polygynous practices of the Siamese

monarchs, while her monograph generally provides much insightful information concerning family law and gender-related issues.

Unfortunately the book is organized in dissertation style, so undergraduate students who might be attracted by the subject matter are likely to be frustrated by an opening chapter that assumes rather extensive prior knowledge of Siamese history and historiography. Had Loos begun with an explanation of traditional legal and marital practices, proceeded in chronological fashion to show the impact of imperialism on both, and placed the historiographical and theoretical analyses in the conclusion it would have greatly improved the accessibility of a book that contributes significantly to our understanding of Siamese society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

E. BRUCE REYNOLDS  
San Jose State University

#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

DONALD FYSON. *Magistrates, Police, and People: Everyday Criminal Justice in Quebec and Lower Canada, 1764–1837*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History. 2006. Pp. xvi, 467. \$65.00.

At first sight, a book thus titled might not seem to be a powerful vehicle for challenging generations of entrenched Quebec historiography. Donald Fyson has succeeded, however, both in writing an excellent account of the workings of criminal justice in post-Conquest Quebec and in presenting a credible alternative interpretation of the nature and impact of the English criminal justice system brought to Quebec by the British. He does this by focusing on what he calls "everyday" criminal justice, by which he means "routine" or "ordinary" contact between the people and the justice system carried out at its lowest levels by local justices of the peace and their police.

Even though Britain imposed the English system of criminal law upon the conquered colony of Quebec, Fyson argues that the differences from what had preceded it under French colonial rule were not nearly as great as many earlier historians have contended. Instead of a violent rupture and a subsequent period of stasis in the criminal justice system, until the rebellions of 1837 led to changes that were part of the formation of the modern state in Quebec, Fyson posits much greater continuity between the two systems of colonial law and "no substantial change to the normativity" (p. 18) that either French or English colonial law enforced. He states that the period from the 1760s to the 1830s saw significant change in the criminal law enforced at the local level along with many new measures enacted by local legislative bodies. The result was a "semi-autonomous body of colonial criminal law" (p. 20). He also argues that the emergence of modern institutions of criminal justice, elements themselves of modern state formation, goes back well before the 1837 rebellions

and their aftermath. For Fyson the *ancien régime* system of criminal justice that characterized Quebec society in the post-conquest period was therefore less static and more pervasive than earlier historians have generally concluded.

One of the characteristics Fyson has found in the everyday criminal justice system of Quebec, as other historians have discovered in neighboring British North American colonies, is that it was in the petty cases or "low law" that the colony's inhabitants had their greatest interaction with the criminal justice system. Far from the alienation and underrepresentation of French Canadians in the courts and magistracy that earlier historians have declared as fact, Fyson finds that in some districts French Canadian justices of the peace served for long periods and in rural areas French Canadians constituted a high proportion of those indicted in Quarter Sessions courts. The real difference lay between rural and urban courts. He does find an under representation of francophones in the courts of Montreal and Quebec City at different periods. French Canadians however showed little reluctance to use the courts against each other and Fyson does not see the lower courts of Quebec as "a locus of ethnic conflict" (p. 209).

Fyson has included chapters on experiencing the course of everyday justice, justice and social power and justice and state power in which he explores the uncertainty of outcomes and the discretionary nature of criminal justice in the *ancien régime*. It was a system in which structural inequalities of race, gender, and class were certainly present and in which men predominated, although Fyson has found that many French Canadian women came to the courts as plaintiffs. In his chapter on justice and state power, he chronicles new trends in nineteenth-century criminal justice, the growth of public prosecution especially in liquor licensing offences, the increase in summary justice and the greater concentration of officials on the marginal urban populations. Fyson concludes that even though the criminal justice system became increasingly an instrument of state power and domination, even into the 1830s it "remained stuck in an ancien regime mould" (p. 352).

Historians and criminologists who have embraced traditional theoretical models to explain how criminal justice systems have worked in practice will not find much comfort in Fyson's conclusion that in Quebec the meaning of criminal law in everyday justice was "ambiguous, unclear and almost impossible to fit neatly" (p. 360) into theoretical characterizations.

This well-written, thoroughly researched, and innovative book will be a valuable resource to anyone interested in legal history or in exploring the relationship between the Quebec legal system and some of the complex questions of Quebec historiography. It will also be invaluable for comparing the criminal justice system in Quebec with those operating in other parts of North America, and in examining how British legal systems functioned in different colonial environments.

DAVID R. MURRAY  
University of Guelph

JENNIFER M. HUBBARD. *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Biology, 1898–1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2006. Pp. x, 351. \$65.00.

Jennifer Hubbard's 1993 dissertation on fisheries biology, as Canadians applied a developing cluster of nascent sciences to the country's great marine resources, acquired new urgency with the shocking collapse of Grand Banks groundfish stocks, most notably cod, soon thereafter. How could such a monumental social/economic/environmental tragedy occur so suddenly? The answer, of course, is that the disaster was hardly unforeseen.

Hubbard's timely analysis joins other recent studies of Canadian "staple products," in the language of Harold Innis, and will be welcomed by historians of science, environmental historians, and anyone else interested in the complex tensions that result when a problem places science, business, government, and environment at potential cross-purposes. (These studies include Matthew Evenden, *Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River* [2004]; Stéphane Castonguay, *Protection des cultures, construction de la nature: Agriculture, foresterie et entomologie au Canada 1884–1959* [2004]; Richard Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation* [1998]; and Janet Foster's pioneering *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada* [1978].) In all of these examples, the problem of husbanding a continental treasure trove of natural resources is compounded by a constitutional arrangement that too often pits political jurisdictions against one another when the time comes for action: nowhere is this political reality more apparent than in the contrast between the successful preservation of Fraser River salmon stocks in the single Pacific-coast province of British Columbia (p. 223); and the dismal fate of the codfish off the coasts of four Atlantic provinces with competing field stations (p. 126).

Hubbard surveys the tortuous process by which the Biological Board of Canada (BB) was established in 1912 to supersede a board of management that had overseen a floating biological station off the Atlantic coast since 1898, and permanent stations at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, and Nanaimo, British Columbia, since 1908. In 1937 the BB became the Fisheries Research Board, its activities perennially challenged and eventually usurped by federal departments until its formal demise during the 1960s. Unlike its European and American counterparts at Naples and Woods Hole, the BB's troubles were exacerbated by conflicts between the priorities of academic biologists (who staffed its stations voluntarily) and those of the federal government, which funded the overall enterprise (p. 36). Hubbard's discussion is unnecessarily bent on discerning objective differences between amateur/professional and pure/applied scientific practices rather than historicizing such questions within the larger power struggles of the time. Her stated terminal dates do this excellent

study a further disservice, as Hubbard traces the call for coastal biological stations back to J. P. McMurich, a future BB chair (1926–1934), in 1884, and extends her discussion of the various transformations of fisheries research well into the 1990s.

While government neglect, ignorance, and political short-sightedness are familiar themes throughout the book, Hubbard also turns an informed eye on the BB's own weaknesses. The latter included domineering personalities among its leading lights, such as the biochemist A. B. Macallum (1858–1934) and the marine biologist A. G. Huntsman (1883–1973); a penchant for employing only insiders (pp. 205–206); and ambivalence toward cutting-edge approaches in fisheries biology, including population ecology and statistical applications (pp. 163, 182, 237). This study is rife with implicit links both to the ethos of logical positivism, which caused the National Research Council (through Macallum) to value experimental over field research, and to similar methodological difficulties in forest biology at the time. It is, however, misleading to identify T. Wesley Mills and W. T. Thistleton-Dyer, members of the BB's founding committee in 1897, as "British academic naturalists" (p. 27): Mills (1847–1915), a Canadian physiologist, taught at McGill University; and Thistleton-Dyer (1843–1928), a botanist, was best known as director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. In addition, the German chemist Fritz Haber (1868–1934), who trained Thomas Cameron, "the first non-biologist" BB director, should be acknowledged not only as a "future Nobel Prize winner" (p. 207) for synthesizing ammonia but also as the father of modern chemical warfare.

Behind the codfish collapse, Hubbard notes a blind dismissal of experienced fishermen's "local knowledge" by Canadian governments and some scientists (p. 234) and an ostrich-like logic that overfishing had never before been encountered (p. 188). Yet, more surprisingly, an entire chapter pleads for the decisive impact of T. H. Huxley's denial of overfishing despite growing evidence to the contrary, citing both Huxley's scientific "stature" and British imperial fervor in Canada (pp. 159–163, 171). Here Hubbard overlooks the longstanding claims of superabundance that pervade Canadian history in one of its most powerful founding myths. The overall lesson of this engaging, well-researched, and ultimately harrowing tale is twofold: science as a human activity has its blind spots, but as a government activity its concomitant political muzzle is untenable.

SUZANNE ZELLER

Wilfrid Laurier University

ANN M. LITTLE. *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 262. \$45.00.

Ann M. Little has contributed an interesting and useful new volume to the growing scholarship on gender and warfare in early America. Her book also integrates re-

cent insights from Native American historiography (heavily influenced by ethnography), and she takes a strong cue from scholars such as Daniel K. Richter (*Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* [2001]) who argue that early history must integrate an assessment of events from the perspective of indigenous people. Little also draws from recent developments in western and borderlands history to analyze seventeenth and eighteenth-century warfare in what she calls the "northeastern borderlands," an area of contact among English colonists, French colonists, and various Indian peoples.

Little notes that important strands in each of the areas of historiography from which she draws have emphasized how colonists and Indians created visions of one another that emphasized difference and shaped their social relations accordingly. While recognizing the importance of this view, she wishes instead to emphasize how the "essential sameness" actually drove many of the conflicts among New Englanders, French, and Algonquin and Iroquois Indian actors. Little argues that ideas about gender were at the heart of this contention over similarity, since "perhaps the most important common touchstone of these cultures was the value they placed on masculinity and on men's performance in war and politics" (p. 7). Little explores how contests over masculinity, driven by some similar cultural understandings, influenced warfare during nearly a century of colonial military clashes.

Over the course of five chapters, Little develops her theme in various ways. The first chapter examines how seventeenth-century warfare in the northeastern borderlands was shaped by English and Indian expectations of male superiority and mastery. The second chapter pushes the narrative into the eighteenth century, as Little focuses particularly on how disputes over masculine authority in Indian uses of English clothing and Indian humiliation rituals exacerbated ethnic conflicts up until the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. Chapters three and four examine the experiences of captives in the late seventeenth through mid-eighteenth centuries. Chapter three discusses the effects of taking captives on Indian families and how New Englanders tried to shape the perception of these families in their captivity narratives. Chapter four analyzes the experiences and agency of female captives who were sold to the French and, instead of returning to New England, became integrated into the French Catholic colonial society. The book concludes with a chapter on how gender shaped the outlook of the combatants in the Seven Years' War and a short epilogue on masculine identity in the northeastern borderlands.

Little persuades the reader that gendered ideas about power and family life provided one of the most important justifications and means of expressing cultural hostility in the period, especially between the English colonists and the Indian peoples she examines. She is careful to explain that she does not wish to argue that gender conflicts caused colonial warfare, but rather that "gender and family differences . . . were central to the

language and ideology of conquest" that drove military conflict (p. 5). Perhaps because Little is so persuasive on this point—she shows many different ways that gendered language and expectations fueled cultural and military misunderstanding—her point about the importance of emphasizing cultural similarity instead of difference does not emerge as persuasively. She gives good evidence to prove that, especially New England and Indian men, expected to exercise family authority, but her own evidence also proves how deep-seated differences over how men would or could assert that authority helped to drive violent clashes such as King Philip's War.

Little uses evidence creatively throughout the volume, and she does an excellent job both of reading European sources against the grain to gain insight into Indian expectations and of exploiting material and ethnographic sources to enhance the inside view of Indian societies. Her use of evidence strengthens her argument about the significance of gender, especially where she successfully juxtaposes ideological analysis of sermons or captivity narratives with material evidence about gun ownership or changes in military tactics. Her analysis would have been strengthened even further, especially in the chapter on gendered conflicts over clothing, by the inclusion of greater detail about trade networks and economic changes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Little's focus on what she calls the northeastern borderlands allows for an admirably transnational focus in her work that enhances the significance (and usefulness as a resource for teaching) of her volume. Overall, the French remain the least fully developed players in her story of gendered conflict across eighty years of warfare, but she admirably balances British, Iroquois, and Algonquin perspectives.

Little applies creative gender analysis to achieve a good cross-cultural picture of how gender structured and disrupted power relations in colonial borderlands.

SARAH J. PURCELL  
Grinnell College

ED WHITE. *The Backcountry and the City: Colonization and Conflict in Early America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 236. \$22.95.

In recent years, historians of the American revolutionary era have largely lost interest in the concept of republican ideology that once captivated them. Its preoccupation with elite ideas and its essential indifference to social conflict became an embarrassment and, ultimately, a bore. But in the very years that historians grew disenchanted with ideological interpretation, scholars of early American literature embraced it. The limitations that made it stultifying and sterile for historians made it seductive for students of letters. The understanding of the American Revolution as, at bottom, a linguistic or discursive enterprise offered men and women whose training was in literature an invaluable

assurance. They could safely set social issues aside. They could turn their talents to the revolution as text.

Ed White spurns the opening his colleagues have found irresistible. Rejecting the wedding of literary and historical interpretation that he calls the republican megasynthesis, he sets forth a synthesis all his own. It is a synthesis as bracing as it is brilliant, as ornery as it is original. It should change the way we think of early America.

White's book takes its title from Raymond Williams's classic, *The Country and the City* (1973). But White inverts the paradox that informed Williams's work. Williams wondered why English writers clung so tenaciously to rural ideas and ideals so long after their country became urban and industrial. White asks why early American writing was so profoundly urban in a culture so overwhelmingly agrarian.

Despite their divergent problematics, White follows Williams in obliterating the boundaries between literature and history. He moves fluently between fresh archival findings in unfamiliar materials and evocative analyses of canonical works. He reads Native American treaties and backwoods petitions as penetratingly as he rereads Hector St. John de Crevecoeur and Benjamin Franklin. His interpretation of James Smith's captivity narrative is at once a triumphantly thick description of relations between Indians and whites and a breathtakingly rich rethinking of the captivity genre itself.

If anything, White surpasses Williams in the breadth of the disparate elements he brings together. Though he works solely within one place, Pennsylvania, his scrupulously contained investigation is richly implicative and imaginatively expansive. Its reverberations reach to all of early America.

White's backcountry is as much the sphere of the Indians as of the frontiersmen. It is as much the milieu of the new nation as of the colonies. It is as much a theoretical problem as an empirical place. It is a realm at once political and ethnohistorical, institutional and intellectual, social and psychological. It is a realm with values and lifeways about which the eastern elite was essentially clueless.

White raises unsettling questions about the relevance of the urban public sphere in an America ninety-five percent rural. He raises equally unsettling questions about the relevance of the modern scholarship that presumes to understand America by attending obsessively to that urban public sphere and ignoring insistently the vast majority of Americans. But his questions do not simply disturb our conventional wisdom. They carry us toward a new appreciation of our past and of ourselves.

What if people in the backcountry had ideas of their own, not just debased and misspelled versions of urban ideas? What if their ideation arose existentially out of their experience, not just fecklessly out of their inability to fathom cosmopolitan concepts? And what if their mobs and massacres, riots and risings, were profound expressions of that experience and those ideas, not just thoughtless spasms of a rude rusticity?

White's work centers on questions such as these, and



on the revelatory answers to which they carry him. His arguments are too intricate—and sometimes too tenuous—to detail in a brief review. But his thinking is unfailingly fresh and challenging.

His most tantalizing ideas flow from his reconception of frontier isolation. Following Jean-Paul Sartre's *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960), White characterizes the back parts of Pennsylvania primarily by their "seriality." Such seriality was the condition of stark separateness of the backcountry. Living alone as they did, each head of household atomized and equalized, without organization or leadership, the pioneers were basically beyond the reach of provincial authority. The government in Philadelphia could scarcely even communicate with them, let alone control them. But the same seriality that enabled frontier people to defy their governors to the east exposed them to the Indians to the west. It made them at once free and fearful.

In that context of seriality, White traces the ways in which a modicum of community came to the backcountry, in formations he calls "fusion" and "federalism." Fusion describes the sporadic aggregation of settlers in gatherings of impassioned evanescence. It was manifest in recurrent rural insurrections, and it arose from European encounters with Native American group life, which White sets at the very center of such social mobilization as frontier people ever managed. Federalism represents the efforts of eastern elites to organize the backcountry in more enduring ways, so as to bring it under some semblance of government.

White's book offers a transformative view of the deep impulses of American life and of a politics that persists.

MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN  
University of Pennsylvania

JEFF BROADWATER. *George Mason: Forgotten Founder*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 329. \$34.95.

"Forgotten founder" seems a bit harsh when applied to George Mason IV, whom American Revolutionary-era historians well know as the chief author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights and constitution of 1776 and a leading Anti-Federalist in 1787–1788. He was also the proprietor of Gunston Hall, perhaps the most handsome and best-preserved example of the early Georgian style, a few miles and one Potomac inlet south of Mount Vernon. Until his opposition to the Constitution alienated him from the new Federalist elite, Mason was one of the most respected figures in Virginia politics, friends with his neighbors George Washington and Richard Henry Lee, legislative collaborator with Thomas Jefferson, and an intellect and orator whom James Madison admired. Recurring and painful gout, family cares, and badly concealed disdain for lesser legislative lights occupying the back benches often made it hard to get Mason to show up for business, but when he did attend the Virginia assembly, he was a powerful force.

Jeff Broadwater is right to think that Mason has

never quite commanded the scholarly attention he deserves. Previous biographies have been more popular than scholarly, and longer on the details of family and houses that many Virginians love than on the intellectual and political sources of Mason's pronounced persona as a near ideal type of the classical republican and country Whig. His positions on slavery, suffrage, and social mobility reveal an independent, even progressive turn of mind. Widowed in 1773, with a numerous brood to look after, Mason's worries about the downward mobility of the landed aristocracy bespoke his own anxiety over his children's prospects.

As a political biographer, Broadwater produces a carefully drawn, balanced account of the career of the intelligent but crotchety figure who, like so many other American revolutionaries, was drawn into public life much against his private inclinations. Broadwater has no problem confronting the contradictions that enabled Mason to spout the usual republican guff about public virtue while working every angle he could to get the state to support the western land speculations of the Ohio Company that he dominated. Broadwater confirms, as other scholars have suspected, that Mason's refusal to sign the proposed Federal Constitution owed far more to his fears for the regional security of the South and his misgivings about the Senate than to his concern over his Philadelphia colleagues' indifference to a bill of rights. The flashes of temper that Mason expressed during the final weeks of deliberation encourage one to conclude, with Madison, that personality as much as principle lay behind his final obstinacy in refusing to sign the Constitution. He had been one of the most active members of the Convention, and until his comments took a carping tone toward the end, his participation had almost always been positive and constructive.

For these and other reasons, Mason seems like a ripe and surprisingly neglected subject for a scholarly biography. Yet as much of an improvement as this workmanlike study marks over previous efforts, one comes away from it wondering whether Mason's career and papers (three volumes in the scholarly edition prepared by the late Robert Rutland) can sustain a whole-life biography. Fatigued as many historians are over the literary phenomenon of "Founders' Chic," one good reason it still flourishes is that the usual suspects of unforgotten and unforgettable Founders left troves of papers richer and more revealing than Mason's. A good quarter of the book covers the two-year struggle over the Constitution, and breaks little new ground. Broadwater has to do a fair amount of backing and filling to provide a basic narrative that historians of the era should already know. Since Broadwater is a scholarly newcomer to the field—his previous books were on Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson—that narrative does not have the advantage of tapping a prior engagement with the history of the American Revolution or an immersion in its astonishingly rich sources. That may explain why one encounters some minor errors that shake the reader's confidence, such as mis-



spellings of the names of two framers of the Constitution (George Read and David Brearley) as well as the site of the two Indian treaties negotiated at Fort Stanwix (not Stanwick) and a misdating of the Quebec Act by a good three decades. Mason's personal life, except for his role in the Ohio Company, is also slighted, perhaps because it was adequately covered in previous biographies. Yet it is difficult to understand his distinctive interweaving of public duty and private ambition without a fuller rendering of his life as a private and intensely localist Northern Neck planter. Perhaps more important, Broadwater does not quite explain how Mason came to speak the language of classical republicanism as purely as he did.

JACK N. RAKOVE  
Stanford University

MARTIN BRÜCKNER. *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy and National Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2006. Pp. ix, 276. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.50.

Early in his book, Martin Brückner notes that "In some cultural and literary criticism, it has been argued that the act of mapping . . . is inherently oppressive," particularly when it turns to contexts in which Native Americans are involved (p. 48). The author does not deny that mapping, broadly construed, can be understood as a technology working in the service of colonialism. In fact, he even contributes to our understanding of it as such through a brief discussion of how Lewis and Clark attempted to train Amerindian leaders in the "proper" conceptualization of land and property (p. 230). But oppression is not his major theme: it is productivity. Departing from historiographical models that cast maps and mapping as villains in the stories of colonialism, nationalism, and/or modernity, Brückner explores the ways in which geography became central to the nascent national culture of the early United States, and how in turn it played a constitutive role in the development of early national identities.

The story Brückner tells begins in 1690, when the English crown abolished the old colonial land grants and required landowners to carry out surveys of their property that would ground new titles of ownership in geodetic science. This led to an explosion in surveying that popularized a "geodetic consciousness" among the landowning class, a sort of identification with the land mediated through the technical procedures of surveying and mapping. This episode (chapter one) constitutes a prelude for Brückner's real subject, the story of geography in the post-independence period, when the colonial geodetic consciousness became the fertile ground in which an expanded geographical consciousness could take root (chapters two through four). Plagued with the difficulty of forging a national identity on the basis of a language that was shared with the mother country, the intellectuals of the early republic

turned to geography as the instrument with which to forge "Americanness." It was not physical geography that was at issue, however, but geography as a literary form, one that became inextricably intertwined with primary education, even with the acquisition of literacy itself. Not just geography, but geographical education, and the texts developed to support and disseminate it, became the nerve center of national identity. The centrality of geography to early American education becomes the context within which we can better understand the early American novel (chapter five), as well as the ideological effectiveness of the journals of Lewis and Clark (chapter six). Changes in geographical education, finally, become crucial to understanding how the republican ethos of the post-independence period could morph into the imperial ethos of the nineteenth century (chapter seven).

I must leave to others the task of assessing the significance of Brückner's argument for the history of the early United States, and limit my remarks to its significance as a piece of cartographical and geographical history. From this perspective, Brückner's book represents an admirable achievement. Certainly, analyzing maps, geography books, and novels as nationalist discourse is no longer an original thing to do, but it is not Brückner's purpose simply to convince us that the texts he considers are nationalistic in their content or their function. In fact, the nationalistic bent of many of the texts he discusses is either quite patent, or already established by previous scholarship. Brückner's purposes, therefore, are more subtle and more interesting. He examines how and why the early republic came to need nationalistic maps, what these maps meant to them, and how they were consumed. It is not the nationalistic content or function of geography that is at issue, then, but the ways in which geography came to be central to early American literary culture, and thereby productive of national identity.

In order to make his case, Brückner ranges across an impressive variety of geographical texts. Monumental maps and atlases, like Amos Doolittle's 1784 "Map of the United States of America," enter into Brückner's argument, as do novels by canonical early American authors like Charles Brockden Brown, but these prominent texts appear only as the tip of the iceberg of early American geographical culture, an iceberg built from individual land-survey plats, depictions of maps and globes in reading primers and formal portraits, early school geography books, debates about pedagogical techniques, and even puzzles and board games with geographical themes. There are times when the argument could have benefited from a comparative dimension, perhaps even a quantitative one. One is left to wonder, for example, about his assertion that geographical literacy in eighteenth-century North America was higher than it was in England. These are minor quibbles, however, with a book that contributes very positively to moving the study of maps, mapping and ge-

ography beyond the simple antinomies inherent in the study of mapping as a form of oppression.

RICARDO PADRÓN  
University of Virginia

GREGORY A. WASELKOV. *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813–1814*. (Dan Josselyn Memorial Publication.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 414. \$39.95.

In the summer of 1813, a large group of Creek Indian warriors attacked the plantation home of Samuel Mims in the Tensaw district of Alabama. The assault, quickly labeled the Fort Mims Massacre, resulted in the deaths and occasional mutilation of at least 250 Indians, white Americans, and African Americans. In addition to initiating a devastating Creek civil war, the assault at Fort Mims transformed the history of the United States. The consequent hue and cry in the American South resulted in, among other things, the rise of Andrew Jackson, the end of Thomas Jefferson's civilization plan for American Indians, and the geographic expansion of the slave South.

Gregory A. Waselkov provides by far the most levelheaded and detailed description of the events that surrounded the assault on Fort Mims. He demonstrates that this pivotal moment in southeastern Indian history had a tangled web of social, cultural, political, and economic causes, and he explores how this assault and the Creek civil war that ensued resulted from the tensions born from the Creeks long history of colonialism. Similarly, Waselkov reveals how the assault and the American response to it permanently reshaped the southeastern landscape.

Waselkov's interpretation of the assault on Mims deserves attention. In a carefully explained assessment, he explores how Redstick Creeks designed the assault in accordance with Tecumseh's and other prophetic teachings while also using a noontime attack to avenge physically and symbolically a recent massacre by American troops at Burnt Corn Creek. In addition, pointing to the lack of sustained attacks afterward and the comparatively excessive use of force at the battle at Mims, Waselkov explains that the Red Stick Creeks designed the assault to intimidate dissenters into submitting to the teachings of the prophets. The interpretation—akin to Frederic W. Gleach's interpretation of Indian tactics in seventeenth-century Virginia—will undoubtedly lead future scholars to take the military tactics of the Redsticks more seriously.

Some of Waselkov's other insights prove equally compelling. Waselkov's description of "the Tensaw" as an area where "frontier whites and Indians could coexist in peace" (p. 203) builds upon a generation of scholarship that focuses on how Indians and whites found various ways to remain distinct peoples while also interacting in every imaginable way. From genealogical, archaeological, anthropological, and historical sources, Waselkov uncovers an intercultural and market-driven region that was increasingly becoming autonomous

from Creek society. The area, therefore, filled with individuals more tied to their lineage and Creek nation than to their localized village. In essence, Waselkov recognizes that the Creek civil war resulted from more than a Native American assault on settler culture or a socioeconomic rift in Creek society. Although his use of Richard White's "middle ground" seems a bit stretched, Waselkov convincingly shows how the social fabric of the Tensaw deserves to be understood as a place that was shaped by its white southern, African American, and Creek Indian residents.

Finally, in an extensive appendix, Waselkov provides details on all of the known participants at the battle of Fort Mims. This list is a remarkable contribution. With assistance from James Parker and Sue Moore, Waselkov uncovered many previously unknown participants and clarified many of their ethnic backgrounds. The appendix also contains a short list of "unproven" (p. 228) participants in the hope that future scholars will add to this database. One hopes that contemporary Creek oral traditions, a source not cited here, will someday allow us to discover more than the fourteen Red Stick participants identified.

Some of Waselkov's assessments are less successful than others. While the monograph rarely ventures far from what the sources can confirm or what specialists have previously concluded, a forced discussion of "national traumas" like the *Lusitania* and the attacks of 9/11 (p. 1) frames the volume. More importantly, Waselkov's decision to label all individuals with Creek mothers and Euro-American fathers as "métis" fails to correspond with his nuanced interpretation. Waselkov rightly states that métis is a culturally constructed identity rather than a genetically determined ethnicity, but he struggles to make this distinction within the text. Individuals (Red Stick or not) with mixed parentage appear as métis, regardless of their political, cultural, social, or residential identities. As a result, the term often fails to describe or explain the motives or actions of those involved.

Despite these criticisms, the book draws on a wide range of Spanish and English sources, and it effectively utilizes an interdisciplinary ethnohistorical approach. Carefully written and persuasive in its central claims, it will certainly remain the standard reference for the event for many years to come.

ANDREW K. FRANK  
Florida State University

MATTHEW WARSHAUER. *Andrew Jackson and the Politics of Martial Law: Nationalism, Civil Liberties, and Partisanship*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2006. Pp. x, 314. \$39.95.

It is disappointing to say that this study of Andrew Jackson's imposition of martial law in New Orleans at the end of the War of 1812—and especially the political and constitutional legacy of that event—provides far more information than it does convincing analysis. Still, Matthew Warshauer's book will now become the starting

point for anyone specifically considering the place of Jackson's brief reign in the history of American officials' use of emergency powers to override civil liberties.

Shortly after his arrival in New Orleans in late 1814, then-general Jackson imposed martial law on a citizenry of suspect loyalties. More important, he maintained this state of affairs even after his military victory over the British in January 1815, retaining all governing power in his hands until the official notice of peace arrived in the middle of March. The most startling uses of Jackson's power included the arrests of a Louisiana state senator and the federal district judge who futilely granted the senator's habeas corpus petition. The New Orleans narrative closes after the lifting of martial law with Jackson's showy submission, in the end paying a \$1000 fine for the contempt of court displayed in arresting the judge.

The heart of the book then discusses the appropriation of this episode by later political partisans. After some attention to Jackson's presidential campaigns in the 1820s, the bulk of the book treats the 1840s congressional debate on the question of whether Jackson's fine ought to be refunded to him. By this point, the reader pointedly desires an argument that engages a significant historical puzzle or gap in some historiography. Will the congressional debate illuminate the recent literature on constitutional development outside the courts? Will it change in some way the profession's understanding of the development of civil liberties in the nineteenth century? Certainly, it must give us some new perspective on the history of the government's use of emergency war powers: Abraham Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus; Franklin D. Roosevelt's internment of American citizens during World War II; George W. Bush's expansion of executive power to fight the "war on terror." And, yes, the story told here does contribute to the national narrative of such events. But, because Warshauer never clearly states the value of the story—the question he hopes to answer through this research—the argument never gets much beyond the discovery that most politicians in the story were motivated by partisan advantage rather than by dispassionate consideration of constitutional principle. Moreover, Warshauer is given to firm judgments that, in my estimation, remain in significant tension with his evidence; for example, his assertions that Jackson's financial straits played little role in his pursuit of the refund and that the Democrats were flatly wrong in questioning the judge's legal authority to find Jackson in contempt.

Still, the book has value, especially its explanation (in chapter six) that even the highly partisan congressional speeches on the refund bill did manage to move the intellectual and constitutional history of martial law into new territory. That is, I learned that some members thought martial law unconstitutional but excusable, others fully constitutional, and yet others legal by virtue of natural law even if not by virtue of the Constitution. I learned that martial law had only recently and incompletely emerged as a category separate from "military

law," which governed only soldiers; that some members of Congress tried to legitimate martial law by viewing it as a mode of governance only over the military "camp" (though that might extend over a large area and encompass the local civilians), while others viewed it as a law for civilians as such. Finally, and maybe most importantly, I learned that the congressional debate did conclude in a bill that so vindicated Jackson as to establish a potentially powerful precedent for subsequent actors, like Lincoln and his generals, who might be tempted to the same extremes of power.

Unfortunately, the final chapter's extension into the era of the Civil War does not do much to prove the power of that precedent for Lincoln or the Republican Congress, settling instead for piling up further evidence that party politicians will often bend principle to serve their parties. When the book ends—fittingly, I'm afraid—by suggesting that all this arguing about the legitimacy of martial law can be reduced to "devotion to or hatred of Old Hickory" (p. 240), Warshauer more or less admits that his narrative has all but drained martial law of any independent interest; it has become just another convenient excuse for content-free partisan battle.

The good news, though, is that there remains enough material in the book to suggest that the history of Jackson's experiment with martial law and its legacy is indeed worth investigating. Although this book will not be the final word on its subject, it does offer a starting point and some structure for thinking about the history of martial law and civil liberties in the early United States.

GERALD LEONARD  
Boston University

GERARD N. MAGLIOCCA. *Andrew Jackson and the Constitution: The Rise and Fall of Generational Regimes*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xi, 186. \$29.95.

Gerard N. Magliocca offers an interpretation of Jacksonian constitutionalism inspired by legal scholar Bruce Ackerman's account of constitutional moments. For Ackerman, constitutional moments are few. Magliocca argues that constitutional developments on a smaller scale can be understood as the result of generational succession. His model is one in which the constitutional visions that motivate political action are shaped in opposition to a prevailing vision, confront that vision's adherents and sometimes succeed politically, and become ossified—"corrupt" in terms familiar in constitutional history—and thereby produce a new oppositional generation. But, Magliocca argues, constitutional visions do not emerge fully formed. Discrete political controversies provoke specific responses, which become more comprehensive visions as partisans try to make sense of the positions they have been taking.

In this account Jacksonian constitutionalism responded to the corruption of national power embodied in the Second Bank of the United States, which was

given its constitutional validation in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819). Jacksonians never reconciled themselves to Chief Justice John Marshall's nationalist constitutionalism and responded with their own constitutional vision, expressed in Jackson's opposition to internal improvements (the Maysville Road veto of 1830) and to the rechartering of the Bank of the United States, which Jackson vetoed in 1832.

Magliocca treats Indian removal as equally central to Jacksonian constitutionalism. For Marshall and constitutional nationalists, the Bank and Indian policy rested on a single constitutional vision, against which Jacksonians reacted: "Broad power vested in federal officials pursuing benevolent policies was the path to progress" (p. 15). Here his judgment seems more questionable, although clearly Indian policy deserves a larger place in constitutional history than it has received.

Magliocca's discussion sometimes seems driven more by his own constitutional theory than by Jacksonian constitutionalism itself. The theory does produce some striking insights. Magliocca shows how Jackson's vetoes were novel, asserting for the first time not merely a departmentalist power in the presidency to reject judicial interpretations of the Constitution, but congressional ones as well.

Probably the most intriguing discussion deals with an abortive rearrangement of the federal judicial system, which Congressional opponents of Jackson pursued as part of their resistance to Jacksonian constitutionalism. This is a largely forgotten episode of "court-tampering" to which Jackson responded by successfully packing the Supreme Court (pp. 65–69). As Magliocca's terms show, seeing this episode through the lens of the Roosevelt Court-packing plan is truly illuminating. And he follows up by explaining why the Court-packing did not produce its natural outcome, a decision overruling *McCulloch*. William Henry Harrison was prepared to sign legislation re-creating a Bank of the United States, which would have given the Court a chance to revisit *McCulloch*. Harrison's unexpected death in office put John Tyler in the presidency, and Tyler, a Jacksonian at heart, vetoed the recharter. "Only William Henry Harrison's death prevented *McCulloch* from being overruled by the Supreme Court" (p. 85).

Like his mentor Ackerman, Magliocca writes of "bids" and "resistance." Indian removal is Jackson's bid to replace the prior understanding of relations between Indian nations, the United States, and the states. *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) is Marshall's effort to resist, and the Trail of Tears symbolizes the triumph of Jacksonian constitutionalism. Magliocca refers to "preemptive opinions" that stake out strong positions and provoke controversies resolved through generational succession.

Sometimes the underlying constitutional theory gives the account a formulaic feel. Mentioning a "cycle of escalation" once is illuminating, repeating it leaves the reader with a sense that the theory is driving the presentation of the facts. Analogizing the constitutional impact of Harrison's death to that of Abraham Lin-

coln's assassination is suggestive, but no more than that. Although Magliocca is undoubtedly on to something, there surely was more going on than his presentation allows. Magliocca's treatment of Indian policy seems slightly presentist, but it does bring back into constitutional history a neglected topic.

With nine brisk chapters and an introduction and conclusion, a book of 129 pages is perhaps necessarily more suggestive than conclusive. The final chapters in particular, which extend the argument to the rise of abolitionism and the adoption of the post-Civil War amendments, provide only the merest sketch of an argument, as Magliocca appears to concede.

Together with Mark Graber's *Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil* (2006), Magliocca's book might well inaugurate a new generation in our understanding of antebellum constitutionalism.

MARK TUSHNET  
Harvard Law School

ANDREW M. SCHOCKET. *Founding Corporate Power in Early National Philadelphia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 274. \$42.00.

This intelligent book considers a central issue of the early American republic and U.S. history: why was political democratization coeval with the consolidation of economic power by a relatively small group of elites? Andrew M. Schocket examines Philadelphia and argues that the early national city's reliance on business corporations produced economic inequity and gross disparities in power. Schocket suggests that Philadelphia's experience was a portent of the nation's and concludes that historians should question whether the American Revolution ushered in a lasting transformation of power relations.

The rise of business corporations was connected to the democratization of American politics. This antagonistic symbiosis was clearest in Pennsylvania, the most democratic state to emerge from the Revolution. There wealthy gentlemen, used to political power and deference, lost both and by the 1780s feared that their wealth might be next. Backers of the business corporation were some of the usual high Federalist suspects. Thomas Willing, Robert Morris, and William Bingham championed incorporation, which maximized the benefits of partnership and limited individual liability, as the solution to the state's economic problems. The Philadelphia business elites who looked to the corporate form were close-knit and unsympathetic to the egalitarian aims of the culture at large. This sentiment marked corporate culture in the city for the entire period considered by Schocket.

There were three types of corporation crucial to the rise of the corporate form in Philadelphia: banks, internal improvement companies, and municipal public works. In general, the public was hostile to the earliest banks, and was more accepting of other corporations, though frequently expressing concern. Schocket is quite good, however, not to settle for a story of clever elites



hoodwinking an ingenuous citizenry. A variety of circumstances, beyond any one group's control, combined to make the business corporation acceptable to most, even though the benefits were unequally distributed.

Although many Pennsylvanians challenged corporate claims, supporters did not simply prevaricate when they insisted that corporations could meet the needs and be reconciled with the beliefs of most citizens. Supporters presented the corporate form as fitting with the three systems of thought Pennsylvanians relied on to comprehend the world around them: systems that historians have labeled republicanism, liberalism, and moral economy. Corporations met public needs for better transportation and cleaner water. They expanded investment opportunity, access to credit, and prospects for employment. They also promised development on the cheap, replacing taxes with voluntary subscription. Pennsylvania's democratic polity could govern the state however it wished. Corporations dominated the economy of the city and finally the state because citizens expected the future with corporations to be better than it would be without them.

Yet corporate interests only partially coincided with the public's, and projects that improved living standards also needed to yield profits. If it required a choice between them, to corporate leaders this was no choice at all. In addition, transferring questions about the money supply, the location of canals, the availability and price of water, and so much else to private citizens meant moving crucial decisions from the public to the private sphere. A key theme in this book is how the economic was demarcated from the political and why it came to be viewed as natural that public power should not intrude in supposedly private economic questions.

The rise of the corporation depended on the democratization of American politics. The revolutionary settlement discredited what contemporaries called energetic government and was deeply suspicious of any who claimed that their talents distinguished them from their fellow citizens. Yet Pennsylvania, like the nation, required development projects, a credit structure that could meet the needs of a developing economy, and utilities to meliorate the impact of staggering population growth. These were precisely the sorts of complicated and expensive projects that a democratic culture insisted could not be overseen by natural aristocrats wielding public power. Indeed, to guard against this supposed source of tyranny, Americans refused to fashion such public power in the first place.

The solution was at once democratic and potentially subversive of the spirit and aims of early American democracy. Corporate leaders almost never held formal political power; that was unthinkable. Yet as corporations came to wield more and more economic power in Pennsylvania, the state's democracy remained suspicious of the sort of energetic government that might have provided meaningful oversight. The relationship between democracy and capitalism was as central to the early American republic as it is to our epoch. Rather than see the two as simply opposed, or as living happily

together, Schocket suggests that the successful demand for wide distribution of public power perversely caused citizens to accept business corporations, which was the preferred form of an ever more entrenched and powerful group of business elites, who accepted democracy only because they had to.

ANDREW SHANKMAN  
Rutgers University,  
Camden

BONNIE STEPENOFF. *From French Community to Missouri Town: Ste. Genevieve in the Nineteenth Century*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 232. \$29.95.

Any study of a local subject bears a simple risk: aside from local readers, why should others be interested in this topic? Good micro-historiographic work depends not only on the strong and in-depth penetration of the community in question with regard to primary and documentary sources, but also on a legitimate and well-argued linkage to larger patterns or developments that the non-local reader can use to understand other communities and contexts better. Moreover, it should do so in an original way: if such linkages have already been established with regard to similar communities or patterns, the work becomes somewhat redundant and its interest remains almost wholly local. With regard to the history of midwestern towns in the nineteenth century, Susan Grey's *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (1996) or John Mack Faragher's *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (1986) are especially successful; in a comparative vein, the same might be said of Timothy R. Mahoney's *River Towns in the Great West: The Structure of Provincial Urbanization in the American Midwest, 1820–1870* (1990).

Bonnie Stepenoff's study of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, over the course of the nineteenth century succeeds insofar as the author demonstrates a deep local knowledge of her subject and uses her sources—especially archival and familial—in especially interesting and exciting ways. However, Stepenoff's reliance on a rather anachronistic (and repetitive) thesis that this community is worth closer examination because of its persistent though inconsistent progression toward democratic values during the era in question makes it feel somewhat antiquated. At the same time, Ste. Genevieve still seems an interesting subject, if only Stepenoff had allowed the material to guide her narrative rather than "the story of democracy" that has been told so many times before.

As the subtitle suggests, Ste. Genevieve began the nineteenth century as a French town, a part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 whose character had remained French despite a few decades of nominal Spanish occupation prior to the handover of the region to the Americans in 1804. The community reflected the rural characteristics that could be used to describe any number of French villages in upper or lower Louisiana: Catholicism, common field agriculture, interaction with



Native Americans, and local aristocratic families. In this sense, the work of Carl Ekburg or W. J. Eccles comes to mind: Stepenoff's work builds on theirs, but she does not really expand their fundamental narrative.

In successive chapters, Stepenoff traces the inflow of various waves of immigrants to Ste. Genevieve, showing how each both adapted itself to the existing community and changed it by their presence. This is done thematically, through discussions of race, gender, legality, and social and cultural institutions. Stepenoff pays special attention to the experiences of some of the oldest French and Anglo families over the course of the century, noting how they dealt with the conflict over slavery, the lead and silver mining satellite communities, the influx of Germans, and, more generally, the coming of modernity and industrialism, especially after the Union victory in the Civil War. However, the chapters often end before delving into these subjects with sufficient depth. The work of Jon Gjerde or David Blanke is more successful.

The book's conclusion recasts both its strengths and its weaknesses. Stepenoff poses the classic question, "What does it mean to be American or to be Americanized?" (p. 200). Having asked, she suggests that Ste. Genevieve moved toward that model by embodying the melting pot idea that implies both absorption and transformation by larger historical patterns and waves of demographic changes based in race and ethnicity. While this begs the question of whether "Americanization" might be so defined or stabilized, some of the charm of the materials she has unearthed gets subsumed in the larger narrative—which, Stepenoff concedes, was often inconsistent and uneven over the course of the century.

The book concludes with four paragraphs, all ending with the query, "Did America bring freedom?" (p. 205). While she observes the incompleteness of the realization of freedom for all by 1900, Stepenoff ends with a strong affirmation of the U.S. Constitution's protection of the continuation of the process; so the final answer seems to be, "Yes, America brought freedom." But other historians have used similar materials to ask and answer more complicated questions, raising doubts as to this book's micro-historical usefulness. Nonetheless, as a study of the town itself, and of the transition from French to American eras in the American Bottom, the book is useful and an accessible read. But it asks to be read as more than that, and readers looking for more already have other insightful sources available.

EDWARD WATTS  
Michigan State University

LYNN A. NELSON, *Pharsalia: An Environmental Biography of a Southern Plantation, 1780–1880*. Foreword by PAUL S. SUTTER. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 295. \$39.95.

Farming is a complicated business and rather unlike most other endeavors because the producer's attention is focused on something that is alive. Growers have little control over market vagaries, and often less influ-

ence over laws regarding property and exchange. But it really is the biological mysteries of raising crops and livestock on purpose that perplex farmers the most—past, present, and future. In Lynn A. Nelson's "environmental biography" of Pharsalia, the relative weights of these variables are apparent.

Major Thomas Massie, a soldier of the American Revolution and later aide to Virginia Governor Thomas Nelson, Jr., brought his family to the Tye Valley in the 1790s, and then sold 1,400 acres to his son William in 1816. This became Pharsalia. The name recalled a tragedy—where Caesar defeated Pompey in Thessaly, in 48 B.C., dooming the Roman Republic. For William Massey (1795–1862) farming Pharsalia was more or less a continuous ordeal, as the property had been worked, depleted, and eroded before he took ownership. But looking at the property today, with fields gently rolling east from a magnificent backdrop of the Blue Ridge Mountains, one might appreciate why he gambled against such difficult odds.

Nelson portrays William Massey as a soil fundamentalist, wrestling with erosion problems as Hugh Hammond Bennett would in the twentieth century, and fretting over soil exhaustion as Edmund Ruffin did in the nineteenth. Massey set about a "double cycle" strategy that relied on crop rotation and livestock manure. Fencing in animals concentrated their effect on soil fertility, thus allowing crop production to become more intense—or so the theory went. Actually, these ideas (and most of the tools and ways they entailed) originated in Roman agriculture, resurfaced among agricultural improvers on both sides of the Atlantic during the eighteenth century, and seemed reasonable to Virginia planters during the undulating economic cycles between the War of 1812 and the Civil War.

Massie tried to work out a rotation system with hay (clover), small grains, and potatoes, always experimenting with which followed what and using different varieties and various soil preparation techniques. He got into and out of tobacco intermittently, as did most Virginia farmers. He knew tobacco "fed" heavily on nutrients and was the antithesis of his sustainable goals, but when prices looked fetching, he could not resist. Falling prices sent him back to looking for alternatives. Between 1828 and 1834, hemp appealed to him, and he grew it on his best manured fields, formerly planted in tobacco. Then, with one disappointing crop after another, he gave up hemp and went back to tobacco and wheat, while trying to figure out some way of coaxing more income from the soil. Nelson details Massie's efforts and frustrations with all this and how they may have figured in a compassionless, acrid personality that no one seemed to like toward the end of his life.

In terms of Massie's understanding of "ecological stability," Nelson's interpretation is admirable and useful. But what Massie did not, and could not, take into account was the biological nature of the soil—particularly the microorganisms responsible for plant diseases. Tobacco and hemp, for example, are both highly susceptible to a wilt pathogen named *Fusarium oxys-*

*porum*. Where hemp followed tobacco, or the other way around, the bloom of this fungus in the field yielded diminishing returns with succeeding crops. Further, once *F. oxysporum* became established, it could take two decades before the pathogen's population subsided enough to grow again a robust crop of tobacco, hemp, flax, beans, squash, melons, and others. Indeed, a genetically enhanced strain of *F. oxysporum* is used today as a highly effective, long-term bioherbicide against illegal crops of coca, opium poppies, and *Cannabis* (hemp). Rotations worked not so much because different plants required different nutrients but because one crop might not be susceptible to the microbe blooms in the ground from the preceding planting. Soil exhaustion, consequently, was less a matter of nutrient depletion than of plant pathology. Massie, of course, died shortly before Pasteur brought the germ theory of disease to light.

There are many things to admire in Nelson's writing: excellent description, imaginative "sight seeing," vivid characterizations, and a flowing story that comes to 1889 when William Massie's descendants sold Pharsalia. Many of the illustrations are of Pharsalia's still lovely landscape. Today, tragedy seems long gone, and on April 21–22, 2007, Pharsalia was the site of a festival celebrating Nelson County's bicentennial.

TERRY SHARRER  
Smithsonian Institution

ROBERT E. KOHLER. *All Creatures: Naturalists, Collectors, and Biodiversity, 1850–1950*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 363. \$35.00.

How did American naturalists acquire their knowledge of the tremendous diversity of the world's species? This question lies at the heart of Robert E. Kohler's comprehensive new study. To answer his query, Kohler ranges far beyond the realm of laboratories and scientists to consider the rather eccentric cast of characters who engaged in the field collection of animal specimens at the turn of the last century. While much of this collecting was conducted under the auspices of natural history museums and government agencies such as the U.S. Biological Survey, many participants were enthusiastic amateurs with little formal training. For such folks, collecting merged recreation with personal improvement, and their behavior speaks to the enormous pull that the desire for a more authentic encounter with nature exercised on American culture. Consider, for example, "Ma" Latham, who lived on Florida's Atlantic coast in the late 1800s. Not only did Latham comb the beaches near her family's home for interesting animal specimens to send to natural history museums, she opened her house free of charge to passing naturalists, hoping, in the words of the nineteenth-century ornithologist Frank Chapman, "to make her house a resort for scientific people" (p. 170).

The inclusion of the word "biodiversity" in the book's subtitle offers a bit of a misleading preview of how Kohler seeks to understand the actions of Latham and

other collectors. This book has little to say on biodiversity per se, which did not enter into widespread usage until well after Kohler's chosen end point of 1950. Nevertheless, at its most innovative, the book provides an intriguing glimpse of the fieldwork that is an essential precursor for the more familiar scientific work of constructing theoretical models of species distribution and differentiation, and raises valuable questions about the peculiar mixture of motivations that undergirds any scientific endeavor and the growing professionalization of science itself. Moreover, Kohler's efforts to build bridges between the history of science and environmental and Western history will doubtless appeal to scholars of these latter fields and may prove thought-provoking for Kohler's brave attempts to rehabilitate what have become some of these fields' less fashionable terms.

Kohler proposes, for example, that the heyday of species collecting coincided with what he terms the rise of the "inner frontiers" of North America, in which "[d]ensely inhabited and wild areas were jumbled together" (p. 18). This notion of "inner frontiers" not only offers a new way to think about the changes in transportation and settlement patterns that gave collectors unprecedented access to natural specimens; it projects the notion of frontier into a far later time period than it is usually applied. At the same time, of course, as most New Western Historians would point out, invoking the term frontier begs the question of what was on the other side of this divide. Other than a few fleeting mentions of Native American guides, however, Kohler has little to say about the ways in which survey collecting built upon or erased indigenous knowledge about the environment. Similarly, those environmental historians who are more comfortable with notions of nature as anthropogenic or a social construct may find themselves a bit uneasy at Kohler's frequent invocations of "wild" nature, although the concept of "wildness" does serve the need of identifying the types of areas where native species density was at its greatest.

Still, at a time when plants and animals are disappearing from the globe at an alarming rate, it is invaluable to have a work that reminds us of how we came by our knowledge of species in the first place. Even if it performed no other service, Kohler's book would for this reason prove to be valuable reading for those historians concerned about the past—and future—of the North American environment.

KARL JACOBY  
Brown University

RICHARD T. STILLSON. *Spreading the Word: A History of Information in the California Gold Rush*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 274. \$55.00.

Although the persistent appeal of the California Gold Rush as a subject of historical inquiry among a broad readership may reflect the unique character of that phenomenal event, recent scholarship insists upon the value of Gold Rush history for studying more general

(and less extraordinary) features of antebellum life. If the discovery of mineral deposits in the Sierra foothills was in some sense fortuitous, the convergence of particular people and expectations in the wake of that discovery makes sense only within the context of a range of contemporary developments: social stratification, urbanization, immigration, imperial expansion, slavery, and middle-class formation, to name just a few. One compelling historical context within which the Gold Rush can be understood is the expanding world of communication in nineteenth-century America. Although gold seekers came from all over the globe, the largest and most powerful groups of migrants arrived after significant exposure to a burgeoning American print culture and with recently intensified optimism about the possibility of long-distance contact. For Richard T. Stillson, this is part of what makes the events of 1849–1851 a suitable case for studying information exchange. His book asks readers to think about the Gold Rush as a particular kind of news event, mediated for both participants and observers by a heterogeneous and incomplete communications system. Relying uneasily upon a motley assortment of newspapers, maps, guidebooks, personal correspondence, travel reports, and rumors, Americans (the principal group considered here) experienced the Gold Rush in sudden fits and false starts.

Much of the book's analysis concerns the specific issue of what Stillson calls "credibility criteria," a phrase that might mislead some readers to imagine a critical history of the phenomenon (or the concept) of credibility in Gold Rush California. Far more simply, the book examines the sources of authority that made news appear reliable to prospective gold seekers, to miners, to new Californians, and to those who followed their progress from afar. Stillson argues that as overland migrants made their way westward, they came increasingly to trust personal testimony rather than printed authority—especially when the printed reports bore the imprimatur of eastern publishing houses. In arriving at this determination, Stillson often cites evidence of the beliefs and preferences of those who depended on timely and accurate information in order to plan and carry out their ventures. At other points he offers his own judgments about the relative reliability of various maps, guidebooks, and news reports in circulation. On occasion these judgments can appear fairly speculative, such as when Stillson hypothesizes that a letter published in a Boston daily might have been less credible than another letter from a Michigan paper, because the latter publication identified the name and location of the correspondent (pp. 164–165), or when he cites the commercial success of a particular guidebook written by "Rev. Walter Colton, alcalde of San Francisco," as evidence for the proposition that titles were important credibility criteria among the new arrivals (p. 172).

If some readers resist the inferences Stillson draws about credibility criteria, others might be more generally puzzled by the approach, which assumes that the experience of confidence and credibility in a society famously obsessed with hoaxes, misrepresentations, and

misleading appearances can be understood in terms of a set of straightforwardly applied criteria that the author attributes to his subjects. Perhaps another class of readers will find it refreshing to see information treated as such a stable category, shorn of the ideological baggage and cultural anxieties with which it is ordinarily invested. Information, as Stillson imagines it, comes in more or less accurate forms and is dispersed more or less efficiently. "[M]aking decisions under uncertainty is a key human problem that can be alleviated by obtaining better information" (pp. 184–185).

But while the book's arguments may not speak to all students of the subject or all concerns of the field, the research represents a significant contribution. Stillson does an especially impressive job of tracking particular companies of migrants and narrating their movements through the lens of the maps they consulted, the news they consumed, and the experts they encountered. The bibliography is eminently useful, the illustrations are striking, and the volume of materials Stillson has analyzed underscores the importance (if not the authority) of writing and print in the experience of gold seekers, who formed, as the author notes, a distinctively literate large-scale migration.

One final note: the University of Nebraska Press has established itself as the major publisher of scholarly monographs, literary anthologies, popular biographies, and primary sources related to westward migration and the history of California in the nineteenth century. In adding this serious (and high-priced) work to its immense catalogue, the press might have taken more care to give the author the copyediting and proofreading his manuscript deserved.

DAVID M. HENKIN  
University of California,  
Berkeley

JOHN BENEDICT BUESCHER. *The Remarkable Life of John Murray Spear: Agitator for the Spirit Land*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. x, 368. \$30.00.

The conjunction of political and religious radicalism among nineteenth-century reformers continues to confound historians. Biographers often gloss over séance participation by leading abolitionists, or spirit messages channeled or cherished by their subjects. John Benedict Buescher takes the opposite approach, selecting as his topic a charismatic reformer who followed decades of reform agitation with decades serving humanity at the bidding of the spirits he served as medium. John Murray Spear, a figure whose spiritualism cannot be swept aside, was considered an eccentric extremist even by other radical spiritualists. In this richly detailed biography, Buescher takes seriously both Spear's most inspiring ideas and his most outlandish in order to access the inner depths of nineteenth-century radicalism and unravel its hidden logic. The unanswered question of the book is to what extent Spear's radicalism illumi-

nates anything beyond his own considerable idiosyncrasies.

Spear (1804–1882) was one of a generation of New Englanders whose religious faith and moral critique of slaveholding together led to a conviction of the God-given autonomy of the individual soul, and to opposition to any institution or government that infringed individual sovereignty. Ordained a Universalist minister in 1830, his first congregation objected to his mixing of religion and political reform. But growing support among other Universalists allowed him to preach consistent application of Christian self-sacrifice to the reform of society, and to practice what he preached. He befriended a prisoner sentenced to death, accompanied him to the gallows, and vowed to do what he could to abolish the death penalty. He joined William Lloyd Garrison in founding the New England Non-Resistance Society, which opposed capital punishment along with all other forms of violence, including the violence of slavery.

Spear tried to get his denomination to follow where it was clear to him that Christian faith should lead, to abolish slavery and the death penalty. In each case his views proved too advanced for his fellow clergy. The effect was to distance him from the church rather than gaining church support for his campaigns. He found a better fit among Garrisonian agitators. Garrison humorously introduced Spear by saying “although the weapons of our warfare [are] not carnal but spiritual, we [do] not object at all to the use of the ‘Spear’” (p. 23). Clearly, Spear was a force to be reckoned with. Together with Frederick Douglass and others he toured for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society’s 1844 campaign advocating no union with slave holders. His lecture in Portland, Maine, precipitated an attack by a mob, causing Spear serious head injuries.

Beginning in 1852, Spear continued his ministry of reform under the guidance of spirits. Serving as the medium for a distinguished “Congress of spirits” including Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Benjamin Rush, Spear let it be known that he would be the vehicle through which the Congress would announce its plans for the remaking of society. These included founding spiritualist utopian communities in Kiantone, New York, and Patriot, Indiana. At Kiantone the Congress, speaking through Spear, convinced investors to attempt the perfection of society through novel technological innovations, including a perpetual motion machine, an electric thinking machine, an electric ship, an intercontinental telepathic network, and an improved sewing machine. Most controversial, the Congress also urged the perfection of society through the breeding of human beings untainted by hierarchical relations: first by advocating the abolition of conventional marriage that impinged women’s physical, sexual, and spiritual autonomy, and finally by removing reproduction from the human realm altogether. With aid of the “motive force” provided by ritual sexual intercourse of Spear and a woman chosen by the spirits, the Congress’s plans

would result in the birth of a human being from a machine.

Both the strength and the weakness of this book lie in the author’s decision to convey the truly bizarre exploits of Spear and his coterie (only hinted at by the brief description above) in an absolutely straightforward manner. Buescher is one of the most knowledgeable students of lesser-used primary sources on nineteenth-century spiritualism. A generous citizen of this area of study, he makes a wealth of research materials including bibliographies, primary sources, and visual images available on his frequently updated website, spirithistory.com. This, his second book on nineteenth-century spiritualism, would have benefited from engagement with the substantial secondary literatures on radical abolition, spiritualism, free love, women’s rights, utopianism, and new religious movements. Rather than entering into discussions with other scholars the author chooses to provide a thorough and intriguing tour of the prodigious primary sources he commands, adding his own interpretive perspective in brief introductory and concluding remarks. There he describes Spear’s more bizarre utopian exploits as ominous foreshadowings of the totalitarian excesses of twentieth-century attempts to better humanity through socialism. While he makes little use of analytic categories of gender, race, and sexuality, his book will be invaluable to scholars of radical reform who do.

ANN BRAUDE

Harvard Divinity School

LORRI GLOVER. *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 250. \$50.00.

Lorri Glover’s new book explores the ways in which those young men of the southern white elite who came of age in the generation following the American Revolution became simultaneously Americans, southerners, and men. Glover illuminates the “process, a series of tests [really,] that these boys faced” (p. 3) on the way to mature southern republicanism and national citizenship. This process by which adolescent white males became men between the 1790s and the 1820s is outlined in several copiously documented chapters that consider the regionally inflected cultural values that distinguished the young men’s upbringing from that of their northern contemporaries.

According to Glover, a strong sense of civic responsibility, gentlemanliness, education, and self-mastery combined to establish the manly standard urged on the leading sons of the South. Their ability to command social respect by gentlemanly assertions of intelligence, eloquence, sartorial dash and a proper carriage “both overlapped with and transcended” (p. 82) their formal education away from home, which was “the first real test of a boy’s ability to be known as man and respected as a republican” (p. 38). Concerned for the future of the republic, the southern gentry was particularly eager, Glover explains, to see its boys develop self-willed man-



ners (i.e., initiative, intelligence, and self-mastery), since those traits “were intimately linked to the gentry’s racial power” (p. 26). That power, and its institutionalization in slavery, helped define the very form of manhood, and its regional aspect, that so many white male adolescents in the early national period were called upon to embody. Writes Glover, “Southern gentry men defined their distinctive independence in contrast to slavery,” and Southern boys thus recognized manhood to evolve as “the antithesis of enslavement” (p. 23). Although the space in this book devoted to the ways slavery fashioned southern white manhood is by no means extensive, this discussion is Glover’s most important one since it is only in relationship to the peculiar institution that the distinctiveness of the titular sons’ southernness is persuasive. But for their inheritance of property and sensibility toward slavery, that is, nothing meaningful separated Glover’s southern subjects from their northern cohort. Although Glover leaves untouched more than this powerful discourse would seem to intimate about slavery’s formative effects on the construction of white American manhood in the early republic, her book seems like a more modest version of Gail Bederman’s *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (1995) or Dana D. Nelson’s *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (1998) in its gesturing at the fundamentally racialized construction of early republican masculinity.

However responsible Glover is to make the particularity of her subjects’ social ranking explicit, that very specificity inevitably underscores the exclusion of those unmonied young men whose southern experience may better define southern sonship and construct a more complete history of the making of white men in the new nation. Perhaps the surprising limitedness of Glover’s primary sources is to account for this omission. That is, Glover’s archive, while drawn from some of the South’s most important special collections, is constituted exclusively by correspondences to and from the sons of the early southern aristocracy. Is there another normative southern manhood, distinct from that evolving out of the gentility of the early South, that is overlooked by Glover—one culled from the wider popularity of conduct books, sermons, speeches, occasional pieces, and other advice literature? Undoubtedly, but Glover’s epistolary emphasis, very belatedly accounted for, is intentional, so she may be excused for this selectiveness. What is trickier to wink at is the troublingly consistent way Glover comes to the broadest generalizations about early southern male and family culture on the basis of each letter’s presumed normativity. Paragraph by paragraph, Glover looks to letters to bear out a historical narrative too broad for the very few lines of epistolary content marshaled forth as testimony to adequately substantiate. Moreover, Glover’s method of plotting that narrative in broad and general terms in the opening sentences of nearly every paragraph in the book makes for a regrettably mechanical and unsurprising reading experience, one that makes all but those

opening sentences of little consequence to apprehending the book’s historical argument.

Glover’s implicit understanding of manhood *not* as womanhood’s opposing sphere of activity or sensibility but as a more complicated calculus of biology, desire, property, and performativity enforced upon the experience of boyhood recommends it. But on this point, as on others, where her book should be most articulate, it is mostly mute. This is not to deny the book’s potential instructiveness to students of U.S. southern history but I doubt that many experts will regard it as essential reading.

MAURICE WALLACE  
Duke University

ANYA JABOUR. *Scarlett’s Sisters: Young Women in the Old South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. x, 374. \$39.95.

Anya Jabour draws on the personal writings of some 300 young women from across the South to examine the coming-of-age process for elite white females in the antebellum era. Starting from the premise that age—like gender, race, and class—is a definitive category of historical analysis, Jabour perceptively explores how girls became young women and eventually (in most cases) wives and mothers. Her most important contention is that southern girls and young women in various ways resisted the cultural dictates of their region, which sought to render them uniquely powerless, although on marrying they reluctantly exchanged resistance for resignation. By requiring them to be strong and self-reliant, however, the Civil War revived the culture of resistance, at least among younger women, who, unlike their elders, were likely to be publicly active, assertive, and somewhat more independent in the postwar era.

Jabour follows her cohort of elite young southerners from adolescence through schooldays, courtship, and engagement to marriage and motherhood in seven engaging chapters, each of which begins with a brief vignette of one woman whose experiences illustrate the stage of life covered in that chapter. Although other scholars have provided detailed accounts of education, courtship, marriage, and motherhood in the Old South, Jabour situates these topics in a broader context of youthful experiences that also included years at home after boarding school or “college,” as well as protracted—and sometimes multiple—premarital engagements. The main theme running through Jabour’s story is the desire of girls and young women to retain their independence, which logically resulted in widespread reluctance to wed. In the end, however, social pressure, the genuine appeal of romantic love, and especially a lack of other viable options led most to become dutiful wives who found fulfillment mainly in motherhood, which Jabour sees as the last phase of female coming of age in the Old South.

Jabour draws on a range of sources to document young women’s activities, ideals, and anxieties and to



demonstrate the overriding importance of female friendships and communities. Young women's subculture of resistance and independence developed mainly in their schools. In these female-dominated spaces, intellectual life and passionate friendships flourished, providing an attractive (if short-lived) alternative to subordination to southern patriarchy. Jabour mines letters, diaries, and school compositions to show how young women prized both the learning and the relationships they acquired at school. She is especially adept at analyzing albums and other material artifacts—such as clothing and hairstyles—to illustrate both the constraints gradually imposed on young women as part of their socialization and how they actively resisted this loss of their freedom. Many tried to postpone marriage. Some made acceptance of a marriage proposal contingent on their being able to live near their families or female friends—concessions, alas, that they were powerless to enforce once marriage made them their spouses' legal, financial, and emotional dependents.

While Jabour describes young women's culture of resistance in compelling detail, she says comparatively little about its origins. Did girls and young women learn from the words or examples of mothers and older sisters that marriage and dependence were fraught with peril—or, conversely, that true happiness could be found in romance and maternity? Jabour argues persuasively that most elite females followed demanding curricula at school and that they took their studies seriously, but readers learn little about the particular novels, advice books, devotional tracts—and perhaps newspapers?—they read, which presumably informed their ideals and values.

Though most white southern women did not seek war in 1861, Jabour contends that the Civil War politicized young women, who became gung-ho (and often blood-thirsty) Confederate nationalists. Perhaps more important, they also reinvented themselves as independent women in their efforts to actively and avidly support the Confederate cause. For Jabour, as for all southern historians, the war was a turning point. From the perspective of elite young women, she maintains, the war provided a socially acceptable escape—however horrid—from the culture of resignation that had stifled their mothers' independence and aspirations. War and its devastation also afforded new opportunities to southern women in the postwar era. Some of Jabour's schoolgirls became teachers after the war; some founded the United Daughters of the Confederacy and other public organizations, most of which sought to perpetuate the class and racial hierarchies of the antebellum era.

Although African Americans and non-elite whites appear only rarely in this book, Jabour knows that the young women she studies were both privileged and subordinate, oppressors and oppressed. Like the fictional heroine of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936), Scarlett O'Hara—from whom Jabour takes her title—they were also ultimately resilient women who strove to shape their destinies in both mundane and ex-

traordinary times. This well-written and superbly illustrated book is an admirable introduction to their world.

CYNTHIA A. KIERNER  
University of North Carolina,  
Charlotte

DAVID L. LIGHTNER. *Slavery and the Commerce Power: How the Struggle against the Interstate Slave Trade Led to the Civil War*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 228. \$45.00.

During the antebellum era, many profound, intractable problems divided the North and South, but most of the conflict leading up to the U.S. Civil War centered on the question of slavery. The expansion of slavery, fugitive slaves, the morality and humanity of slavery, and the slave trade were flash points in the polarization of the two regions. David L. Lightner provides a brief overview of the role the interstate slave trade played in the conflict and argues that it was "an important element in precipitating the secession crises and the Civil War" (p. xi).

Lightner begins with a description of the great magnitude of the interstate slave trade, how it operated, and the painful and devastating consequences it held for enslaved African Americans. In chapter two Lightner discusses what the delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention intended when they drew up the "1808 clause" and "commerce clause" (p. 17). Despite the various arguments the author considers, it is clear that the delegates were mainly concerned with protecting the individual states' right to import foreign slaves when they adopted the 1808 clause. The commerce clause poses more problems, but Lightner's view that the delegates did not contemplate the interstate slave trade when they approved the measure makes sense. If they had, it is likely that most of the southern delegates would have insisted that the interstate trade be protected from federal interference. Nevertheless, the commerce clause became law, and, according to Lightner, over time many in the North and South came to believe that this "constitutional loophole" could be used to ban the interstate slave trade and eventually destroy slavery itself (p. 36).

In chapter three the author examines the first sporadic efforts to use the commerce clause to restrict the interstate slave trade. Chapter four addresses the U.S. Supreme Court's approach to the commerce clause and interstate slave trade. As Lightner points out, since Congress did not attempt to regulate the trade during the antebellum era, the court had no reason to rule on whether or not Congress had the power to do so. However, he concludes, when the Taney court issued a pro-slavery ruling in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) based on the property rights of slaveholders, a majority of the judges held that Congress did not have the power to abolish the interstate slave trade.

This did not prevent abolitionists from clamoring for congressional action, which Lightner describes in chapters five and six. Believing that the interstate slave trade

was morally and humanely indefensible and that its demise would cripple slavery, abolitionists made it the centerpiece of their 1830s crusade. Lightner questions what he calls abolitionist "propaganda," and although he agrees that banning the interstate slave trade would have been a positive move, the abolitionists' belief that a federal ban would end the interstate slave trade was naive. Frustrated by congressional inaction, in the 1840s abolitionists formed their own political parties. Unfortunately, those parties' efforts to end the trade received little support, and by the 1850s territorial expansion and the Fugitive Slave Law had become far more important issues. Even the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), depicting the evils of the interstate slave trade, had little effect on the movement. It was dealt another blow during the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates when Abraham Lincoln refused to support a ban on the trade.

Despite this, in chapter seven Lightner suggests that white southerners' fears that the Lincoln government would move to end the interstate slave trade led to secession. There is evidence that it was a factor in the secession movement—supporters of secession, especially radicals, publicly expressed their concerns about the interstate slave trade—but it was one of many threats that they believed Lincoln and the Republicans represented. In the final chapter Lightner describes the last years of the interstate slave trade, which continued until the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted in 1865.

This book is a collection of essays, many originally published as articles in professional journals. As such, they do not mesh together well in support of the author's main argument. This does not mean that the interstate slave trade was unimportant—Lightner shows that it was—but many disagreements brought about secession, not just one. Despite this, Lightner's work is perceptive and sheds much light on the movement to end the interstate slave trade. Most important, it provides one more example of the divisive effect of slavery.

JAMES A. McMILLIN  
Southern Methodist University

H. ROBERT BAKER. *The Rescue of Joshua Glover: A Fugitive Slave, the Constitution, and the Coming of the Civil War*. (Law, Society, and Politics in the Midwest.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 251. \$38.95.

H. Robert Baker's study of the legal and constitutional issues surrounding the case of fugitive slave Joshua Glover is a fascinating and riveting account of a complex set of questions that deeply divided Americans in the 1850s. In the course of his study Baker shows himself to be well versed in nineteenth-century constitutional questions and an able writer. He also reveals that an interpretation of events raised by the capture in Wisconsin of a Missouri slave can be as controversial in the twenty-first century as it was in the nineteenth.

Glover, the slave of Benammi Garland, had lived near Racine, Wisconsin, for two years when captured

on March 10, 1854. Within hours demonstrators, led by abolitionist editor Sherman Booth, freed Glover from a Milwaukee jail and sent him on his way to safety and obscurity in Canada, even as the city prepared to host a stage version of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). So began a six-year legal battle to punish Glover's rescuers, initiated with Booth's conviction for violation of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The struggle also involved the constitutional rights of the people of Wisconsin and the larger issue of federal versus state authority. The suit against Booth led the Wisconsin Supreme Court to declare the Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional and the U.S. Supreme Court under Roger Taney to strike down the state ruling five years later. A bizarre series of events saw Booth serve several months of his sentence before rescuers freed him. Booth was then recaptured in October 1860, before outgoing President James Buchanan issued an eleventh-hour pardon in March 1861 as the country teetered on the brink of civil war.

Baker does a masterful job of detailing the events, but in his account neither Glover nor Booth is the central figure in the drama. Rather it is Booth's friend and attorney, Byron Paine, who plays the leading role. Paine argued forcefully and effectively to convince the state supreme court that Congress had no power to legislate on fugitive slaves, and that the Act of 1850 denied the accused a trial by jury. The state tribunal agreed. Baker makes clear that neither Paine nor Booth believed he was breaking federal law; rather they sincerely felt that their actions were in full accord with the U.S. Constitution. The state, they believed, must act if the federal government usurped its power.

In his interpretation of antebellum states rights, Baker endorses Wisconsin's actions, arguing that before the Civil War citizenship rights were a function of state rather than federal authority. Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 shifted that burden to the federal government. Thus while a state might legitimately challenge a federal law denying citizenship rights in the 1850s, it could not do so in the 1950s when southern states tried to block enforcement of the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ruling on school desegregation. While some may challenge Baker's interpretation of constitutional issues, he nonetheless provides a viable defense of a state's efforts to protect its citizens' rights. At the same time, he does an admirable job of untangling a complex series of events both in and outside of the courts.

Those not seeking an account of complex legal issues involving fugitive slaves and constitutional authority might prefer to look elsewhere for the story of the Glover rescue. Other historians have recounted the actions of the Wisconsin fugitive slave rescuers, the escape of Booth, and his immorality in private life. Instead, Baker provides a full overview of the background of the fugitive slave issue before and after 1850. He also exposes Wisconsin's denial of rights to its black residents even as it sought to defend its own challenge to federal authority. He is quick to point out that African

Americans in Wisconsin constituted an almost invisible community, so few in number so as not even to have a church of their own. Representing less than a hundred of Milwaukee's population of 20,000 and only 635 of the state's 305,000 people, they were denied many citizenship rights, including suffrage.

The constitutional crisis concluded in early 1861 when incoming Republican governor Alexander Randall spoke in restrained tones, pointing out that the election of a Republican president had reaffirmed the democratic process, not Taney's rulings on Dred Scott and Sherman Booth or Wisconsin's defiant actions. Yet when the South refused to defer to the ballot box bloody civil war followed. Wisconsin was forced to abandon its constitutional resistance to federal authority but realized the substance of its claims nonetheless, which were reaffirmed when Congress repealed the Fugitive Slave Act in 1864. Fugitive slave cases were rarely as straightforward as they might appear. This book is thus a must read for anyone seeking to understand the complexities of one of the most significant of such cases.

FREDERICK J. BLUE  
Youngstown State University

BRIAN R. DIRCK, editor. *Lincoln Emancipated: The President and the Politics of Race*. Foreword by ALLEN C. GUELZO. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 189. \$32.00.

The issue of Lincoln's racial attitudes has become a hot topic, both within the historical profession and far beyond it. In this collection of essays, seven historians address the issue in different ways and with extremely mixed results.

The editor, Brian R. Dirck, is to be commended for eliciting a broad range of opinions. Indeed, Dirck's own contribution to the book—an essay on the subject of “Abraham Lincoln, Emancipation, and the Supreme Court”—is one of the best chapters in the volume. In addition to this, the most successful of the essays include the sensible foreword by Allen C. Guelzo, the excellent chapter by Phillip S. Paludan entitled “Greeley, Colonization, and a ‘Deputation of Negroes’: Three Considerations on Lincoln and Race,” and the interesting account of antislavery politics in Missouri during the Civil War by Dennis K. Boman, entitled “All Politics Are Local: Emancipation in Missouri.”

Some of the essays could have used additional refinement: Kenneth J. Winkle's “‘Paradox Though It May Seem’: Lincoln on Antislavery, Race, and Union, 1837–1860” and Michael Vorenberg's “Slavery Reparations in Theory and Practice: Lincoln's Approach” are meritorious in certain respects but disappointing in others.

Two essays were simply unsatisfactory: Kevin R. C. Gutzman's “Abraham Lincoln, Jeffersonian: The Colonization Chimera” and James K. Leiker's “The Difficulties of Understanding Abe: Lincoln's Reconciliation of Racial Inequality and Natural Rights.”

The best of the essays show a grasp of the strategic issues that affected Lincoln's handling of race as he

dealt with very different constituencies. The worst of the essays reflect a tacit refusal (or a temperamental inability) to take such issues into account. Several of the contributors seem tone-deaf to political nuance and all but blind to the political complexities with which Lincoln had to struggle. They cite statements by Lincoln out of context, quoting passages as demonstrations of “Lincoln's position” on this or that issue with no recognition of the fact that the statements in question were flatly contradicted by other Lincoln statements or by actions of Lincoln that were sharply at variance with the statements. Several of the essays were marred by *non sequiturs*, complacent presumptions on matters that are open to dispute, or generalizations that reveal a shaky grounding in the politics that made Lincoln's statecraft so fluid.

Indeed, some of the essays reflect a superficial approach to intellectual history. In his essay “Abraham Lincoln, Jeffersonian,” Gutzman attempts to compare the racial attitudes of Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson. The author is impatient with the sort of people who argue that statements by Lincoln on the subject of race should be taken with a grain of salt. He dismisses “the thesis that Lincoln all along acted as a master wire-puller, keeping his own counsel and calculatedly saying things he did not really believe for political effect” (p. 49). He continues, “Does it really matter what these two men [Jefferson and Lincoln] thought or what their confidential motives were? . . . This chapter examines the outward men, leaving it to a greater authority to pry into their hearts” (p. 49). But Gutzman's resolution cannot be sustained for very long. He repeatedly engages in psychological speculation. He asserts, for example, that a passage in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787) reveals that Jefferson “projected his own likely resentment onto his chattels” (p. 55). He discusses the issue of Lincoln's support for “colonization,” and then asks, “how did he justify it to himself?” He goes on to suggest that a particular “clue” might explicate the matter (p. 65).

Motives are fundamental. The challenge for the intellectual historian is often the task of assessing the degree to which a motive can be known, and the perennial problem of source analysis forces us to engage in speculation from time to time. Hypotheses are often unavoidable; probability—a belief that a particular theory is acceptable because it makes sense—may be the best that we can offer.

Such is the problem with Lincoln and his attitudes on race: we are trying to guess a man's innermost feelings on the basis of ambiguous evidence. Some of the contributors confront this challenge well; their interpretations are defensible. The essays of others cloud the issue even further.

RICHARD STRINER  
Washington College

JOAN E. CASHIN. *The First Lady of the Confederacy: Varina Davis's Civil War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. 403. \$29.95.

Joan E. Cashin's book is the first professional biography of Varina Howell Davis, and we are indebted to the author for this meticulously researched, compellingly written, and thoughtfully presented portrait of one of the most famous women of the nineteenth century. In reading this book, we come to understand both the power of social context to form and twist a life, at the same time that we can take heart in the way that a personality that persists can find a sort of realization in the very act of persistence. Men, particularly Davis's father, William Howell, and her husband, Jefferson Davis, created much of the form and the twisting in her life. As Cashin convincingly suggests, the bankruptcy of Davis's Natchez merchant father in her early years framed much of the rest of her life. It arguably contributed to throwing her into the arms of Jefferson Davis, a man twice her age at the time of her marriage to him in 1845 (at age nineteen), and of a considerably wealthier planter class family background.

Historical events, particularly the Civil War and the military defeat of the Confederacy, also structured the form of Davis's life. Having accommodated herself to what Cashin describes as her husband's "iron will," Davis made a life for herself in Washington, D.C., in the 1840s and 1850s. As the wife of a leading politician, she earned a reputation as a talented hostess, and she enjoyed the lively intellectual life of Washington, cultivating a group of women with whom she read and discussed books. Perhaps her greatest accomplishment of these years in her own eyes, however, was the way that she was able to act as the "balance wheel" of her larger Howell clan, taking in her younger siblings alongside her own children and sending her family money out of the allowance that her husband gave her. Secession and the Civil War wrecked this world for Davis and offered her a position as the Confederate First Lady in its place, a position she did not want. Indeed Davis referred to herself as a "half breed," and by that she meant a regional half breed, having both northern and southern Howell relations, relations she would continue to maintain during the war, even after correspondence to the North was made illegal by the Confederacy.

Although Davis was in the U.S. Senate gallery when her husband resigned, secession was not an issue he discussed with her, nor did he discuss his acceptance of the position as President of the Confederacy. At times, Cashin seems a bit frustrated with her historical subject, mostly because Davis only sporadically expressed her opinions, whether about secession, the war, or the gender order. What this close study of Davis reveals is the role that gender could play in containing dissent. How else could a person so opposed to secession and so lukewarm in relation to the war be at the same time so intimate with the President of the Confederacy? After all, while Jefferson Davis was busy discussing strategy with his military generals, his wife was busy nursing Union prisoners of war in the Richmond Hospital. Neither of them apparently talked to the other about it.

Domesticity created a separate ground of intimacy predicated on the dominance and apolitical standing of

the wife, however politically informed and personally positioned she actually was. And what about the impact of Confederate defeat? There was only a brief break during Jefferson Davis's imprisonment when Varina controlled the family finances. Jefferson Davis returned to his place of domestic dominance after the war. Although he never again worked for money, he continued to control the family finances and to decide the place of family residence. Varina served as his secretary for the writing of his memoirs and as hostess to the endless streams of visiting admirers. Only after her husband's decease in 1889 was she able to express her individual desires: with regard to residence, by moving to New York City; in employment, by becoming a self-supporting writer for the Pulitzer newspapers; and in choice of companions, by befriending the likes of Julia Dent Grant. Finally, in 1906, she even publicly noted that the "right side" won the war. We can only imagine what the sectional crisis might have amounted to if she had had the companionate marriage with Davis she so desired. As it is, her story as recounted by Cashin opens new ways of thinking about what the Civil War era amounted to if we recognize the political role of the domestic, even if Jefferson Davis did not.

LEEANN WHITES  
University of Missouri,  
Columbia

EDWARD L. AYERS, GARY W. GALLAGHER, and ANDREW J. TORGET, editors. *Crucible of the Civil War: Virginia from Secession to Commemoration*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 226. \$35.00.

In the first of the essays collected in this volume, Andrew J. Torget notes how "few works" in history "have examined the diverse scenes of life that played out on Virginia's home front" (p. vii). More than enough has appeared about battles, but that is scarcely the whole story, he justly contends. Indeed, could the rebel states have long survived without Virginia's political and historical preeminence, its large population, its high Confederate morale, its generalship, and its industrial capacity?

In his introduction to the volume, Gary W. Gallagher drives home Virginia's significance in time of war. The eminent military historian agrees with Torget that much of the state's history remains in the shadows. That omission, happily, has left a grand opportunity for the contributors. Gallagher might have more forcefully alerted readers to the richness of historical ideas that awaits anyone turning these pages. To illustrate the point, in the first essay, Torget assails an old subject with new vigor. He observes that historians have long pondered why Virginia took so long to join its sister slave states to the south. Some scholars credit the state's healthy two-party system, which could no longer be found in the seceding states. Was it because slavery meant less to Virginia's diversifying economy than it did to the cotton states? To answer the matter, Torget thor-



oughly explores the complications of partisanship in the Shenandoah Valley. Remarkably, its citizens managed to unite with one voice for secession. That was all the more astonishing, he contends, given their previous political rivalries. Yet, questions of motive remain. A plausible suggestion is that family ties and common cultural sentiments prompted loyalty to the Lower South and Southwest. By the hundreds of thousands, Virginia settlers had established new lives in the states south and west. Yet they continued an intimacy with their connections at home. These slave-state kinfolks were not only brothers in arms but also in blood and could not be forsaken under threat of Yankee invasion.

In an elegant essay, Wayne Hsieh challenges Douglas Southall Freeman's portrayal of General Robert E. Lee as guiltless and guilt-free in breaking his Union allegiance. He argues that nearly a third of other Virginians in the United States military abided by their vows of fidelity. Those southern-born West Pointers who honored their pledge numbered 162, while 168 joined the Confederacy. That almost even split is seldom cited, Hsieh observes. Most notable was General George Henry Thomas, hero at Chickamauga. His Union commitment severed him from his Southampton County relatives. Rumor has it that some even demanded that he change his name. Hsieh's persuasive essay struck this reviewer, long an admirer of Lee, as one of the freshest in this impressive collection. It should require other southern historians to rethink Lee's interpretation of what his most honorable course ought to have been.

Aaron Sheehan-Dean's contribution demonstrates the importance of geographical regions in the state, before and during the period of secession and war. His helpful maps show how counties in the relatively slave-free Northwest remained consistently Unionist, how central Virginia proved loyal but sentiment overwhelmingly shifted for secession after the siege of Fort Sumter. The Tidewater counties were disunionist with their large slave populations. Sheehan-Dean's quite logical conclusion is that, apart from the West Virginia break-off, a sense of state loyalty grew out of the shared sacrifices and miseries of war. That unity was to govern Virginia's racist tendencies far into the future.

Like Sheehan-Dean, Amy Minton concerns herself with the development of Virginia's self-identity. Rather than offer demographic statistics, she investigates the role journalism played. The newspapers stereotyped all those who favored reunion with the North as traitors, dissolutes, and criminals, whereas faithful Confederates were pure in morals and patriotic opinions. The roles that women undertook by working as military hospital nurses and other paid employments, she observes, received commendations from the editors, an overturning of peacetime conventions about female respectability. This propaganda also took an egalitarian note regarding the lower classes, whose members furnished the bulk of Confederate ranks.

Jaime Amanda Martinez's article throws unexpected light on the slave economy. Surprisingly, Virginia's slave markets remained very active through the dura-

tion of the conflict. One might expect that smart traders would have unloaded such a liability before the human property stole away to federal lines or was freed by advancing troops. Most slaveholders failed to do so. To be sure, Martinez explains, by 1863 the market's "strains and cracks" widened. Inflation rose and defeats multiplied. Yet, the demands for labor, especially in such industries as the Tredegar Iron Works, held rental prices high. This essay tells us that Confederate optimism and blind faith in slavery's perpetuity withstood the harsh realities of the times.

A subject that has recently come into its own is the history of religion during the Civil War. Andrew Witner's study of black and white Baptists contributes further insights about the subject. He has discovered from careful research that black churchmen in Virginia took full advantage of the raging war to press for greater religious autonomy. Perhaps half-distracted by other looming problems, white laity and clergy grew "remarkably receptive to limited increases" in black self-governance (p. 137). For instance, the disciplinary decisions of African American leaders were undertaken without much or any white intervention. Witner reveals that the slave members of Baptist churches increased strikingly throughout the war. Perhaps worship offered the slaves spiritual succor when faced with perils from wartime chaos. It also provided hope for liberation. As the author concludes, the latter gift meant release from white domination. The freed people could at last develop their own church institutions. The matter of security from white interference remained far from certain.

Much fine work has also written about the "Lost Cause" legend, but Caroline Janney offers something new in these pages. She examines the early work of female Virginians in honoring the Confederate dead just after the war. We have generally thought that such elaborate commemorations only evolved some years later when the nation's whites once again came together, united in their views about the freedmen's inferiority and slavery's incompatibility in a capitalist society. Like Minton, Janney highlights the role of these early memorializing ladies in upholding the glory of the Confederacy as a memory to be sacralized.

In the final essay, Susanna Lee sheds interesting light on the attitudes of Virginians during early Reconstruction. Veterans and Rebel officials had to seek Andrew Johnson's presidential pardon or face economic and political deprivation. So, grudgingly, they swore Union allegiance but acknowledged former Confederate sympathies. Virginians stressed, though, that they had vigorously opposed secession before April 1861, sometimes truthfully, sometimes not. Some slaveholders even claimed to rejoice in slavery's demise.

In summing up, Edward L. Ayers observes that the contributors to this volume "deliver supple interpretations because they assume that people act from complex motivations in complicated contexts" (p. 210). He does



not exaggerate. Unlike some similar collections, this is a coherent, lively, and important study.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

*University of Florida and Johns Hopkins University*

ROBERT TRACY MCKENZIE. *Lincolnitest and Rebels: A Divided Town in the American Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 306. \$35.00.

Robert Tracy McKenzie has produced the first book to examine the American Civil War's impact on Knoxville, Tennessee. As many previous works have dealt with portions of the subject, much of the content will be familiar to specialists on wartime Tennessee. Yet this is much more than a synthesis. McKenzie rethinks the material to find new insights.

The author views Knoxville as having "an extraordinary story" (p. 6) among Confederate towns, because of its deeper political division over secession. Given that the small city was just beginning to undergo significant economic growth stimulated by new railroad connections to other southern states, about half of the population, especially the more financially successful residents, supported secession. The town's Whig and then unionist leader, William G. Brownlow, used class antagonisms, as he had long done in local politics, in fighting the mostly Democratic secessionists.

McKenzie finds that the unionists' numbers suffered some erosion primarily because of political pragmatism after Tennessee joined the Confederacy's side of the war. The remaining unionists reacted to the Federals' controversial adoption of emancipation in 1862 as little more than an aggravation. By then local secessionists in high offices had greatly increased pressure for cooperation, and even persistent unionists had temporized. Later, when Brownlow and some supporters went by choice or force into Federal lines, they resumed harsh attacks upon the Confederacy and strengthened northern views about the alleged unionism of the southern masses.

The author observes that, when a large Federal army finally took Knoxville in late 1863, the small town suffered tremendously from the occupiers' commandeering of limited local resources. A poorly planned attack by General James Longstreet failed to retake the town for the Confederacy. Brownlow and other returning exiles, now allied to President Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party, advocated the emancipation of slaves and the punishment of secessionists as tougher means for winning the war. New conflicts arose when non-exiled unionists openly rejected those positions and African Americans with Federal support openly pushed for more rights from all local whites. After the war most whites united in a revived and enlarged Democratic Party to reestablish their race's dominance. The more extreme unionists preserved the Republican Party as a political minority.

McKenzie uses some quantitative analysis in this work, like in his prize-winning first book, *One South or Many? Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War-Era*

*Tennessee* (1994). He especially examines the differences between unionists and secessionists, the Conscription Act's effect on Confederate enlistments over time, and the war's impact on wealth distribution in Knoxville. Old party allegiances and income levels had more demonstrable influence than other factors in separating unionists from secessionists. Conscription put more men with lower income into the Confederate army. The war did not alter the town's distribution of wealth, although the elite came to include more unionists and hold less total wealth.

McKenzie focuses mostly on political and military issues. Unlike Noel Fisher, he minimizes the extent of guerrilla warfare in East Tennessee during 1861–1862. He supports the common emphasis on the central role of Brownlow's exaggerated, vituperative politics in the region's unionism but disagrees with writers that focus the region's experience of the Civil War on class conflict and change. He agrees with the historians who argue that during Federal occupation many slaves acted assertively, rather than with scholars who hold that the masters' paternalism restrained bondsmen. Additionally, he endorses David Blight's thesis that whites achieved postwar reconciliation later by ignoring the accomplishments and welfare of African Americans.

The author persuasively presents his thesis in clear and smooth writing built upon extensive research. Still, the study might have benefited if he had consulted works on other Confederate cities, such as Richmond, Atlanta, Nashville, and Mobile. This would have put Knoxville into a larger context and revealed areas in which the Tennessee town was not so distinctive. For example, economic problems and disorder increased over time in a number of cities during Confederate rule. Also, Federal occupation often quickly led to arrests for treason. One especially wonders how developments in Knoxville compared to those in Little Rock, Arkansas—probably the town most similar to it in the South. Further use of Knoxville's newspapers might have added something about the town government's role in the story. Other sources would have enabled the writer to expand upon local emancipation and to avoid the erroneous statement (p. 191) that Lincoln—it was actually Military Governor Andrew Johnson—required sworn support of emancipation policies before a Tennessean could vote. Still, none of these points undermines what McKenzie has accomplished. This thoughtful work unquestionably reaches important new conclusions.

JOHN CIMPRICH

*Thomas More College*

SUSANNAH URAL BRUCE. *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 309. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$22.00.

Growing acknowledgment of the transatlantic nature of the Irish in America and Ireland is the leitmotif of this well-documented and illuminating study of the Irish

participation in the Union army during the American Civil War. The author shows us how events in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland influenced enlistment in the Union cause and how the Irish fared in the American army and society before, during, and after the American Civil War.

In her introduction, Susannah Ural Bruce tells us that service in the Union Army was inextricably linked to the cause of Irish independence in the hearts and minds of the men, often recent immigrants, who joined the Union's Irish brigades. Heroes of the great battles in the epic conflict between the states sought to put their American military training to good use later to set Ireland free from British rule.

Merging military history with that of social and economic history of Irish immigration to the United States in the middle third of the nineteenth century, Bruce's narrative goes beyond that of traditional military history. By placing the Irish soldier in the wider context of his transatlantic experience and imagination, Bruce's work transcends the routine retelling of the Irish participation in the American Civil War. Instead, she offers the reader an analysis of Irish participation in the American military from the Mexican War of the late 1840s through the aftermath of the war into the 1890s. At all points along the way, she shows how Irish recruits—native-born or, more commonly, Irish-born—used service in the military to meet immediate needs of food, clothing, and shelter, and to meet longer-term goals like Irish independence and Irish acceptance into mainstream American society. Like Thomas Brown, Bruce concludes that American goals more than Irish ones fueled the ardor of so many Irish American men for service in the American military at a crucial point in its history.

In addition to a careful analysis of the motivations for enlisting in the army, Bruce also connects events in Ireland to corresponding ones in the United States: the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848 and the subsequent transporting of its leaders to the antipodes had an aftereffect on Irish enlistment in the American military, we learn, as did the Great Famine of the late 1840s. American-grown Fenianism dedicated to the violent overthrow of British rule in Ireland found eager recruits, both in Ireland and in the United States, who were willing to serve an apprenticeship in the American military in preparation for later service in an Irish army of liberation.

Bruce also connects several nonmilitary issues to Irish participation in the American army. She sees the enlistments both as a response to the lack of economic opportunity in Ireland and as an antidote to nativism in the United States. Not only did the military provide a salary, it also gave patriotic respectability to otherwise despised immigrant newcomers.

Bruce shows that the relationship between the Irish and the Union cause was not without its problems, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation altered the Union's war aims. No longer fighting simply for the political cause of union, Irish recruits were now fighting

to end slavery as well. The Irish, Bruce points out, were no more in favor of liberating slaves during the war than they had been beforehand when they opposed the abolitionists. Bruce, unlike the "whiteness" theoreticians who blame the Irish for their anti-emancipation stance, draws a more nuanced portrait of the Irish response to abolition and emancipation. By placing the Irish soldiers' opposition to emancipation into a wider context of both Irish and Irish American experience, even Irish behavior in the New York Draft Riots of 1863 becomes understandable—albeit not admirable.

Despite its high quality, the book is sometimes repetitive and might have been improved significantly with a topical as opposed to the chronological organization used. The title should also indicate that this is a study of mostly Irish Catholic, not all Irish, participation in the Union army. Although Irish Protestants make an appearance or two, the story is focused on the Catholic nationalists. Tantalizing glimpses of women's attitudes toward the war and its soldiers also appear, and this reader, for one, wishes more about women's role in the war effort had been included.

Aside from these issues, Bruce offers a fine analysis of the political, social, and economic role of the military in the destinies of the Irish on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition, her work adds to our understanding of the importance of immigration in the eventual Union victory and the role of military service in assimilation of the foreign-born into the American mainstream. This valuable book joins the increasing list of other studies that help set the record straight about the Irish in American historiography.

JANET NOLAN  
Loyola University,  
Chicago

MARK ELLIOTT. *Color-Blind Justice: Albion Tourgée and the Quest for Racial Equality from the Civil War to Plessy v. Ferguson*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 388. \$30.00.

This excellent biography, by far the best scholarly treatment of its important subject, tells the story of Albion Tourgée (1838–1905), the lawyer and author who at great personal cost dedicated his life to the cause of racial equality in the wake of the Civil War. But this thoroughly researched and well-written book provides more than a simple retelling of a life; it offers a compelling portrait of the intellectual and cultural milieu that shaped the antiracist civic commitments of one of the most prominent Yankee "carpetbaggers" and, thus, a window onto the origin of the most enduring ideals of Reconstruction. With the recent decision by the U.S. Supreme Court striking down the use of racial classifications in public school assignments, a ruling that implicitly involved a conflict over the meaning of Tourgée's "color-blind" ideal of justice, Mark Elliott's work is especially timely.

Elliott's book is divided into three sections. The first explicates the ideological principles of Radical Repub-

licans, particularly their historically remarkable commitment to civic equality and their devotion to “higher law” constitutionalism. This discussion proceeds in part through an explication of Horatio Bateman’s allegorical illustration *Reconstruction* (1867). Elliott’s skillful analysis reveals the coherence of a program of cultural and political revolution that sought to destroy a system of racial caste and establish an “interracial and integrated citizenry” (p. 28) through the simultaneous expansion of national state power and the equal protection of individual rights. Elliott admirably highlights how the “most important foundation” (p. 31) of this liberal political vision lay in the Christian ethics of the Golden Rule, on the basis of which constitutional law was to be made consistent with the law of God. The social engine that would make this civic ideal a reality was a system of universal public education intended to foster economic opportunity and advance recognition of the moral truth of human equality.

Tourgée was a central figure in the growth of this radical worldview, and he developed the metaphor that has come to be its most important trace in public rhetoric: that the Constitution is “color-blind.” The phrase was employed by Justice Harlan in his influential dissent in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), for which Tourgée served as lead counsel to the plaintiffs. In the second section of his book, Elliott explores how Tourgée came to the beliefs embodied in this celebrated phrase. His exploration is wonderfully rich and evocative, focusing attention on the abolitionist spirit of “radical individualism” Tourgée absorbed in his childhood in the Ohio Western Reserve; the searing tensions between the ambitious young man and his authoritarian Methodist father; his companionate marriage to Emma Kilbourne, whose family was strongly opposed to slavery; his own highly elevated conceptions of honor and manliness; and the ultimate transformation of his political principles in the crucible of Union Army service, which both crystallized his views on race and citizenship and encouraged him to reconcile radical individualism with a respect for state authority. Elliott shows how Tourgée’s egalitarian principles were the ultimate motivation behind his work after the war as a legal reformer and jurist in North Carolina, where husband and wife lived in an integrated neighborhood, broke bread with black guests in their home, and legally adopted a thirteen-year-old former slave. The price they paid for their commitment was great.

In the third part of his book, Elliott turns to Tourgée’s literary and political efforts in the period of national reaction against Reconstruction, which he situates in the context of the rise of deterministic notions of the self and a cultural politics of memory in which the historical views Tourgée advanced in *A Fools Errand, By One of the Fools* (1879) were supplanted by those of anti-Reconstruction novels such as Thomas Dixon Jr.’s *The Leopard’s Spots* (1902). Not only was Tourgée’s literary output during this period prodigious, he also founded a national civil rights organization and engaged in a variety of efforts at statutory and constitu-

tional reform, notably his work in *Plessy* (about which Elliott provides important correctives to influential writings within the legal academy). The last years of his life were spent as a consul in France, where he uncharacteristically vowed to keep silent on public affairs, despairing of the fate of his ideals. Yet, Elliott convincingly suggests, the civic tradition Tourgée advanced, combining Christian ethics with democratic politics, was later embodied in Martin Luther King, Jr., and the early civil rights movement—a comparison exemplifying how this book is not only a biography of an important historical figure but also a useful meditation on the cultural commitments necessary for the maintenance of the liberal rule of law.

MARK S. WEINER

Rutgers University School of Law

EDWARD J. ROBINSON. *To Save My Race from Abuse: The Life of Samuel Robert Cassius*. (Religion and American Culture.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 212. \$39.95.

Frederick Douglass’s choice of title for one of his final autobiographies, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881), was important. The book was more than a recounting of individual experiences, exploits, and emotions: it was a tale of his times. It had the power to illuminate broader historical trends, to tell larger stories, to contain deeper social truths. Centering on individual examples, autobiographies and biographies can shed light on social structures. They can expose historical contours and curves. They can help us feel an entire period. As an autobiographer, Douglass was able to accomplish this because he had experienced so much in the realm of slavery and freedom. Removed from such direct encounters, biographers need a deep understanding of the realms inhabited by the individual. This usually results from breadth and depth of historical reading. The author should be able to see and feel the social, cultural, political, and economic world surrounding the events of the individual life. If not, biography becomes merely a recounting of events without broader meaning of the life. This is the case of Edward J. Robinson’s study of minister, educator, missionary, and race man Samuel Robert Cassius. Although Robinson would like the reader to believe that Cassius exemplified the experiences of common African Americans more fully than Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, or Ida B. Wells, this biography fails to unveil much about the eras or the cultures in which Cassius moved.

Cassius was born in Virginia in 1853, the progeny of an enslaved woman and her master. During the Civil War, he moved with his mother to Washington, D.C. There, he attended school and fell in love with the Bible. In the early 1880s, he became a member of the Disciples of Christ, an American Protestant denomination formed in the early nineteenth century dedicated to Christian unity, the centrality of Communion, and the Bible as the sole authority in religious matters. From

then until his death in 1931, Cassius was an intrepid preacher and missionary. He trekked throughout Indiana, Illinois, Oklahoma, California, and Colorado forming churches, writing newspaper articles, and siring twenty-three children. In 1899, he followed the lead of Booker T. Washington and opened the Tohee Industrial School in Oklahoma, although it remained open for only six months. In 1920, in response to the white supremacist writings of Charles Carroll and Thomas Dixon and the cinematic exploits of D. W. Griffith, Cassius published *The Third Birth of a Nation*; he expanded it in 1925. This work, which serves as the basis for most of Robinson's biography, was part history, part biblical exposition, and part survey of American life in the early twentieth century. What is perhaps most intriguing about it was that Robinson placed economic issues at the heart of racial oppression.

Cassius's life is certainly interesting, and his writings reflect a painful recognition of his dependence on white Christians for financial support and their disdain for his blackness. His travels throughout the Midwest and West reveal a great deal of physical mobility that preceded the "Great Migration." His responses to white supremacy, whether in the guise of neglect from others in the Disciples of Christ or in the form of virulent hate from Dixon, showed that racism and religion were tightly interwoven in the early twentieth century.

Yet Robinson's book says little about the times of Cassius. The author, it seems, needs to be more at home not only in African American history but also in studies of Reconstruction, the Gilded Age, and the Progressive era. Robinson fails to contextualize Cassius within the contours of the rise and fall of Reconstruction, the descent into the nadir that included segregation, lynching, and rape, and the intrepid efforts of African Americans to resist. For example, at no point does Robinson situate Cassius's educational experiences within the violent struggle over African American education that took place during and after the Civil War. In small schools throughout the South, white women from the North and African Americans of all ages participated in one of the most profound literacy transformations in world history. Literacy rates for former slaves went from roughly ten to fifty percent in one generation. Cassius was a product of this transformation and there is a substantial historical literature on the topic of Reconstruction education, but Robinson includes little about this change and its effects on black America.

There is so much else that Robinson could have explained. Cassius, for example, spent a lifetime railing against Catholicism. Clearly, while he fought one kind of repression, he propagated another kind, but Robinson makes little of this. Finally, the question of "representativeness" in African American history may be outdated. It presumes a unity among African Americans that belies their diversity. It was Cassius's distinctiveness—his choice to be in the Disciples of Christ, his mobility, and his various writings—that made him so interesting.

This is not to suggest that there is nothing of value

in Robinson's study. Those interested in the history of the Disciples of Christ will want to know about Cassius. Robinson nicely examines Cassius's intellectual imagination. I found Robinson's discussion of what written works influenced Cassius to be particularly interesting. Overall, however, readers will probably want to know more about the connections between Cassius's life and his times.

EDWARD J. BLUM  
San Diego State University

ANDREW L. SLAP. *The Doom of Reconstruction: The Liberal Republicans in the Civil War Era*. (Reconstructing America Series, number 12.) New York: Fordham University Press. Pp. xxv, 206. \$70.00.

In this book Andrew L. Slap differentiates between the Liberal Republican Party, organized to challenge Ulysses S. Grant's re-election, and what he calls a liberal republican movement, a small cohort of editors, intellectuals, and politicians who sought to steer a wayward polity back to its republican moorings. Most historians dismiss these reformers as inept political amateurs, disappointed office seekers, and carping critics excluded from power by their own self-righteousness. This book offers a more sympathetic portrait.

Slap joins a growing company of historians who take seriously the ideas and beliefs espoused by political actors. He concentrates on a core of twenty-three liberal republicans who organized meetings in the early 1870s and otherwise promoted reform. Included are well-known figures such as Carl Schurz, David Wells, and the Adamses, and more obscure participants such as Mahlon Sands and Johann B. Stallo. Slap focuses on their public speech and private communication and on pronouncements in such journals as E. L. Godkin's *The Nation* and Samuel Bowles's *Springfield Republican*. He argues that the central tenet these men espoused was republicanism. They revered civic virtue and selflessness, decried corruption, denounced tyranny and centralized power, and warned against the tendency to elevate party imperatives over the nation's welfare.

These notions did not arise simply in reaction to the supposed transgressions of the Grant administration. Rather, they originated in the liberal republicans' experiences in the years before the Civil War. The Free Soil revolt of 1848 and the fluidity of party allegiance in the 1850s taught them that fidelity to principle must trump fealty to any particular organization. Indeed, they regarded parties as mere temporary expedients to achieve worthy goals. Opposition to the overweening slave power drove many liberals into the Republican Party. Several abandoned the Democratic Party in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but they did not embrace the Whig-Republicans' ideas of activist government. Liberal republicans who had started political life as Democrats adhered to their wonted beliefs in limited government, strict construction of the Constitution, free trade, and hard money.



During the Civil War the liberals acquiesced in the temporary expansion of the federal government to meet the emergency of suppressing the rebellion. They did not, however, relinquish their suspicion of centralized power. Nor did they approve many of the economic policies the Republican Congress passed to meet the exigencies of war. They opposed the Legal Tender Act with its call for the issuance of greenbacks, unbacked by specie, as a wicked assault against moral money. They condemned the protective tariff as an egregious abuse of power in favor of special interests.

During the early years of Reconstruction, Andrew Johnson's obdurate support for white southerners convinced most liberals, along with most Republicans, that black suffrage and at least temporary military intervention were necessary to effect a true reordering of southern society. They initially welcomed Ulysses S. Grant's accession to the presidency but soon soured on his apparent willingness to prolong aggressive Reconstruction measures, and they promoted amnesty for ex-Confederates as a key to ending turmoil in the region. The liberals also opposed Grant's support of the Republican Party's economic agenda, and his alleged patronage abuses led them to champion civil service reform. By 1872 their disenchantment ran so deep that they regarded Grant's defeat for re-election as vital to preserve the republic.

In his examination of the campaign of 1872, Slap vividly depicts the liberals' political ineptitude. They lost control of their nominating convention, where their favorites, Charles Francis Adams and Lyman Trumbull, refused to dicker, and the nomination went to Horace Greeley, whose tariff protectionism and spoilsmanship disgusted liberals. This grotesque outcome ensured Liberal Republican defeat. Moreover, because Greeley could not campaign on the economic and civil service issues, he and his new party (joined by the Democrats) focused almost exclusively on a spirited denunciation of Reconstruction. Slap argues that by putting Republicans on the defensive on that issue and undermining northern support for continued aggressive action, the "liberal republican movement doomed Reconstruction in 1872" (p. xi). Specialists may find this a questionable assertion in an otherwise commendable study. Indeed, the liberal movement's overheated rhetoric in the campaign of 1872 spurred many regular Republicans to rally behind Reconstruction as necessary to thwart rebel rule, and it did not alter Grant's basic approach toward the South. He still occasionally used military intervention, especially in Louisiana, whose appropriateness even Schurz conceded. The defeat of Reconstruction resulted ultimately from the violent intransigence of white southerners bent on regaining control of their society. The Panic of 1873 led to Republicans' loss of the 1874 congressional elections, which ushered in fifteen years of divided government at the national level. This development ensured that no new national policy could be devised to halt the so-called Redemption and

the crushing of blacks' rights and aspirations. This was the real doom of Reconstruction.

CHARLES W. CALHOUN  
East Carolina University

KIMBERLY S. JOHNSON. *Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877–1929*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. 226. \$35.00.

Kimberly S. Johnson brings a political scientist's tools to bear on a problem in the history of American federalism, with considerable success. Textbooks divide early twentieth-century federalism into two eras. Under "dual federalism," a legacy of the nineteenth century, state and federal governments were, in James Bryce's famous metaphor, a factory in which two machines were furiously at work, their components seemingly intermingled but never in contact. When the Great Depression wrecked this elegant mechanism by bankrupting the states, the New Deal responded with a vast expansion of grant-in-aid programs. The money came with strings attached, however, and a "new" or "cooperative" federalism resulted in which national officials increasingly had the last word. We always knew, of course, that grant-in-aid programs existed before the 1930s, but these anomalies could be finessed as early responses to the modernization of American society and precursors of truly national structures to come—or at least they could as long as scholars equated "nationalism with centralization and centralization with progress" (Barry Karl, *The Uneasy State* [1983], p. 3). Reject those assumptions, and the federal programs of the Gilded Age and Progressive era becomes a puzzle. If not "merely a New Deal state-in-waiting" (p. 5), what were they?

Johnson's central insight is that a grant-in-aid program or "intergovernmental regulation" established before the New Deal was "first and foremost a creature of Congress, not the executive" (p. 10). Interest groups might clamor for one of these "intergovernmental policy instruments" (IPIs), and presidents might endorse them, but Congress determined whether they would be created, when, and with what limitations on the discretion of state and national bureaucrats. Congressmen and women viewed IPIs "through a prism shaped by party and institution," as representatives of decentralized parties just starting to use programs as well as patronage to mobilize supporters and as professional legislators charting their own careers in Congress (p. 84).

Johnson's initial approach is quantitative. She conducts regression and factor analyses of 131 statutes passed by Congress between 1877 and 1929 to see how well "partisan" and "institutional" factors explain the passage of IPIs and the amount of discretion entrusted to state and national bureaucrats. Her best results are for distributive IPIs, such as highway grants. Congress was more likely to pass them as the percentage of seats held by Republicans grew, as the party in power became more cohesive, as the turnover of members of Congress



decreased, as legislative staffs expanded, and when the same party held Congress and the presidency. Democrats, uncertain of their hold on the federal government, preferred to empower state bureaucrats; Republicans mistrusted state officials but would grant discretion to national officials if they thought Congress could effectively oversee them.

Johnson then presents narrative case studies of the origins, implementation, and fate of the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906), the Federal Highway Act (1916), and a grant-in-aid program promoting maternal and child health, the Sheppard-Towner Act (1921). In the structures and procedures of these statutes, Congress created bureaucracies in its own image of federalism. States could opt out of many programs, regulate commerce and manufacturing within its boundaries, enact standards above national minima, propose and sometimes insist on their own implementation plans, and hire their own staff. National bureaucrats knew they had to act through or in consultation with state agencies and justify their decisions to advisory boards, interdepartmental committees, and Congress itself. Factors previously shown to be general predictors of congressional action, such as the professionalization of Congress, reappear in the case studies in human form; new actors, such as state and national officials, interests groups, professionals, and the courts, are introduced; and the fortuitous way in which events sometimes conspired to precipitate diffuse demands into legislation is duly acknowledged. So is irony: Congress was only willing to delegate power and appropriate money for public officials, professionals, and other authorities with the expertise to use them effectively, but this same administrative capacity ultimately enabled bureaus to become independent centers of political power or part of a more centralized, presidentially directed executive branch.

Johnson thinks Americans would do well to consider "the first New Federalism" as they look for new ways of accommodating "the multitude of interests that comprise the American polity" while respecting the "ideals of efficiency, equality, and responsiveness" (p. 164). She may be right, but Americans' judgments would be better informed if they could consult more concrete accounts of the trade-offs and limitations of early IPIs than Johnson's compact case studies, based on printed sources and the secondary literature, provide. Political historians should mount their own explorations of this chapter in American federalism. When they do they will be grateful for the guidance of this intelligently conceived and executed book.

DANIEL R. ERNST  
Georgetown University Law Center

DAG BLANCK. *The Creation of an Ethnic Identity: Being Swedish American in the Augustana Synod, 1860–1917*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 256. \$55.00.

The present book is a revised and updated version of Dag Blanck's Ph.D. dissertation, originally published in

Sweden (1997). It addresses the question of identity formation within the Augustana Synod, the most important Swedish American Lutheran body, from its founding in 1860 to American entry into World War I. Inspired by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's path-breaking collection, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), and Benedict Anderson's equally important *Imagined Communities* (1983), Blanck sets out to investigate how the leadership of Augustana actively sought to construct a specifically Swedish American identity. Furthermore, challenging the view that boundary maintenance is more important for ethnic identity formation than the "cultural stuff" inside, Blanck analyzes what constituted this identity. Finally, Blanck grapples briefly with the question of why an ethnic leadership attempted—with considerable success—to foist its views of identity on the whole Swedish American community.

In pursuing these objectives, Blanck follows three lines of investigation. First, he studies the educational system at the synod's oldest and largest educational institution, Augustana College, investigating both academic curricular developments and various extracurricular activities, such as student literary societies and ethnic festivities. Blanck also analyzes the makeup of the student body, most of whose members, it turns out, remained within "the Augustana sphere" throughout their careers, many of them as ministers.

Second, Blanck examines the activities of the Augustana Book Concern (ABC), in his view "one of the most important building blocks in the creation of a Swedish-American identity within the Augustana Synod" (p. 159). The ABC functioned as a cultural gatekeeper, importing many works of nineteenth-century established romantic authors from Sweden but excluding others, notably those of modern writers considered immoral. The ABC also published books itself—almost half of them nondenominational—again informed by the synod's "special perspective." Among these publications, schoolbooks figured prominently and are especially worth analyzing, since they may be expected to mirror the leadership's ethnic ambitions.

Finally, Blanck explores the establishment of a Swedish American historical tradition within the synod. Finding inspiration in Orm Øverland's concept of "home-making myths" (*Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870–1930* [2000]), Blanck notes how a specifically Swedish American tradition was created out of such elements as the early Swedish presence in North America, myths of ideological gifts (claiming Swedish American contributions to the American Revolution and to the concept of freedom), and the celebration of "culture heroes" such as Civil War engineer John Ericsson and Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus. The establishment of an annual "Founders Day" at Augustana and the celebration of the synod's 1910 "Golden Anniversary" helped sustain these traditions.

Blanck's main thesis is that the 1890s were pivotal for the establishment of a specifically Swedish American

identity. Before that point, the Augustana Synod was dominated at both grass-roots and leadership levels by Swedish immigrants with strong local and regional Old World attachments, as well as powerful ties to nineteenth-century Swedish low church revivalism, and only weak ideas about national identity. From the 1890s, with immigrants from an urbanizing and industrializing Sweden still arriving in America but many of them now displaying only limited interest in the Swedish American community, the synod became dominated by second-generation Swedish Americans from the traditional areas of recruitment in the Midwest. Under these circumstances, the leadership set out to *construct* a specifically Swedish American identity out of Swedish, American, and Swedish American components: "This . . . actively formulated ethnicity of the second phase was thus radically different from the unreflected upon and taken-for-granted sense of Swedish identity presumed during the first period of the synod's history, and we can thus say that the Augustana Synod went from being Swedish to being Swedish American" (p. 194).

In this well-conceived study, a couple of points do invite criticism. First, Blanck distinguishes between ethnic and religious identity, seeing a separate ethnic identity developing from the religious roots during the 1890s. Since the concepts of religion and ethnicity overlap, Blanck's alternative juxtaposition of the religious element with "cultural traditions" is more precise (e.g., pp. 7, 9, 68–69, and 192). Second, Blanck all but excludes the contemporary political context from his investigation, even though George M. Stephenson, in his classic study *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration: A Study of Immigrant Churches* (1932), emphasized the Augustana Synod's powerful Republican sympathies and basic conservatism. A stronger focus on the political environment would have led Blanck to consider Theodore Roosevelt's xenophobic "anti-hyphenate" campaign in his discussion of a 1916 Swedish American article titled, "Shall We Do Away With the Hyphen?" (pp. 157–158). More critically, the ethnically virulent atmosphere is ignored completely in connection with Blanck's crucial analysis of a Swedish American schoolbook published on the eve of American entry into World War I (pp. 145–150).

These points should not detract from the fact that Blanck has written a scholarly and well-argued book. Students and scholars studying ethnic identity formation, as well as people interested in Swedish American and Scandinavian American history, will read it with great benefit.

JØRN BRØNDAL  
University of Southern Denmark

GREGORY E. SMOAK. *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 289. \$44.95.

The central concern of this carefully researched, excellent work is the impact of late nineteenth-century Native American Ghost Dance (*nazánga*) movements on processes of identity formation among the Bannock and Shoshone or Newe peoples in the Fort Hall area of southeast Idaho. By "ethnogenesis," Gergory E. Smoak means the socially constructed nature of ethnicity and race as they develop through a process of native encounter with the invading non-native populations. Non-native attitudes toward race and ethnicity constantly challenged native peoples to define and redefine their own sense of identity within the context of an increasing imposition of social control and dominance. In this process, religious movements like the *nazánga* provided a native context for strategies of both accommodation and resistance. Complex issues of negotiation of identity, including conflict and competition among Bannock and Shoshone leaders, resulted in a constant struggle to define native identity and to maintain cultural integrity and native spiritual values.

Smoak breaks the analysis into two parts: Newe identity in the early contact period through the mid-nineteenth century, and Newe identity in the formative reservation period to the early twentieth century. Each section follows a careful historical chronology, drawing primarily on non-native written materials, that conveys the increasing complexity of native intertribal relations, conflict with the invaders through loss of land, aggressive federal policies, and the rise and fall of specific native leaders constantly frustrated by inconsistency and misleading government promises. In this conflictual context, the ghost dance movements of 1870 and 1890 acted as powerful motivating religious events whose participants had highly divergent interpretations of the value and import of the dance. This is the kind of nuanced study needed to demonstrate that native participation in various modifications of the dance, as a pan-Indian movement, was not simply based in the desire to recover an older way of life, but was crucial to the formulation of an emergent pan-Indian identity that valued both shared ideas of "Indianness" and unique indigenous traditions as the dance adapted from community to community.

The analysis is not based on older explanatory models of deprivation theory, revitalization, and nativism. And it moves beyond transformational or redemptive theories that would limit the dance to either personal redemptive experience or to a more communally shared worldview that offered a positive hope for the future. The author's perspective is sophisticated and complex; native individuals emerge as motivated, engaged agents of change whose intentions were not simply shaped by loss but who were adaptive and creative in redefining ethnic and communal identity as inseparable from native religious values. Historical context matters, social change is instigated by individual agents, and cultural values are subject to reinterpretation by those agents in ways that reveal tensions, creative disagreement, and multiple strategies of adaptation or resistance. For Smoak, the Ghost Dances were a primary means for

defining ethnic identity—ranging from full participation to peripheral or non-participation—that also offer uniquely native perspectives on social changes and a rising sense of “national” identity beyond local community.

The author carefully tracks the developments of historical contact, where “diggers and snakes” were the typical, confused early labels for local native communities. The later nineteenth century identity of Bannock and Shoshone only emerged slowly as a result of the constant need for native peoples to define themselves in the face of non-native confusion and incomprehension. Native shamanism is an underlying theme that is tracked in uneasy synthesis with Christian missionary language (“prophecy”) to emerge as a staple form of resistance to the assimilation model based on American, Jeffersonian agricultural ideals. Smoak clearly shows how older native religious values informed the emergence of the Ghost Dance beliefs and practices. Expanding the field of inquiry, he tracks the “dream dance prophets” of the Plateau area, shamanic themes of world destruction and renewal, connections with healing rituals, and prophetic witnessing among native followers of various dreamers, and he considers at various points the possibility of Mormon influences on the dances.

With forced adaptation to reservation life, Bannock and Shoshone identities emerged with some distinctive characteristics. With detailed analysis, the author shows that Shoshone at Fort Hall were seen as more adaptive and accommodating than the Bannock, whose resistance to reservation life and confinement was viewed as “wild and rebellious” and thus as “non-progressive.” The 1870 Ghost Dance, carefully detailed and summarized, had followers from both groups with varying interpretations that expressed attitudes of accommodation and/or resistance to reservation life. Shamanism and prophecy combined to strengthen native identity, even though native interpreters differed as to how that identity was relevant to reservation life. The 1890 Ghost Dance is represented, in a brief but excellent summary, as a formative event, especially for the Bannock, who saw the dance as an affirmation of both pan-Indian and unique Newe identity aligned with older shamanic and prophetic traditions. Thus the dances acted as communal affirmations of native religious and social identity that helped to sustain both the Shoshone and Bannock through the trauma of forced adaptation to reservation life.

LEE IRWIN  
*College of Charleston*

COLLEEN O'NEILL. *Working the Navajo Way: Labor and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University. 2005. Pp. xvii, 235. \$29.95.

Dependency theory and world systems theory have informed analyses of American Indian economic behav-

ior for decades. Specialists have moved beyond these theoretical models to examine specific local conditions and Native peoples' strategies within the parameters set by the global market, but informed by their own cultural priorities. Colleen O'Neill's treatment of Navajo economic efforts falls squarely within this historiography.

She begins in the mid-nineteenth-century pre-reservation era, follows disparate bands on the horrific Long March to Bosque Redondo at the behest of Kit Carson, and then focuses on the pastoral shepherding economy spawned upon their return to Diné Bikéyah, their homeland bounded by the four sacred mountains. Shepherding became the heart and soul of Navajo culture and livelihood. In their matrilineal, matricentric society, the home, children, and sheep belonged to women. Men had responsibilities to their mothers, wives, and clans. Helping to plant and harvest crops, tend livestock, accumulate firewood and water, and fulfill ceremonial obligations mattered most.

In the 1930s experts forced stock reduction on Navajos to preserve their rangeland. This turning point affected families with smaller herds the most. Unable to make a living from their herds alone, family members, especially men, turned to agricultural, railroad, and mining wage work to supplement their meager resources. Some mined coal seasonally on small family-operated claims. Women wove rugs to exchange for groceries with local traders, serving as a critical hedge against starvation while receiving a pittance. Economic spheres overlapped as men earned wages to replace the centrality of sheep and women were ensconced in near debt peonage. Jewelry making yielded more household income than anything else, but O'Neill is silent about it. Yet all of this “agency” could not stave off grinding poverty.

Men and women prioritized the well-being of reservation households where all resources were pooled. Men could spare only four months at a stretch due to their responsibilities to kin and culture at home. Employers also reviled Indians more than any other group and discriminated against them by paying them less, consigning them to menial roles, and providing substandard housing.

Predictably the ever-paternalistic Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) channeled Navajos to exploitative regional economic activities. Policy makers constructed Navajo miners as inefficient, unsafe, and in need of “white” supervision. Agents obstructed unions' organizing efforts. Educational personnel forced children to labor in boarding schools and farmed out Native students as cheap labor for local business and domestic use in the guise of imparting a work ethic.

The Navajo Nation tried to exclude labor unions from the reservation in the name of tribal sovereignty. Loud-mouthed organizers humiliated tribal elders and offended Navajo ethics about how kin should be treated. Offering food at chow lines only to union sympathizers was antisocial. Navajo political leaders constructed unions as “white” “outsiders,” despite their multiethnic membership. So Navajos refused to join for

a time. Union organizers racialized Navajos, but I am not persuaded that Navajos did the same. O'Neill carefully shows how the cultural content of union tactics offended Navajo workers more than their ethnic make-up or skin color.

Eventually union organizers did infiltrate the Navajo Reservation, but on Navajo terms. Navajo leaders insured that union agreements included preferential Navajo hiring clauses. Navajo workers organized themselves, forming the Office of Navajo Labor Relations and the Navajo Construction Workers Association. Their concerns about household, kin, and ceremonial responsibilities persisted. As necessary tools to safeguard their culturally based concerns, labor unions became part of the fabric of life in the late twentieth century.

Late-nineteenth and twentieth-century documents can reveal the structure of Navajo employment. Various U.S., state, and BIA censuses enumerate specific labor categories. Charts and graphs could have conveyed the composition of the Navajo work force over time, but that is not presented here.

As the Navajo Nation broadened its sovereignty, an analysis of labor relations could have included those who worked in its burgeoning administrative apparatus. Gendered workplaces would have emerged, especially if schools, health care facilities, social welfare programs, and public works programs were included. The Navajo Nation pioneered educational and health programs that were sensitive to Navajo culture. Increasingly Navajo workers cared for the needs of Navajo people, but they are not within O'Neill's purview.

Urban migration accelerated after World War II and relocation policies but is not represented here. Nearly half of enrolled Navajos lived off the reservation in 2000. Including enrolled members who lived beyond Diné Bikéyah and in cities would complicate O'Neill's analysis. Many probably shared a commitment to living their lives in an expansive "Navajo way" that would be in keeping with O'Neill's penetrating and insightful analysis.

I enjoyed this book immensely. O'Neill deftly uses many Navajo voices to illuminate and personalize larger trends. The creative adaptations Navajos made to wage work while adhering to core Navajo values will enhance anyone's lectures on American Indian history.

MELISSA L. MEYER  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

CHRISTIAN W. McMILLEN. *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Land Case and the Birth of Ethnohistory*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 284. \$38.00.

This book by Christian W. McMillen is a solid treatment of an important, if not widely known, U.S. Supreme Court decision involving the Hualapai people and the Santa Fe Railroad. *United States v. Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Co.* (1941) forcefully established the

doctrine that aboriginal title or Indian title to land rests with the Native American nation that possessed and occupied it unless it has been surrendered to the United States by treaty provisions, has been abandoned by the nation's members, or has been explicitly extinguished by federal statute.

But the book is much more than a simple legal case study. McMillen does an excellent job of placing the case in social, historical, and geographical context, and he poignantly gives due credit to the Hualapai activist, Fred Mahone, and other tribal leaders who refused to surrender their clear knowledge, not belief, that ancestral lands were, in fact, theirs, even while forces at the local, state, corporate, and national level colluded to deny them such recognition.

The incredible tension between the Hualapai, who "wondered why centuries of living in the same place meant nothing when compared to the rights of a railroad" and the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, Justice Department personnel, cattle ranchers, and members of Arizona's congressional delegation, who asserted that the Hualapai were a "savage tribe" and a "nomadic" people who lacked the capacity to claim legitimate title to their own lands, is a palpable theme that suffuses the entire text. While the tension persists today, at least in this case the Supreme Court sided with the tribal nation and created a set of precedents that have on occasion benefitted other Native peoples.

Utilizing a well developed comparative approach, McMillen deftly describes how the case's precedent has been wielded—for both good and ill results—by other high courts in other nations to deal with the question of indigenous land claims, notably in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia, Nigeria, and Malaysia.

Equally important, though not as fully developed as some of the author's other arguments, is the role that the *Santa Fe* case played in the genesis of ethnohistory as a fledgling discipline. As McMillen notes, "if it is true that the great outpouring of Indian history that resulted from the formation of the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) marks the more or less formal birth of ethnohistory then the discipline was conceived during the Hualapai case" (p. xv).

McMillen has not written a "tribal history," but he has produced a multilayered, nuanced, and intriguing account that traces various sets of relationships that surrounded the Hualapai's persistent effort to recover title to their land: the relationship between certain political and cultural segments within the tribe that were sometimes at odds over the best way to proceed; the relationship between the Hualapai and the Santa Fe Railroad Company; the relationship between the Hualapai and intertribal and non-Indian interest groups; the relationship between the tribe and several federal agencies, especially the Departments of Justice and Interior; and the relationships between the Hualapai and their land, between the tribe "and their encounter with colonial law," and between "non-Indian lawyers and



their defense and partial destruction of that same colonial law" (p. xvii).

The book's principal chapters richly detail various aspects of the issues that set the stage for the case, beginning with Mahone's involvement in local, intertribal, and national politics as he set about helping his nation reclaim title to its property. McMillen then assesses the Bureau of Indian Affairs's and Justice Department's collusive roles in the land claims process, wryly noting how "John Gung'l, the tribe's government appointed attorney, had done a better job representing the railroad than he had the Hualapai" (p. 52).

The middle chapters trace how difficult it was for the Hualapai to gain formal recognition of their land rights, given the stereotypical perception held by many federal officials, railroad personnel, and scholars who testified that the Hualapai were mere "nomads" with no legitimate land or water rights, that they were "inferior" people, and that their oral traditions were "historically worthless" (p. 60).

The next few chapters assiduously detail the painstaking strategies used by the Hualapai in their efforts to convince their trustee, the federal government, to support their rights, notwithstanding the claims of the railroad company. A real strength of the book is McMillen's sharp analysis of how and why those same federal agencies and key individuals in those agencies, beginning in 1933 with the arrival of John Collier, Felix Cohen, and Nathan Margold, changed their views about the Hualapai, their legal and property claims to the land, and the role that history and law played in the tribe's efforts.

Finally, McMillen arrived at his discussion of the three federal court rulings that addressed the Hualapai and railroad land claim: the negative district court opinion that sided with the railroad's interest by scoffing at the Hualapai as a "savage tribe"; the Ninth Circuit Court ruling that upheld the district court's decision; and the Supreme Court's unanimous and emphatic rejection of the two lower court rulings. The High Court, through Justice William O. Douglas, emphasized that "no positive affirmation of title from the sovereign was necessary because Indians had aboriginal title to their land based on occupancy from time immemorial" (p. 164).

In short, this is a wonderful and well-written study of a critically important case that continues to have an impact both nationally and internationally. As good as it is, I take issue with a few of the author's interpretations and facts. First, he wrongly claims that the *Santa Fe* case "was the twentieth century's first major decision concerning Indian land rights" (p. 165). That distinction actually rests with destructive *Lone Wolf* decision of 1903, which held that congressional power over Indian lands was virtually absolute, notwithstanding extant treaties and evidence of fraud or corruption on the government's part.

Second, while McMillen convincingly shows that this is a case of major importance, he assigns it too much power and too much precedential heft when he claims

that two important international cases that cite the case, *Mabo and Others v. The State of Queensland* (1992) and *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* (1997) "would never have come to court were it not for Hualapai" (p. 178). How does he know those cases would not have ripened on their own and been settled the way they were?

Third, at the beginning of chapter eight the author asks a vital question: "why did the attorneys in the case routinely work against the Hualapai?" Was it because as the historian and attorney for the British Crown, the Earl of Birkenhead, said in 1926: "as a rule, the settlement by white people of a country already occupied by natives raises problems of extreme complexity" (p. 86)? McMillen believes Birkenhead's response is apropos. But this answer is woefully inadequate. There is nothing inherently "complex" in a railroad company's, white settlers, or the federal government's absolute claims of legal ownership of Native land in the face of aboriginal presence. Such claims, on their face, are ludicrous, yet they have time and again been voiced and have often been upheld with terms like the *doctrine of discovery*, federal *plenary power*, and the *doctrine of conquest* that give the invading society a veneer of legal and moral claim to lands that rightly belong to the preexisting peoples of an area.

Despite my concerns and questions, this is an excellent account of a case that deserves far greater attention than it has heretofore received.

DAVID E. WILKINS  
University of Minnesota

MATT WRAY. *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 213. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

Matt Wray's book grabbed both my attention and my empathy. Beyond a carefully wrought methodology, compelling analyses, and some very fine writing, it bears the stamp of authenticity. Whiteness studies hasn't been around all that long—since the early 1990s when scholars like David Roediger first published their work—and Wray credits a heightened critical attention to questions of privilege as the field's major contribution. But in part "to resolve tired and tiring debates about how much analytical weight to give to race versus class, or gender versus race, and so on," Wray uses boundary theory to study the processes that grant social meaning. Wray's exploration itself is historically ambitious: he looks at the chronological development of the term "white trash" over the course of the 1720s through the 1920s, tracing what he calls the symbolic boundary labels of "stigmatypes," terms that distinguish "cultural and cognitive divides between in-groups and out-groups, between acceptable and unacceptable identities, between proper and improper behaviors" (p. 23). I don't love the term, but I do like what Wray accomplishes by using it.

Wray carefully uncovers the rhetorical operations of



stigmatypes like “poor white trash,” “cracker,” and the eighteenth-century “lubber.” Lubber, for instance, referred specifically to the inhabitants of the imaginary British “Lubberland” where the plenty was plentiful, the living easy, and carnality king. William Byrd started lubberizing backcountry squatters in his 1728 survey writing, but the term did not survive the revolution, giving way to cracker, a label first used to describe landless white freemen in 1766. Beyond the lazy, dirty lubbers of Byrd, crackers were “a lawless set of rascals” that didn’t properly defer to colonial authority (p. 35).

The figures of “dirt eaters” and “poor white trash” emerged in part in Augustin Baldwin Longstreet’s comic portraits of the 1830s. But white trash as a term was first recorded in 1833 when Mary Caton, daughter of the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, commented at dinner that “slaves themselves entertain the very highest contempt for white servants whom they designate as ‘white trash’” (p. 41). Wray contends that while black slaves may have originated the term, members of the white middle class and elite were the ones who gave it the “stigmatizing” power it assumed. This chapter was the least impressive to me, not because I disagreed with Wray’s arguments but because the selection of period literature was too thin for my taste.

While lubber quickly passed out of common American parlance, white trash gradually expanded from a strictly southern designation to a national one. Wray argues that while southern secessionists saw the condition of being white trash as essentially biological, abolitionists argued that the poor white was yet another social victim of slavery. These debates added even more meanings to the already crowded pool of white trash signification and by the end of the nineteenth century, poor whites were seen not just as a regional problem but as a national one, opening the door for such twentieth-century reforms as the eugenics movement and the “hookworm crusade” sparked by the 1909 Rockefeller Sanitary Commission to Eradicate Hookworm Disease. Wray’s last two fascinating—and I think best—chapters focus on these movements.

Wray’s overall point that racialized meanings change in relation to specific historical conditions is not unfamiliar (Noel Ignatiev’s influential *How the Irish Became White* [1995] comes to mind), but it is good to see it driven home again. Wray himself, though, describes himself reaching for something bigger, a kind of Holy Grail of sociology in the form of a “unified theory of social differentiation” (p. 143). Although I am not inclined to join him on this quest, what he exposes along the way should be required reading for any scholar interested in race in U.S. history and culture.

LINDA FROST  
University of Alabama,  
Birmingham

THOMAS W. ZEILER. *Ambassadors in Pinstripes: The Spalding World Baseball Tour and the Birth of the Amer-*

*ican Empire*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2006. Pp. xiv, 217. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

Over the last few years, Major League Baseball marketing strategists and general managers have been obsessed with the idea of “spreading” the game of baseball to China: namely, selling a billion caps and China Central Television (CCTV) broadcast rights and finding the Chinese version of Ichiro Suzuki or Chien-Ming Wang. Boston Red Sox president Larry Lucchino was even dubbed by the Associated Press “a Marco Polo of the major leagues” for his commitment to this national mission.

One hundred and nineteen years ago, when Americans were far less convinced of their nation’s place in globalizing hierarchies of culture, Albert Spalding organized a world baseball tour designed similarly to “extend an American presence in the world” (p. xiii). Between October 1888 and April 1889, the Chicago White Stockings and an “All-America” team of professionals played fifty-four games across the United States and in New Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, Egypt, Italy, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland, covering 32,000 miles in their travels.

It is hard to overstate Spalding’s importance to the history of American baseball, not least for his 1907 role in creating the absurd myth of Abner Doubleday’s 1839 “invention” of baseball—pure and unstained, the official investigative commission protested too much, by any “traceable connection whatever with ‘Rounders’ or any other foreign game” (p. 159). Spalding seems to have been intimately acquainted with, and profitably engaged in, the peculiar American combination of insecurity and bravado that marked the Gilded Age. In this book, Thomas W. Zeiler is interested most in Spalding’s and baseball’s roles in the “expression of empire through globalization’s instruments of free enterprise, webs of modern communications and transport, [and] cultural ordering of races and societies” (p. ix) of that moment.

Zeiler uses terminology of globalization in his narrative of the tour, although there are several points when he could have elaborated on the precise model of globalization he is using. Is this Fredric Jameson’s “tolerant contact” between peoples and “immense cultural pluralism”? George Ritzer’s “globalization of nothing” (on homogenization and standardization of cultures and tastes)? “Glocalization” with Wayne Gabardi’s “overlapping fields of global-local linkages”? A book as impressively researched and richly textured as this deserves more attention in this regard. And are there any implications for these models of “globalization” when we see that Spalding’s precocious marketing schemes (staging games at the Colosseum [p. 124] and on the sands alongside the Pyramids [p. 108]) were set against the background of almost unanimous and consistent racism, ignorance, and boorishness on the part of the players themselves?

Perhaps the most interesting element of the narrative is the role played by the White Stockings’ “mascot,” a

young African American performer named Clarence Duval. The reader's curiosity is piqued several times by this young man's appearances with the team, "plantation dancing," leading parades, and such, before Zeiler engages in an interesting discussion (pp. 82–84) of what it meant to Duval's tour mates to have him around. Zeiler gives a convincing explanation of the white players' assumptions that Duval's public clowning and vulnerability would somehow buttress their dreams of racial superiority at every stop around the globe.

The book suffers from a handful of careless or unsophisticated phrasings. For example, the touring baseball teams somehow manage in 1888 to have "challenged historian Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis of 1893" (p. 41). When future Hall of Famer Cap Anson ponders throwing his "mascot" Duval into the Indian Ocean to distract a menacing shark, Zeiler regrets that players "gave hardly a thought to such prejudice" (p. 102). (This was not simply prejudice; it would have been cold-blooded murder.) And Zeiler gives in on his project far too early and easily when he concedes that "the baseball tourists cannot be linearly connected to the eventual American empire" (p. ix). Why not? The book, whose subtitle connects the two pretty closely, actually proves very well that the players' assumptions, behaviors, desires, and insecurities—here (and this is what made the tour so important) performed corporeally, publicly and globally—adhered quite closely to what we already know about early U.S. imperialism.

Still, the book provides a very accessible, vivid, and fascinating—if often disturbing—account of "the greatest trip in the annals of sport" (p. 187), the mysterious journeys of present-day baseball Marco Polos included.

ANDREW MORRIS

California Polytechnic State University,  
San Luis Obispo

JEFFREY E. ANDERSON. *Conjure in African American Society*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 230. \$39.95.

Jeffrey E. Anderson provides a solid summation and overview of magical and religio-pharmacological traditions—captured in the single multivalent word "conjure"—in African American history. Conjure, he writes, was a "form of utilitarian, pragmatic spirituality" (p. 79), a composite of beliefs, suspicions, and actions with roots in African, Native American, and Western European cultures. Anderson's coverage of the African roots and European parallels to African American conjure are familiar from other recent works in the field, most notably Yvonne Chireau's *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition* (2003). By contrast, his stress on Native American influences—including animals from the Underworld and the use of "diviners chiefly concerned . . . with foretelling the course of individual lives, finding lost or stolen articles, and most important, diagnosing illness" (p. 66)—is a fresh analysis. As well, Anderson's emphasis of Afro-Latin and Afro-Caribbean influences on the later evolu-

tion of conjuring traditions in the United States distinguishes this work.

In another significant contribution, Anderson traces the history of conjure through the twentieth century and into the present day. Studied in the late nineteenth century by folklorists and early anthropologists (including, most notably, African American students at Hampton Institute, through their journal the *Southern Workman*), castigated by advocates of respectability within the African American community (especially by ministers, who knew a potent threat when they saw one), commodified and depersonalized in the twentieth century by the selling of magical potions and products through "mail-order companies and hoodoo shops" (p. 112), and revived later in the twentieth century by Caribbean and Latin American immigration as well as the interest of New Age spiritual practitioners, conjure has had a strange career through American history.

Historically, conjurers worked individually, often out of their homes, and "performed spells at the request of individual clients," using materials gathered from nature (p. 115). Anderson provides an extensive table of conjuring materials with their folkloric and scientific names, the uses for each, and the cultural origins. For example, the "Devil's snuff box" consisted of puffball mushrooms intended to harm, and originated from European and Native American traditions. Red pepper or Guinea pepper (*Capsicum minimum* and *Capsicum fastigiatum*) were widely used in protection rituals by those seeking to ward off being hexed. Other materials, including "human bones, fingernails, hair, blood, and other parts or byproducts," were universal, but mixed in varying quantities in potion bags depending on the predilection of the practitioner (p. 68). Later, a form of "conjuring without conjurers" (p. 115) developed as the practice became commodified, with materials supplied by mail order or specialty supply stores or on eBay; through such means, "old-fashioned conjure evolved into modern consumer hoodoo." Meanwhile, contemporary Americans "still turn to African American magic as a source of both spiritual enlightenment and practical supernaturalism" (p. 150).

Anderson's book is more oriented to description and less to interpretive analysis than is Chireau's *Black Magic*. But both authors are largely in fundamental agreement about the uses and meaning of conjure, and Anderson adds useful tables summarizing conjure materials as well as substantial chapters tracing the legacy of conjure through the twentieth century. Overall, this is a solid work that should earn the attention of scholars in African American and religious history.

PAUL HARVEY

University of Colorado

ALAN M. KRAUT and DEBORAH A. KRAUT. *Covenant of Care: Newark Beth Israel Hospital and the Jewish Hospital in America*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 2007. Pp. vii, 304. \$37.95.

This volume by Alan M. Kraut and Deborah A. Kraut is a finely crafted, comprehensive study of Newark Beth Israel Hospital, known as the Beth, from its 1902 immigrant beginnings, through its growth and expansion as a major component of an urban health care system, to, ultimately, its 1996 absorption within an expanding regional medical conglomerate.

Commissioned as a tribute, the study takes an institutional focus, but places it within the larger context of the development of the Jewish hospital in the United States. The context, however, is even broader, since the dramas played out in the long history of the Beth continually provide illustration for such twentieth-century developments as the expansion and professionalization of health care, the rise and decline of the urban center, and the assimilation of Jewish immigrants. Concise, chronological chapters follow the saga of the Beth and its stages of growth from a charitable institution to a business enterprise, including the various crises and challenges, the pioneers and heroes, the internal power struggles, and the continuous expansion of facilities and services.

By 1900, the foreign-born population of Newark numbered 70,000, or thirty percent of the city's total population. A wave of 45,000 recent arrivals from Eastern Europe had joined the prosperous German Jewish community that had settled in Newark beginning in 1850. Four charitable hospitals served the city: two Catholic, one Episcopalian, and one German. Another city hospital was designated for African Americans and indigent Jews. Poor diet; unsanitary and unsafe housing; dangerous work conditions; and infectious illness including polio, tuberculosis, and influenza were the reality for all urban immigrants. But the health needs of the Jewish community were magnified in an era of overt discrimination, when Jews and other southern and eastern Europeans were seen as members of in-between races, not quite black perhaps, but certainly not white.

At the critical moments of illness or near death, people wanted to be in familiar surroundings, where caregivers spoke their language, and where dietary restrictions and religious customs were respected. Along with other philanthropic efforts, German Jewish elites were eager to assist newcomers, and the Beth grew out of the same tradition as the establishment of orphanages and burial societies. A coalition of existing Hebrew organizations, including a woman's service group, which purchased a large mansion as a hospital site, and a group of physicians, who had formed a dispensary, pooled their efforts, becoming the Beth Israel Hospital Society, and in 1902 they opened a twenty-eight-bed nonsectarian hospital, an astonishing accomplishment that attested to the community's influence and economic strength.

From its inception, and as David Rosner has pointed out, hospitals like the Beth made internal class distinctions, with wards for the poor and working classes, and private and semiprivate pavilions for the middle and upper classes, mirroring the class distinctions already present in urban Jewish communities like Newark's.

They were riding the wave of discoveries and techniques that for the first time were providing surgical solutions to medical problems, making hospitals places where cures were possible.

The hospital project also brought together a broad segment of the multilayered Jewish community: philanthropic and women's voluntary societies, physicians and nurses, religious leaders, as well as the sick and indigent. At a time when hospital affiliation was becoming a necessity, Jewish physicians who had been excluded from other area hospitals now had a place to treat their fee-paying patients. In fact, the Beth provided decades of employment for Jewish physicians, nurses, social workers, medical staff, and administrators. As the authors note, applicants to the Beth's training and research programs were still overwhelmingly Jewish well into the 1960s, reflecting "patterns of discrimination" across the country (p. 174).

While not affiliated with a medical school until 1969, the Beth provided medical education to interns and residents in postgraduate programs. A medical journal, published from 1950 to 1976, provided the medical staff with an opportunity to publish their work in the various medical specialties, and to promote the Beth as a teaching and research institution.

The authors divide the emergence of the Jewish-sponsored hospital in the United States into three stages. The first was in response to pre- and post-Civil war needs, including epidemics of cholera and yellow fever in the South, while the second, after 1880, addressed the needs of the newly arriving immigrants from Eastern Europe. By 1940, there were thirty-six accredited Jewish hospitals in the United States, and many others not accredited. A third stage, after World War II, reflected the suburbanization of the Jewish community. In Newark, nearly five decades of ethnic succession, urban unrest, and fiscal crises, together with the massive struggle to keep pace with medical advances and the needs of new patient populations, continually challenged the Beth's staying power. After 1982, in an era of cost containment, an industrial model was applied to health care: cut costs, maximize profits, or disappear. In one example of the efforts to keep pace with inadequate facilities, parts of an expansion program planned in 1969 were actually found to be outdated by the time they opened in 1974.

The merger of the Beth with St. Barnabas took place in 1996, with the stipulation that the Star of David remain in a prominent place; that the original mission statement be honored; and that physicians, staff, and specialized programs remain. Opposition to being subsumed with St. Barnabas was strong among those physicians who recalled the days when Jewish physicians had been refused privileges there. As the authors observe, "cultural memories endure" (p. 222).

The fate of Newark Beth Israel Hospital and Medical Center reflects a decades-long pattern of hospital closings and mergers in older cities across the nation including New York, Philadelphia, and especially Detroit, where more than 1,200 hospital beds have been

lost since 1998. As a nation, we still have not answered the question of whether medical institutions can support the enormous costs of cutting-edge medical expertise and at the same time provide compassionate, personal care. What immigrant community could do for itself today what the Jewish community of Newark did a century ago?

ANGELA D. DANZI  
Farmingdale State College

ELLEN M. UMANSKY. *From Christian Science to Jewish Science: Spiritual Healing and American Jews*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 245. \$45.00.

"Take an easy comfortable position, and dismiss all strain from mind and body. . . . Meditate in this manner daily, morning and evening, and you will begin to feel a deep change taking place in the innermost recesses of your being; you will grow calm, and cheerful, and hopeful" (p. 107). Today the American landscape is dotted with Yoga studios, Zen centers, and retreats of various denominations. Meditation has become part of the mainstream in a way unimaginable when the above words were published more than eighty years ago in *The Jewish Science Interpreter*, the flagship publication of the Jewish Science movement. It is understandable if neither the journal nor the organization rings a bell, since even at its height, Jewish Science claimed fewer than one thousand members. Yet, as Ellen M. Umansky makes abundantly clear in her fascinating book, Jewish Science was at the vanguard of a broader movement that sought to link spiritual well being with physical health.

Jewish Science, as its name suggests, emerged under the influence of—and in reaction to—the Christian Science movement founded by Mary Baker Eddy. On the one hand, figures like Rabbi Alfred Geiger Moses, who published *Jewish Science: Divine Healing Judaism* (1916), were disturbed by the attraction of growing numbers of Jews to Christian Science at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. On the other hand, they were themselves drawn by some of the fundamental teachings that Eddy espoused, including the importance of individual health and happiness, the power of spiritual healing, prayer (often described in terms of "visualization") and faith, and the "role of God as healer" (p. 133).

Umansky demonstrates that, despite these parallels, Jewish Science developed a unique approach of its own, one that "emphatically rejected Eddy's belief in the illusory nature of the body, illness, and death as both unscientific and un-Jewish" (p. 117). Instead, believing that both matter and spirit were real, Jewish Science sometimes recommended seeking medical help alongside of, or even in place of, prayer, meditation, and other spiritual means for healing the body. As Umansky writes concerning Morris Lichtenstein, leader of the Society of Jewish Science, "All forms of healing, he insisted, are 'God's creation'" (p. 111). Umansky could

have dedicated more space to exploring how earlier Jewish traditions influenced the divergent approach of Jewish Science to matter and the body, in particular. For example, she briefly mentions Moses's discussion of Hasidism in the first edition of *Jewish Science* (p. 45) but does not further explore the possible Hasidic or, more generally, rabbinic underpinnings of Jewish Science's attitudes.

But this is a minor point in a book that serves as an intimate and revealing history of a contemporary movement that owed its vitality to a small group of women and men committed to rediscovering the spiritual resources that they believed had always been at the center of Judaism. Among the greatest strengths of Umansky's book are the illuminating portraits (informed by numerous interviews) that she weaves throughout her narrative. Most compelling is the chapter she devotes to Tehilla Lichtenstein, the remarkable woman who assumed leadership of the Society of Jewish Science in 1938, following the death of her husband, Morris. Lichtenstein was only one of a series of women who played a crucial role in Jewish Science, including Lucia Nola Levy and Bertha Strauss, who cofounded the First Society of Jewish New Thought in 1920 (later renamed the Society of Jewish Science) and Rebecca Dreyfuss, whom Umansky describes as the "spiritual mother" (p. 74) of the Society of Jewish Science. Indeed, for much of its history, Jewish Science—despite its small size—may have had more women in leadership roles than any other American Jewish movement.

Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and ending in our own day, Umansky's historical narrative spans two great eras of spiritual "seeking" in America. Indeed, one of Umansky's most significant contributions is to reveal the profoundly American character of the Jewish Science movement, even as its members have consistently sought to anchor its teachings in traditional Jewish values. Close to a century after Jewish Science first emerged, many of its ideas have become woven into the fabric of contemporary Jewish life in America. In the last part of her book, Umansky discusses a variety of Jewish groups that emphasize the link between spirituality and physical health, including the Jewish Healing Center founded in 1991 "to develop effective means of meeting the spiritual needs of Jews during times of illness" (pp. 197–198). Because of Umansky's book, it is now possible to see a link between these efforts and the pioneering insight of Jewish Science that "in order to *do* well one must *be* well." This, Umansky concludes, "may well be Jewish Science's greatest legacy" (p. 206).

NATHANIEL DEUTSCH  
Swarthmore College

JEFFREY S. GUROCK. *Judaism's Encounter with American Sports*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 234. \$29.95.

The story of how immigrants assimilated to American life is a familiar one, and it is one that Jeffrey S. Gurock



wisely avoids in his history of the role of physical recreation in Jewish American life. Rather than structure his analysis within the framework of the Americanization of the Jews, Gurock uses sports to focus on the religious tensions that coming to America created for them. The end result is a conversation of sport on a small scale, the community and collegiate level, rather than a retelling of why Sandy Koufax refused to pitch Game One of the World Series in 1965.

Instead, much of Gurock's focus is the range of perspectives Jewish religious leaders had regarding sports participation through the ages, particularly in the twentieth century, when Jewish immigrants found themselves establishing permanent roots in the United States. On one side were those rabbis who wanted to incorporate sports activities at religious centers, such as the Young Men's Hebrew Association, in order to attract members, hoping that they could use the American-forged interest in sports to encourage religious observance. Others disagreed, finding that sport, increasingly its own religion in America, was something to be resisted, as it only led Jews to assimilate further toward America and away from Jewish traditions. Still others sat somewhere in the middle, such as Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein, who saw sport as an essential maintenance tool, particularly in terms of recruiting youth, but thought that better efforts had to be made to get people to pray in addition to play.

Gurock's extensive knowledge regarding the intricacies of Jewish American life allows him to use sport as a porthole into the pressures of religious adjustments in a new world, particularly as Jews increasingly found themselves squaring off against or sitting in bleachers next to non-Jews (or as Gurock insularly reiterates throughout the book, Gentiles). As Gurock points out, "American sports officials . . . were oblivious, if not antagonistic, to Judaism's clock and calendar" (p. 79). Some stories are familiar, such as that of Tamir Goodman, the Baltimore yeshiva basketball phenom who was courted at one time by the University of Maryland with the promise that he would not have to play in Friday night games. But more interesting are the less familiar tales, such as the emergence of cheerleaders at yeshiva games. Indeed, Gurock's attention to Jewish women is admirable and allows him to concentrate on the oft ignored social aspects of sports: the dances that took place after games, the dating rituals that accompanied them, and the emergence in the 1950s of cheerleaders—with increasingly rising hemlines—at the sidelines.

However, toward the end of the twentieth century, Gurock rues how conservative tides prompted an overall reevaluation of some of the more liberal policies regarding sports, as the extremely religious began to worry about the very survival of Judaism in modern America, particularly with increasing numbers of mixed marriages. In 1996, for example, the Metropolitan Yeshiva High School League refused to compete any longer against the Conservative Schechter schools. Thus, the battle over sports continues, Gurock con-

cludes, as "there is tension in Judaism's own clubhouse. . . . And those who occupy the increasingly separate and partitioned off corners of their religion's locker room have definite and competing ideas about who can really be a Jewish teammate" (pp. 186–187).

Gurock's conclusion is an important one in the history of immigrant life in the United States, one that considers the turmoil that takes place within a group rather than merely between the group and its new home. Yet however persuasive his research and analysis are, his bigger picture is somewhat marred both by his needless defensiveness as to why he is writing about sports, and by his repeated references to his own life as a devout Jew who plays sports. Sport has received serious, and well-respected, scholarly attention of late that has produced a valuable body of literature—much of which Gurock ignores in favor of quite dated secondary sources. His constant justification for his subject, as well as his references to his own athleticism, give the impression that while he takes a professional approach to Jewish history, he takes a personal one to sports, particularly when he apologizes in his introduction for writing on "such a lowbrow subject as sports" and deems this book one he was "destined to author" (p. 2). Such statements are what continue to make those who focus on sports feel the need to apologize in the first place, and scholars would do well to avoid making them.

AMY BASS

*College of New Rochelle*

PAUL BARTON. *Hispanic Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in Texas*. (Jack and Doris Smothers Series in Texas History, Life, and Culture, number 18.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2006. Pp. x, 246. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Paul Barton's book is a significant contribution to a small but growing literature on the history of Latino/a Protestantism in the United States. Barton provides one of the very few comparative studies of older but lesser-known Protestant traditions in the Hispanic communities. The Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists were the first Protestant denominations to send missionaries to Texas to try to convert the *Tejano/as* from Catholicism. While the missionary purpose was to convert the Spanish-speaking population of newly held territories of the United States to English language and culture as well as Protestant Christianity, Barton explores the complex dynamics of this Protestant engagement with the worldview and ethos of *Tejano/a* Catholicism in the last hundred and fifty years. He inquires into what led to people's decision to convert, and how these new converts constructed identities as *los Protestantes*. He goes on to show how *los Protestantes* negotiated the changes within Protestant culture in the United States during this period, and how they developed ways of identifying as Protestant in an essentially Catholic cultural ethos, and as Latino/a in the essentially Anglo ethos of the Protestant denominations. As



in other parts of the American Southwest, nineteenth-century Anglo Protestant missionaries were unsuccessful in converting most of the people from Catholicism, and those they did convert did not all adopt the missionaries' cultural project along with their religion.

Barton makes several important points in this study. First, *los Protestantes* did not simply use Protestant religious identification as a vehicle for assimilation into Anglo society, although many individuals did. Instead, they were attracted to Protestant traditions because of their twin emphases on revivalism and education, creating a distinctive religious ethos that was both personally powerful and transformative and also provided the tools with which to engage the Anglo culture. At the same time, these two emphases were in tension with each other, revivalism being suspicious of modernity and education enthusiastically embracing it. Second, as *los Protestantes* worked through these tensions, they developed a particularly adaptive blend of the two cultures, a "mestizo Protestantism." This identity served to preserve the congregations in the face of Anglo Protestant racism and anti-Catholicism as well as to foster leadership from within the Mexican American congregations and larger community. Barton's thesis that "the same congregations that equipped their members to operate in the dominant society through the diffusion of Anglo-American Protestant values and worldview also provided *los Protestantes* with means to maintain their Hispanic and Protestant identity" (pp. 145–146) shapes the whole study as he builds his case for a mestizo Protestantism. Third, as the twentieth century moved on, *los Protestantes* were in a particularly good place to develop dialogues and new relationships between Protestants and the Roman Catholic Church in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council, and *los Protestantes* have reincorporated older aspects from their previous Mexican Catholic ethnic heritage. Hispanic Protestantism retained a transnational character facilitating relationships and dialogue across the U.S.-Mexico border.

The author's delineation of these tensions is a valuable contribution to the understanding of border culture and identity. His historical treatment of these particular religious communities makes the border culture more lively. Along with other recent studies of racial identity formation in the United States, Barton's work restores a sense of agency and nuance to a group of people often simply identified as a problem of some kind. Unlike the majority of studies of Hispanic Protestantism, which provide good studies of single denominations, Barton also strengthens his cultural study by including three denominations in comparison and contrast to one another. He cannot do everything in one book: the relationships and tensions among *los Protestantes*, Pentecostals, and Roman Catholic communities, the effects of leaders educated in the Protestant schools in the larger society, and the roles of the Rio Grande Conference, the Mexican Baptist Convention, and the Texas-Mexican Presbytery in their respective denominations remain to be explored at greater length. Barton

puts the primary sources from *los Protestantes*, including extensive oral history work, in dialogue with recent scholarship on borderlands identity and the study of the new *mestizaje*, racial formation theory, and Latino/a religious studies to create the best work to date of its kind.

At the end of the book Barton provides institutional histories of the Methodist Rio Grande Annual Conference, the Presbyterian Texas-Mexican Presbytery, and the Mexican Baptist Convention of Texas. Barton also provides the reader with a list of the Máximo Villarreal Book Collection and the list of readings for the Methodist course of study for pastors that illustrate the intellectual underpinnings of *los Protestantes*. Barton closes the book with "The Hispanic Creed" by Justo González, a statement of Christian faith gaining popularity in these communities since it was written in 1987.

RANDI JONES WALKER  
Pacific School of Religion

JUSTIN NORDSTROM. *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 296. \$30.00.

Anti-Catholicism has been a consistent part of the American experience throughout most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and has therefore received considerable attention from historians. Justin Nordstrom, however, is the first to examine its print culture in the Progressive era, and in so doing he has made a significant contribution to the study of this ugly phenomenon.

Due to urban-based industrial growth, rural America by the early twentieth century was rapidly becoming marginalized, and loss of power and prestige produced an intense insecurity among its small-town populace. An outgrowth of this was a new wave of anti-Catholicism. Most U.S. Catholics were concentrated in major urban centers, and therefore they made convenient scapegoats for rural fears. By the second decade of the century, anti-Catholic weeklies with such ominous names as *The Menace* and *The Peril* had sprung up throughout the rural South and Midwest. They warned Protestants of a supposed Catholic plot to destroy American culture and values. Nativist journalists, spewing out a steady stream of lies and gross exaggerations, claimed that Catholics, following a carefully conceived plan of their bishops, were attempting to trick Protestants into thinking that they were harmless neighbors. Once Protestants were lulled into apathy, the American virtues of freedom, equality, and individualism would be replaced by papist despotism. This catastrophic outcome could be prevented, however, if true Americans understood what was happening. Thus, it was crucial that they subscribe to those periodicals that exposed the "Catholic menace." What is truly amazing is that during the 1910s, anti-Catholic periodicals reached a combined circulation of nearly two million. Yet the vast ma-

jority of their readers lived in rural areas where there were very few Catholics.

Nordstrom notes that the anti-Catholic press of the Progressive period, unlike its counterparts in earlier times, did not resort to using ethnic stereotypes like the "drunken Irishman" to bolster its contentions. Instead it was motivated by ideological and cultural concerns. It employed the techniques of Progressive journalism, scanning Catholic literature to uncover evidence that supposedly "proved" that Catholics were spiritually and morally corrupt and therefore incapable of being good Americans. Catholic schools were a constant target of the nativist press, which claimed that they subverted American patriotism. Anti-Catholic journalists were also obsessed with "demonstrating" how the confessional and convent were used by priests and nuns to corrupt innocent children and defenseless women.

The author devotes an entire chapter to the Catholic counteroffensive against the nativist press. He notes that by the second decade of the twentieth century Catholics felt more secure than in the past. Thus, they were no longer willing to remain silent when confronted by anti-Catholic slanders. Powerful Catholic organizations like the Knights of Columbus now began a counterattack that proved to be highly effective. Using the same methods as the Progressive "muckrakers," they monitored anti-Catholic periodicals in order to expose their lies. In the long run, however, it was the U.S. entrance into World War I that destroyed the anti-Catholic press of the Progressive era. The unquestioning support of the war effort by Catholic leaders, coupled with the enthusiastic rush by Catholic men to join the military and fight for the United States, convinced most Protestants that Catholics were not hell-bent on destroying American values.

Nordstrom's study is enhanced by his mastery of the historiography of U.S. anti-Catholicism. Indeed, his extensive knowledge of this subject enables him skillfully to compare and contrast Progressive anti-Catholicism with its counterpart in other eras. Sometimes, however, he digresses from his topic and goes off on unnecessary tangents that are distracting to the reader, such as when he analyzes the different interpretations of feminist scholars on the meaning of Harlequin romances in the 1960s (pp. 123–124).

Nordstrom deserves credit for following the recent trend in U.S. Catholic studies of incorporating one's topic into the general sociopolitical framework of the time. Too often in the past Catholic historians have treated their subject in a vacuum, thereby missing the interplay between Catholic beliefs and American culture. However, Nordstrom does not seem to see the important role that global factors played in influencing U.S. religious perceptions. Did Pope Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), which condemned many of the basic tenets of American life, contribute to anti-Catholic paranoia in the United States? Likewise, did Pope Leo XIII's decision to declare the Catholic Americanist movement a heresy negatively affect U.S. Protestant views on the compatibility of Catholicism and Ameri-

can values? These are questions that Nordstrom should have asked. The fact that he did not lessens the value of his study. On the whole, however, this book makes an important contribution to our understanding of American history and culture.

EDWARD T. BRETT  
La Roche College

SHELTON STROMQUIST. *Re-Inventing "The People": The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism.* (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. x, 289. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$22.00.

Shelton Stromquist offers an interesting, although rather conventional, leftist critique of American Progressivism. He argues that Progressives desperately sought to achieve class harmony, even that they came together as a "movement" only so that they might "marginalize and disarm an alternative politics of class" (p. 7). Their reform visions, however, foundered on the shoals of class conflict. By failing to come to grips with class divisions, Stromquist contends, Progressives set the tone for a similarly flawed twentieth-century liberalism.

There is much to recommend in this argument, which Stromquist bases largely on secondary sources. Scholars have long recognized that even the most fire-breathing Progressives often viewed themselves as profoundly "conservative" in their desire to forestall revolution. Stromquist does a fine job demonstrating the pervasive, and violent, nature of class confrontation from the Pullman Strike (1894) through the aftermath of World War I. He also is quite convincing that progressive figures such as Jane Addams, John Dewey, and Paul Kellogg clung to social harmony as one of their highest goals.

Stromquist spends most of the book on class issues, conventionally defined, although he includes a couple of nearly throwaway chapters on race and gender. His most important chapter highlights the work of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, which met from 1912 to 1915 to investigate, analyze, and publicize the crisis of labor-management relations. Stromquist explores the deep split within the commission over the extent of corporate misdeeds and the need for worker organization, and he traces this division to the enduring conflict in progressive thinking about class. Stromquist's protagonist—and really the only truly good guy in the book—is Frank Walsh, the Kansas City attorney and laborite politico who chaired the commission.

Unfortunately, there is more than a touch of the Manichean in the author's treatment of this and other issues. Walsh is presented as an unalloyed hero, and his opponents are either opportunistic or unwilling to face the facts about class. Yet Stromquist hardly makes anything of Walsh's unwavering devotion to that determined anti-radical Woodrow Wilson, or of Walsh's steadfast support of World War I (opposition to the war

being one of Stromquist's major litmus tests to determine the identity of genuine radicals).

While Stromquist does recognize divisions within the Progressive movement, he far more frequently treats Progressives as a dominant, coherent, unified bloc. Only a few dissidents come into the story, and the treatment they receive is far too brief. Nor does Stromquist ever take seriously the porous boundary between socialism and mainstream reform, or the possibilities of a genuinely left-wing Progressivism that imaginatively wrestled with issues of populist democracy. (Part of the problem here is a failure to place American Progressivism in any international or comparative perspective in order to explore whether reformers in the United States were genuinely more deficient in their class ideology than, for example, European social democrats.)

Furthermore, the labor movement is Stromquist's touchstone for authentic politics to such a degree that middle-class activists, and the middle class more generally, are effectively rendered either marginal or deluded. Stromquist even rebukes a historian as Marxist in his orientation as Alan Dawley for daring to suggest that the strength of early twentieth-century reform depended on a robust alliance between workers and those in the middle. Moreover, just because Progressives did not commonly speak the language of producerism or proletarianism does not mean that "the Progressive movement banished the language of class from the vocabulary of reform" (p. 4). Rather, their distrust, if not hatred, of the corrupt elite alone speaks powerfully to Progressives' articulation of a different, but nonetheless quite rich, class rhetoric—not its absence.

In the end, Stromquist artificially freezes one definition of Progressivism, in the process excluding not just card-carrying members of the radical middle class but also black women in North Carolina, immigrants in Illinois, and even workers themselves. Proletarians are only able to serve as radical foils to the bourgeois progressives. Stromquist therefore locks out the kind of urban, working-class-oriented liberals whom John Buenker identified, and properly vindicated, decades ago, as well as the unionist Progressives that Michael Kazin and other historians have shown controlled the labor movement in many cities.

Stromquist's analysis of Progressivism's long-term legacies is similarly disappointing. He blames the "contradictions" of Progressivism for the travails of liberalism over the next century. The New Deal, the Great Society, and even latter-day pseudo-populist Democrats are castigated for their abandonment of true class politics, without any substantive attempt to point to the complexity within these political traditions.

Finally, Stromquist, despite his clear political motivations, refuses to leave us with an explicit moral for his story. Is the proper job of today's radical—as he implies—to foment class conflict while beating up on the cowardly middle class (meanwhile not forgetting to insert a chapter on race and a chapter on women)? Perhaps, but a genuine scholar of the people might, at the same time, take much more seriously the often radically

democratic, if inevitably flawed, visions of Addams and Dewey, not to mention of Amos Pinchot, Fredric Howe (both of whom are mentioned but do not receive the consideration they deserve), and the thousands of lesser-known activists who made Progressivism considerably messier—and still, for us, more promising—than Stromquist will allow.

ROBERT D. JOHNSTON  
University of Illinois,  
Chicago

RICHARD SLOTKIN. *Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality*. New York: Henry Holt. 2005. Pp. xii, 639. \$35.00.

In his latest book, Richard Slotkin revisits themes from his previous award-winning books as he presents a complex analysis of race, manhood, citizenship, and war in U.S. culture during the first half of the twentieth century. He does so through the stories of men who fought in two U.S. Army regiments during World War I, both recruited from New York City. One, nicknamed the "Harlem Hell Fighters," consisted of African American men; the other, part of a division sometimes known as the "Melting Pot Division," was largely immigrant and included Polish Jews as well as men from Italy, Ireland, Germany, and China. The stories of these men, writes Slotkin, reveal that "democracy, for which the world was to be made safe, had not resolved the most fundamental issues of its own national organization: Who counts as 'American,' and what civil rights must citizenship guarantee?" (p. 3).

Slotkin sets the context for U.S. entry into the war with a compact account of the coming of age of the nation during the Progressive era, laying out the contradictions of American democracy and citizenship during the ascendancy of scientific racism and Social Darwinism. He describes the debates over the suitability of African American and immigrant men for military service. The heart of the book consists of ten chapters of sometimes mind-numbingly detailed descriptions of personal and official decisions made by men in combat. Those who enjoy the minutiae of military tactics and strategy should appreciate this. Others may find it a slog, but, as it turns out, it is a necessary one. Slotkin's approach surely conveys the confusion and disorientation that existed both on the battlefield and in command headquarters. More importantly, it shows how racial and ethnic prejudices held by political leaders, military brass, and the press could determine the fates of men at the front. Through it all, the utter senselessness of this particular war becomes clear.

The final third of the book explores the postwar lives of the men—officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates—who served in these units. Slotkin argues that the nation failed to uphold its end of the so-called "Double-Victory" bargain with the soldiers of the 369th (African American) and 308th (immigrant) regiments. That bargain promised that their victory in war would bring victory for civil rights at home. The disappoint-

ments range from the inability of the federal government to secure employment for veterans, to inadequate medical care, to a failure to provide them full equality as American citizens. Congress refused to pass an anti-lynching bill, while lynchings of African Americans increased. Race riots in many cities left African Americans seemingly more vulnerable than ever. The 1919 Red Scare and immigration restriction laws in 1921 and 1924 scapegoated immigrants. Surviving veterans were left to rebuild their lives as best they could. Some managed; some did not. (It should, perhaps, be noted here that these final chapters focus primarily on African American and Jewish veterans, with the stories of Jewish veterans tending to overpower in volume and emotional impact those of the African Americans, possibly because of the nature of surviving records.)

The book's thesis is mostly well supported by the sheer volume of evidence, abetted by an often powerful narrative. However, what was provocative and path-breaking in Slotkin's previous books now seems less so, perhaps because he is no longer the revisionist challenging the canon. His much-admired trilogy of works exploring American mythologies of race, violence, and the frontier have become part of the canon, as reflected in many of the secondary sources he cites. Rather than being revolutionary, as was his first book, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (1973), this one represents an evolution in the best sense. Here Slotkin has finally put his brilliant cultural analysis to the service of fine social history.

The concluding chapter does not do justice to the rest of the book. Slotkin makes the factually dubious claim that during World War I ethnic minorities in general agreed to the "Double-Victory" bargain and, in the process, made diversity a national strength. He concludes that in spite of racial "immiseration and humiliation," African Americans, Jews, Chinese, and other ethnic groups have "all showed their willingness to serve the country in war and their desire to play a responsible role as political citizens in peace" (p. 562). Ironically, this paean to ethnic diversity denies the internal diversity of those groups. It excludes from ethnic group membership those (and there were many) who have refused military service on grounds of conscience, or in protest of their treatment in American society, or who believed that the wartime state had no right to compel their service. Finally, one wonders whether Slotkin really intended to imply that members of minority groups who resisted the war thereby forfeited their citizenship rights.

GERALD E. SHENK  
California State University,  
Monterey Bay

LORRAINE GATES SCHUYLER. *The Weight of Their Votes: Southern Women and Political Leverage in the 1920s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 336. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Lorraine Gates Schuyler has written a superb and engaging book of historiographical significance. At the heart of the narrative, the author challenges the prevailing scholarly consensus that southern women employed a great deal of political savvy prior to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment only to discover that enfranchisement "had relatively little effect on the[ir] political activities and political power" in subsequent years (p. 3). Instead, argues Schuyler, "southern women, who were so adept at wringing power from powerless situations before 1920, were no less adept at using the ballot to achieve their political goals after 1920" (p. 6).

In an elegant introduction and seven well-conceived chapters, Schuyler lays out her argument in a confident yet balanced tone that specialists and nonspecialists alike will appreciate and find accessible. A major strength of the book lies in the prodigious amount of primary research that the author conducted in dozens of archives in every southern state (except Florida, for reasons she explains). Time and again, she marshals copious evidence from across the region to support her argument.

As Schuyler explains, historians have tended to minimize the effect of the Nineteenth Amendment in the South by emphasizing the extent to which the region failed to develop a vibrant two-party system after 1920. In every state in the South, the Democratic Party continued to maintain overwhelming electoral majorities. White supremacy remained the status quo. In Schuyler's view, however, such an emphasis misses the point. Instead, she argues, women had a profound effect on southern politics in the years after 1920—as lobbyists, as constituents, and as advocates of electoral reform.

The heart of Schuyler's argument lies in her observation that the Nineteenth Amendment, by definition, was fundamentally at odds with the carefully constructed system of disfranchisement that had come to dominate southern politics by the early twentieth century. As other historians have ably demonstrated, white southerners succeeded in disfranchising almost all blacks and many whites. By keeping the electorate small, Democratic officials more easily managed elections and guaranteed the desired results.

The addition of one million new voters after 1920, however, challenged the essence of that control. Schuyler does not suggest that these new voters threatened Democratic control vis-à-vis the Republican Party, but rather that these women voted in sufficient numbers to influence the outcome of local and state primaries in which the overall number of participants remained small. To make matters worse for male political leaders, the commitment of these new voters to an expanded electorate went beyond the casting of their own ballots. Groups such as the League of Women Voters established citizenship schools and mobile voter registration booths. The League's stated policy of non-partisanship further served as a source of anxiety in a highly partisan political culture.



The women at the heart of Schuyler's narrative were not in the least bit naïve. They recognized that political efficacy "was about electoral pressure, the costs of reform, and the strength of the opposition" (p. 219). The vast majority of southern political officials opposed the enfranchisement of women, but the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment left them little choice but to recognize the power of women as voters. Consequently male officials had to contend with the concerns of these new constituents, even if that meant changing their campaign tactics and, on occasion, even the location of polling places.

In addition to participating in the political process as constituents with votes to cast, southern white women proved highly effective as lobbyists. Schuyler convincingly uses her sources to provide numerous examples of southern women successfully lobbying local and state representatives on a range of important issues involving health, education, and moral reform, to name a few. At election time, these women combined their lobbying efforts and power as constituents by producing questionnaires that forced male candidates to take a public position on these issues.

Throughout the book, Schuyler makes a concerted effort to discuss the political activism of black women in the South. On occasion, as in Nashville in 1919, black and white women worked together to elect a slate of reform candidates. But such cooperation was rare. Black women, on the whole, faced the same obstacles to voting as did their male counterparts; denied the franchise, black women lacked leverage to demand reform. Furthermore, Schuyler recognizes from the outset that most of the women in her narrative remained as committed to Jim Crow and the racial status quo as their husbands, sons, and brothers.

Schuyler does not overstate her argument. The women that populate the pages of this fine book are not always successful; they often fail. But on balance, it is clear from the evidence that white women in the South mattered as much to the region's politics as she contends.

J. DOUGLAS SMITH  
Occidental College

ARTHUR FRANK WERTHEIM. *Vaudeville Wars: How the Keith-Albee and Orpheum Circuits Controlled the Big-Time and Its Performers*. (Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xvii, 332. \$69.95.

Recognized as an important site of cross-class entertainment that brought "respectable" audiences to acts once relegated to "lowbrow" variety houses and appreciated for its important role in introducing moving pictures to U.S. audiences and routinizing entertainment formulae that became the basis for early radio and television, vaudeville has proven a seemingly inexhaustible source of insight into cultural experiences and contests ranging across lines of class, ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, "respectability," and just plain fun. As recent his-

torians have mined vaudeville's varied performances for illumination of these dimensions of everyday life, however, they have focused primarily on the performative strategies of vaudeville artists and the even more elusive and contradictory meanings potentially found in vaudeville by its audiences. The business of vaudeville, especially as shaped by the increasingly corporate strategies of the men who built, managed, and controlled its largest theatrical circuits, while certainly part of these cultural analyses, has tended to occupy a background that explains limits imposed on performers' creativity and sources of vaudeville formulae. In this book, Arthur Frank Wertheim brings the strategies of big-time vaudeville's most powerful magnates to the foreground.

For these purposes the standard headliners of the vaudeville story—vivacious songsters like Sophie Tucker, future film comics like Buster Keaton or W.C. Fields, or African American stars who struggled against vaudeville's racial discrimination, like Bert Williams—take a back seat to the men who turned modest beginnings in dime museum and immigrant beer-garden establishments into a lucrative national industry. Principal among these are Benjamin Franklin Keith and Edward Franklin Albee, who rose from New England farm and artisanal backgrounds, through stints in circus work, to develop Keith's Boston museum enterprise into a magnificent chain of theaters offering palatial splendor and purportedly respectable, inoffensive comedy at popular prices. On the Pacific coast during the same late nineteenth-century decades Keith and Albee were growing their circuit, German immigrants Gustav Walter and Morris Myerfield were transforming San Francisco's German immigrant-based entertainment venues into a western circuit of Orpheum theaters, capitalizing on the period's railroad expansion by building enough theaters across the vast territories between Chicago and San Francisco that performers could tour without having to endure overly long and unproductive jumps between houses. Eventually, the Keith-Albee interests and the Orpheum circuit, overseen by Myerfield and his booking agent Martin Beck, entered a contentious but lucrative booking arrangement that divided the country into eastern (Keith) and western (Orpheum) wings offering performers uninterrupted forty-two-week tours when the combine's booking wizardry worked best. Consolidating the combine required a host of once independent impresarios to join the fold, a process that produced the "wars" of the title between the Keith-Orpheum interests and impresarios like Oscar Hammerstein, Sylvester Poli, Percy Williams, and the independent agent William Morris, as well as Sime Silverman, founder of the vaudeville sheet *Variety*. Wertheim covers in fascinating detail the cut-throat strategies through which the combine forced these colorful personalities to play vaudeville their way by interfering with financing for new theaters, black-listing actors who dared perform for competing vaudeville concerns, and luring recalcitrant managers with at-



tractive exclusive rights to mount big-time vaudeville within agreed-upon territories.

Performers themselves enter Wertheim's story at many junctures, although their experiences with the combine and its rules and often ruthless contracts are given more prominence than their performances. The efforts of union leaders like George Fuller Golden and Harry Mountford, who led the White Rats union for vaudeville actors through a variety of negotiations and conflicts with the Keith-Orpheum Combine, receive the most fulsome, and welcome, attention. Though courageous in their efforts to get better conditions for actors in the way of commission fees, contract terms, and routes, vaudeville's unionists were notably unsuccessful in their efforts to use union organization to improve the actors' lot, largely because participants in the Keith-Orpheum Combine were especially ruthless in their dealings with unions but also because many actors agreed with the rhetoric used by the combine to form a company union—that they should be artists, not artisans.

Overall, Wertheim charts a crucial dimension to vaudeville history that figures importantly in shaping the more cultural, expressive elements of vaudeville that recent scholarship has foregrounded. He is well read in that scholarship, as his bibliography and the notes reveal (although many of the latter are available only on an accompanying website, [www.vaudevillewars.com](http://www.vaudevillewars.com)), and has also done painstaking primary research. Contractual limitations on book length forced the excision of many citations in the book. Readers may wish that instead the publisher had paid more attention to copyediting and concision, as the main complaint one might have is that the writing is too often unnecessarily repetitive. Some attention to these details might have saved space to include between the covers evidence of the admirable scholarship that produced the work.

KATHRYN J. OBERDECK  
University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

JOHN RAEURN. *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 370. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$35.00.

The average student of American culture might be forgiven for assuming that the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photography project simply was 1930s photography. After all, scholars continue to mine the FSA archive, and today's audiences frequently encounter FSA images in history books and throughout popular culture. Public amnesia is so strong on this point that if all John Raeburn's book accomplished was to remind us that FSA photography was not the only game in town, it would still constitute a major contribution to scholarship. Fortunately for readers, Raeburn's book not only puts the FSA's role in proper perspective, it does much, much more. Arguing that 1930s photography warrants treatment with a "wider-angle lens" (p. xi), Raeburn leads the reader on a journey through the

cultural landscape of 1930s photography, attending especially sensitively to the wide variety of contexts in which what he terms "artful" photography circulated throughout the decade: the walls of the museum and the exhibition, the realms of commercial advertising, the rhetoric of government institutions, and the pages of periodicals. In the process, Raeburn puts better-understood photographic efforts such as the FSA project on equal footing with projects that, though less familiar to contemporary students and scholars, achieved wide impact in their own time. The result is a broad yet substantive text that challenges scholars and students of history, American Studies, and photography to reconsider received narratives of 1930s photography.

In the early twentieth century, photography achieved cultural legitimacy largely through the efforts of Alfred Stieglitz, who devoted himself to making the case for treating photography as fine art. By the early 1930s, however, Stieglitz was an old man; as his influence waned, no similarly powerful figures or institutions arose to take his place. Describing the 1930s as a time when "photography was vibrant but its artistic status still fluid enough not yet to have become institutionalized" (p. 279), Raeburn suggests that photography was "reborn" as a democratic art form in ways that we have yet to fully appreciate. According to Raeburn, artful photography flourished in both popular and elite contexts in the 1930s precisely *because* it had no overarching institutions to legitimize or authorize it. By 1940, however, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) had established its department of photography. Rather than reading this moment as "the triumphant conclusion of the long campaign to install photography as a fine art," Raeburn suggests instead that MoMA's institutional acceptance of photography "actually seemed to me to spell the end of the special circumstances that allowed photography to flourish in the thirties" (p. xi).

It is those "special circumstances" that Raeburn explores in each of the book's fourteen chapters. Raeburn examines the work of photographers working on both coasts (Edward Steichen, Berenice Abbott, and Edward Weston figure prominently); the contributions of photographic institutions (such as the FSA, the Photo League, and MoMA); and the role of periodicals in expanding the audience for photography. Raeburn's close readings of individual photographers' work, especially his substantive attention to the oft-neglected Abbott, constitute important critical contributions. But it is Raeburn's attention to institutions and periodicals that marks the book's key contribution: its recognition of the role of circulation in 1930s visual culture. In his chapter on Steichen he explores the role of *Vanity Fair* in circulating popular, high-fashion, and celebrity images. Elsewhere, he examines the crucial role of periodicals such as *Coronet* and *U.S. Camera*, which made photographs available to a popular audience through magazine features and photographic salons. Raeburn's attention to circulation not only recognizes the dynamics of mass culture, it also allows him to address the complex question of audience response. While we have

little access to audience response to photographs beyond a few anecdotes, scattered circulation and exhibit attendance figures, and some documentation of individual response, Raeburn mines the available evidence to make a good case that audiences for 1930s photography participated in a lively public conversation about art.

Although Raeburn states that he does not wish to "reiterate" the well-worn terrain of the FSA project that many other scholars have explored, he is too modest when he implies that he has less to contribute on this front. Raeburn skillfully treats the role of the FSA photography project in the contexts of art. In the process, he offers the most nuanced, perceptive discussion of the much-misunderstood role of FSA project chief Roy Emerson Stryker that I have ever read. Even for those of us well-schooled in the history and practices of the FSA, these chapters offer something new and valuable.

Combining close readings of photographs with examination of the variety of institutions that circulated them and the audiences that encountered them, Raeburn challenges readers to look beyond received wisdom about the visual culture of the 1930s and explore it anew for themselves.

CARA A. FINNEGAN  
University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

GRACE PALLADINO. *Skilled Hands, Strong Spirits: A Century of Building Trades History*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 274. \$35.00.

Considering their importance in U.S. labor history, building trades unions have received surprisingly little recent attention from scholars. While many smaller, shorter-lived, or less influential sectors of the labor movement have continued to attract scholarly attention, the stolid building trades unions have gone almost unstudied by this generation. As a result, we have a distressingly distorted labor historiography that slights the one sector of American trade unionism that retained power almost continuously from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth, as industrial unionism rose and declined and more radical labor movements flamed out.

Grace Palladino has done more to rectify this scholarly neglect than any historian writing today. In this well-researched volume Palladino provides a framework for understanding building trades unionism by tracing the history of the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO) Building and Construction Trades Department from its origins in the late nineteenth century to its struggle to revive and strengthen unionism on construction sites a century later.

Palladino's book is divided into three parts. Part one examines the fight to build a stable national alliance of building trades unions in the face of nearly incessant inter-union jurisdictional squabbling, vigorous employer opposition, and the vicissitudes of a boom and

bust economy. Of these obstacles, jurisdictional conflicts were the most persistent and difficult to tackle. Indeed, it was the very existence of these conflicts that necessitated a national alliance of construction trades. "In a volatile and demanding industry like construction," Palladino notes, "jurisdiction was the key to economic security" (p. 51). The trade union that successfully claimed jurisdiction over particular jobs on a construction site ensured an ongoing source of work for its members, while competitor unions might see their members squeezed out of jobs. Thus carpenters warred with sheet metal workers, plumbers fought steam fitters, and plasterers clashed with cement finishers in a series of never-ending battles. The need to restrain such fights led to the creation of the Structural Building Trades Alliance in 1903, which evolved into the AFL's Building Trades Department (BTD) in 1908.

But solidarity was difficult to sustain. Large unions like the carpenters perennially proved unwilling to abide by any decisions of the BTD that awarded jurisdiction over specific jobs to smaller rival unions. Thus the carpenters and other big unions repeatedly dropped out of or rejoined the BTD in a struggle for advantage. Not until the emergence of an outside organizing threat mounted by the rival CIO were the AFL unions finally able to achieve long-term stability in the reorganized the Building and Construction Trades Department (BCTD) in 1937.

Part two examines the interaction between the building trades unions and the federal government during the Great Depression, World War II, and the postwar civil rights struggles. Here Palladino shows how government intervention both helped and hurt construction unions. The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act, which provided that federally funded projects would pay "prevailing wages" (union scale), shielded labor from downward pressure on wages, and collaboration with the federal government helped protect labor standards during wartime. But the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act struck a blow against union power, particularly as interpreted by a 1951 Supreme Court decision that prohibited "common situs" picketing, in which unions closed down an entire construction site to protest a grievance against one contractor on that site. Decades of effort to pass a law removing this prohibition came to naught.

In some ways, as Palladino shows, the issue of civil rights proved to be more vexing than common situs picketing for construction trades. The trades historically fought to keep wages high by limiting the number of entrants to their ranks. Valuable apprenticeships were thus passed from father to son over generations in ways that made union locals family affairs, helping to explain why in 1960 there were just seventy-nine black electrical apprentices in the entire United States. Despite the prodding of some forward-looking union leaders, it took federal intervention to get most building trades unions to open their ranks to African Americans, and later to women in the 1960s and 1970s. Their failure to reform themselves earlier left the construction

unions more vulnerable to the economic downturn of the 1970s.

Part three examines the building trades' responses to increasing anti-unionism and the changing structure of the construction industry since the 1960s. Here, Palladino partially rehabilitates the tarnished reputation of Robert Georgine. In her telling, Georgine, the longtime BCTD president who was disgraced by his role in the corrupt management of a union insurance business called ULLICO, emerges as a skilled broker who was able to get contentious and egotistical union leaders to pull in harness.

In all, Palladino's book gives us a fine-grained survey of construction trades history. It is to be hoped that this concise treatment will encourage others to probe the history of unions whose influence remains significant despite labor's overall decline.

JOSEPH A. MCCARTIN  
Georgetown University

CHARLES F. MCGOVERN. *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890–1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 536. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

"Good things are worth waiting for" is an unfashionable adage among those who insist on their right to consume what they want when they want it. Nonetheless, Charles F. McGovern's long-awaited book rewards our patience as scholars with its exemplary study of how we lost our patience as a polity of consumers.

As the American mass market expanded, clusters of professionals competed to influence how the nation's publics and policy makers thought about purchasing and using goods and services. Advertising agents and other advocates for business, grouped here under the umbrella term "advertisers," sought to turn their marketing goals into the nation's goals. Their adversaries, "consumerists," were mostly technocrats and bureaucrats who objected to the rising influence of corporations and their advertisements; they argued on behalf of consumers for regulation and objective information, sometimes applying ideas from Thorstein Veblen and social scientists of like mind.

McGovern's protagonists presented themselves to the public, to policy makers, and to peers as experts who knew best how consumers should spend and how citizens should vote. Over time, these partisans conflated the two roles, imbuing immense political significance to the phrase "voting with dollars."

Prosperity and economic expansion prior to 1930 encouraged advertisers' confident use of political symbols and metaphors to fashion national goals and citizens' needs that suited theirs and their clients'. Consumerists' defensive actions led to the founding of Consumers' Research, Inc., in December 1929, escalating the competition for cultural and political legitimacy. Their publications reached large audiences, and their allegation that corporations treated consumers like "guinea pigs" entered everyday speech. However much or little

consumerists actually represented the nation's consumers, and despite fractures and strategic failings, they greatly vexed their antagonists on the corporate side.

The Depression challenged corporations' cultural and political legitimacy. Corporate advocates lashed out angrily, often perversely, against consumers. They attacked consumerists as un-American, equating any constraint on marketing to an assault on "the consumer's right to choose" (p. 248). Their defense of unfettered capitalism in the name of freedom found its greatest opportunities in wartime. Advertisers regained the high ground, asserting that *only* they and their clients could defeat dictators and restore Americans' rightful prosperity. Americans fought for a national "way of life centered on getting and spending" (p. 363), they claimed, and McGovern agrees despite soldiers' letters he cites to the contrary and opinion polls that he does not.

Whether trying to sell to consumers or mobilize their votes, professionals apparently feigned whatever empathy and respect they professed for their targets. Most perceived consumers to be unlike themselves, separated by class, ethnicity, and gender. Roland Marchand and others have shown this before, but McGovern deepens and widens the evidence both chronologically and ideologically. The leading consumerists were as unsympathetic toward their intended beneficiaries as were the corporate apologists trying to wring out consumers' every last dollar while sanctimoniously defending their right to do so. Consumerists' indignation arose primarily out of aversion to waste and antipathy toward corporate influence and arrogance. Neither contender appreciated the complexities determining people's purchasing and political decisions.

This book builds effectively on recent scholarship, including that which has pointed to the interconnected marketplaces for goods and politics. Its own vast research and insightful analyses, careful summaries and applications of canonical and current literature, and fifty well-chosen illustrations assure its usefulness to students and researchers alike.

McGovern examines professionals who thought about consumers, as well as how some consumers reacted to the professionals' messages. Some readers will mistakenly wish that he had speculated more about the mostly unknown reactions of ordinary consumers and citizens. Even so, McGovern stretches the evidence to generalize about what "Americans" understood, expected, or wanted, even in the midst of his incisive analyses about contested values. Still, he deserves praise for avoiding the common assumption that the words and images of professional communicators reflect their audiences.

Rulers have gained or lost authority for millennia based on their subjects' quotidian material wellbeing. Is there something distinctly modern about what McGovern has uncovered in this apparent fusing of consumption and citizenship? Is it uniquely American? Perhaps the phenomena that McGovern so superbly elucidates are remarkable only in their scale. The evocative use of

nationalist symbolism to sell goods and ideas preceded the period of his study, and it exists outside of U.S. borders. McGovern vividly shows how private corporations set themselves apart from the state, demanding Americans' loyalties as consumers and citizens in exchange for the abundance they claimed to provide single-handedly. Does this dynamic differ from the recurrent strategies of religious and military institutions that have earlier challenged states' authority by providing goods and services? We need deeply comparative analyses across time periods, subcultures, and national cultures to advance consumer culture studies. McGovern's book raises the bar for future work even as it raises questions to inspire it.

PAMELA WALKER LAIRD  
University of Colorado,  
Denver

JEFFREY M. HORNSTEIN. *A Nation of Realtors: A Cultural History of the Twentieth-Century American Middle Class*. (Radical Perspectives: A Radical History Review Book Series.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 252. \$22.95.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Americans in numerous occupations responded to the loss of identity brought about by the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy. For many, the professions became a means of achieving—or retaining—social status as the definition of middle class was being refashioned to include white collar workers. In the process, professionals replaced training with education, regulated membership in their associations, and held their members to a standard of ethics.

Jeffrey M. Hornstein traces the rise of one such group, detailing the movement by real estate salesmen to professionalize their business and, in so doing, contribute to the rise of a national middle class. Hornstein deftly outlines the shift from curbstome broker to business professions setting it into the wider context of twentieth-century cultural history. His study involves five inter-related themes: the redefinition of a substandard, even disreputable, occupation (the “curbstome broker”) into a respectable profession (the realtor); the concomitant redefinition of the American middle class; the shift from an all-boy network to an integrated, but gender-differentiated, field as women entered the domestic real estate market; the privileging of the single-family house in the suburbs as the quintessential icon of the American dream; and the incorporation of that dream into the fight against communism in the 1950s.

In the years following the Civil War, as Americans moved ever westward, the middleman in the land transfer process—the real estate broker—became the symbol of shady dealings, fly-by-night charlatans, and quick-buck scam artists, replacing snake-oil salesmen as the epitome of disreputable businessmen. Hornstein's study examines the process by which realtors shed that image, transforming themselves, by the 1920s, into respectable businessmen. The mechanism of

change was the formation of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), a confederation of local membership associations. Through such innovative practices as the multiple listing service, they assured members a more equitable share of the market and, in the process, elevated NAREB membership to a valued commodity.

Although the NAREB never achieved the power to remove a member's license to practice, as did the American Medical Association or the American Bar Association, membership bestowed an imprimatur not lost on the consumer. Thus, the NAREB was able to impose on the members a similar level of accountability. Through in-service workshops and seminars, as well as continuing education, realtors gained control of the policy-making process regulating land use, serving as expert consultants in the move to stabilize development, rental properties, and zoning/building codes. By 1945, they were major contributors to postwar federal housing policies. The new profession was able to combine the respectability of the businessman with the boldness of the entrepreneur. Avoiding the corporate ladder with its rationalized, minuscule steps, the broker was both a self-made man and a member of a tribe.

In a highly readable narrative, Hornstein generates vivid accounts of the rites and behaviors of the members of the NAREB, particularly in their earlier conventions. Although his descriptions evoke images of Ralph Kramden and Ed Norton's “clubbable conformity” in their Raccoon Lodge, Hornstein's realtors are in dead earnest as they parade through the convention cities, often in costume, and make their presence and power known. He uses obscure, even quaint, passages from the period: the press coverage of NAREB conferences, the speeches of the participants, their journals and professional creeds. These passages trace the evolution of the NAREB as a force in American culture, adding a note of humor and authenticity to the scholarship.

Intertwined with the rise of the broker was the formulation of the notion of the single-family house as the American dream. Whereas nineteenth-century landlords with their tiers of leases had been the epitome of respectability as the new landed gentry, by the 1950s the dream had become “Everyman a homeowner,” with the realtor as agent of change. By the 1950s, moreover, women had become a major force in the field. After a century in which middle-class women were sidelined into the “separate sphere” of house and home, the transition to domestic real estate sales was not a major shift. In a period when so much of America's value system was thought to be under siege, it would be the woman realtor who would link house and home to American virtue.

The book is a valuable tool for the classroom in a variety of fields. Although clearly a study of the professionalization of the realtor, it provides insight into the context of the process. Hornstein's treatment of the reform movements and the concomitant rise of a new middle class during the Progressive era provides the student with an easily accessible model for studying the



cultural history of the twentieth century as well as the history of one American business.

BARBARA M. KELLY  
Hofstra University

MARK WILD. *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 298. \$39.95.

A landmark in urban historical studies of race and ethnicity, Mark Wild's book is an intricate study of urban "ethnoracial" (p. 6) diversity. Breaking with decades of scholarship in which immigrant and nonwhite communities were considered chiefly in their contrasts to and relations with the white and Protestant majority, Wild boldly decenters the white Anglo majority of Los Angeles and foregrounds the ways that Mexicans, African Americans, Chinese, Japanese, East European Jews, Italians, and a wide range of smaller groups, including Gypsies, Koreans, and Russian Molokans, got along with one another and with members of the Protestant white Anglo majority, in very specific neighborhood, public, and citywide political contexts, during the half-century prior to World War II. His central argument is that countless individuals "crossed ethnoracial lines" and "carved out a space where they could expand their social and cultural opportunities," but ultimately a rigid system of group boundaries proved more powerful (p. 6). Its brevity notwithstanding (fully one third of the pages are taken by footnotes, bibliography, and index), this efficient book is packed with deep and wide research. Wild mines sources ranging from the early sociological studies conducted under the direction of Chicago-trained Emory Bogardus's many sociology students beginning in the 1910s to his own meticulous tabulations of forgotten Works Progress Administration household survey cards, city council ordinances, and more than forty interviews with elderly Angelenos. The solid empirical foundation of this study supports a convincing portrait of the city's central neighborhoods as highly mixed zones of interaction, rather than as homogeneous and neatly bounded ethnic enclaves, a misleading image that would come to dominate urban ethnic studies in the post-World War II period (when, as Wild observes, heavy immigration streams and segregation did lead to more visibly "monoethnic" neighborhoods).

The book begins with a chapter that is easily the best survey history of Los Angeles's crazy quilt of multiethnic neighborhoods—a genre known since the Renaissance as "chorography." Wild's main effort throughout the book is to recover the perspectives of the nonwhite and non-Anglo immigrants, but he also spends a great deal of space on the attitudes of the Anglo Protestants, liberals, reformers, socialists, Wobblies, and communists toward the African Americans, Mexicans, and Asians that they sought to assimilate, protect, or mobilize into class-based movements. Wild subjects the many apparent friends of diversity to a searching critique, usually showing that their sympathy or solidarity

had limits or blind spots. Chapters three through five are case studies of The Church of All Nations, a liberal progressive church that attempted to cross racial and ethnic boundaries under the leadership of a Methodist ecumenical minister (and student of Bogardus) named G. Bromley Oxnam; interethnic interactions among children at play; and interethnic sexuality. In these densely documented chapters, Wild shows a community at the interstices of a society at the height of its racist ideologies and policies. Examples of "inter-ethnoracial" relationships abound, but as youths became adults, the walls and sanctions forced conformity with the ruling ideologies of apartheid. Sex workers earned premiums for crossing race lines, Wild shows, in ways that only reinforced racial hierarchies.

The last two chapters explore political mobilization in the multiethnic neighborhoods, by socialists during the first two decades of the century, and by communists mostly during the 1930s. The focus of the book shifts in these chapters to a fascinating and very detailed account of repression practiced by the Anglo elite, spearheaded by the reactionary publishers of the *Los Angeles Times*. Wild documents appalling and systematic violations of civil and human rights, in the enforcement of "no speech zones" (p. 153) that were officially expanded as frightened leaders sought to extirpate a class and race menace. Indeed, his portrait of "street speaking" (p. 148) as a genre vital to the political life of the disenfranchised is a signal contribution of this book. The empirical achievements of these chapters are somewhat vitiated, however, by a creeping simplification of antipathies as the book concludes. Wild deploys a vague "corporate liberal" theory about the majority Anglo elite political perspective, defined as an attempt to contain and exploit ethnoracial diversity for the new "corporate reconstruction" of America and Los Angeles. Wild then repeatedly expresses surprise when reporting exceptions, about Anglo elites who defy that ideology (e.g., pp. 49, 52, 174). Ironically, after doing such a great job of exploring the uncontainable diversity of the city's neighborhoods, Wild himself imposes homogeneity on these communities. In the last two chapters, "central city residents" (p. 155) becomes a euphemism for the city's nonwhite working class, who face "elites and their forces" (p. 187). But this is only a minor flaw in an otherwise superb study of the ways that North American urban life defied the categories imposed by officials, employers, police, sociologists, and by so many historians.

PHILIP J. ETHINGTON  
University of Southern California

DON PARSON. *Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare, and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles*. Foreword by KEVIN STARR. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 289. Cloth \$70.50, paper \$23.50.

In the early 1980s, when few historians seemed interested in public housing, independent scholar Don Par-



son began publishing articles about the history of public housing in Los Angeles. The policy debates about housing in the 1990s and the subsequent demolition of public housing in many cities seem to have piqued historians' interest. Since the mid-1990s many other scholars have joined Parson in exploring this topic. The book under review expands upon Parson's earlier research and makes his interpretation more accessible to a new generation of scholars.

Parson's book examines a series of episodes relating to the rebuilding of Los Angeles in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Parson argues that a "left-liberal popular front" worked with Mayor Fletcher Bowron and members of the city council to establish a federally funded public housing program in the late 1930s. Before U.S. entry into World War II, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles began the process of building more than 3,400 units of public housing in ten different projects. These projects were not simply places in which people would live. Instead, Parson insists, they "provided space for human interaction in the form of recreation, shared interests, neighborhood politics, housework, shopping, leisure, and a common sociability. They provided the skeletal framework on which an everyday life might fully flourish, and they reflected the Left's social democratic aesthetic of a planned civic culture" (p. 7). Parson uses the term "community modernism" to describe the Left's vision of modern Los Angeles.

Los Angeles officials remained committed to public housing during and after World War II, when war workers and later veterans joined popular front reformers in demanding that the city and the federal government provide a solution to the housing crisis. By the early 1950s, however, realtors, savings and loan associations, home builders' associations, and the publishers of most metropolitan newspapers had succeeded in destroying the popular front of the 1930s and 1940s. Their attacks on public housing as "socialistic" or even "communitistic" removed the Left from the debates about the city's future. By the summer of 1951, opponents of public housing constituted a majority on the city council. A June 1952 referendum indicated that the majority of the city's voters also opposed public housing. When anti-public housing candidate Norris Poulson defeated Bowron in the 1953 mayoral election, "corporate modernism" replaced "community modernism" as the guiding vision for the remaking of the city. Parson defines "corporate modernism" as the "monumental glorification of the commercial urban economy" (p. 2).

Poulson renegotiated a public housing contract with the federal government and worked with the city council and the federal government to redevelop the Bunker Hill neighborhood in downtown Los Angeles. The neighborhood's residents and its "blighted" housing were removed, and the land was then sold to developers who eventually built new office and commercial buildings. Poulson and other opponents of public housing also engineered the deal by which Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley acquired the land in Chavez Ravine

on which he built Dodger Stadium. The land had originally been acquired by the city for public housing.

Few scholars will disagree with the broad strokes of Parson's argument; however, they may challenge some of his finer points. For example, Parson argues that the Left was politically influential in Los Angeles until the early 1950s. Other scholars would insist that the Left was effectively isolated soon after World War II. Some readers might also wish for more from Parson's explanation of the opposition to public housing. He emphasizes the opposition to public housing on the part of business owners who saw public housing as government competition that could reduce their profits. Because Parson's discussion of the redevelopment of Bunker Hill is separated from the discussion of public housing, readers may not recognize that some of the opponents of public housing also opposed the redevelopment of Bunker Hill. Many small property owners consistently rejected both the social democratic and the corporate visions of modernity. Their words and actions seem to reflect a populist opposition to the notion that the government, not the individual property owner, should have the power to decide how all land is used.

The fact that Parson's interpretation will not satisfy all readers does not diminish the value of his book. Parson's exhaustive research indicates that the rise and fall of public housing in Los Angeles differed significantly from developments in other large U.S. cities. All U.S. urban historians should read this book so that they can better appreciate the differences between public housing in eastern cities and public housing in western cities.

KEVIN ALLEN LEONARD

*Western Washington University*

KEVIN M. KRUSE. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 325. \$35.00.

Kevin Kruse's brilliant analysis of race, class, and politics documents the transformation in belief and political strategy employed by white southerners who resisted the black struggle for democracy and integration. The heat caused by the friction of the modern civil rights movement in the South led whites to set aside the fiery rhetoric of George Wallace and the burning cross of the Ku Klux Klan and adopt the language of rights—first collective and ultimately individual—in their continuous effort to maintain segregation and white supremacy. White rights talk defended segregation by evoking the rights of freedom of association, of local control, and from court intervention, and what began as white resistance to the black freedom struggle morphed into a reactionary challenge to the power of the federal government. In this moment, argues Kruse, modern conservatism was born.

In elegant but powerful prose, Kruse lays out the narrative of the civil rights struggles that politically and physically transformed the city of Atlanta, Georgia, from the lengthy reign of William Hartsfield to the in-

famous battles over the expansion of the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA). The work, as Kruse notes, centers on "whites themselves" (p. 8) and in the process interrogates the meaning and lived experience of whiteness in twentieth-century Atlanta. Scholars who have grappled with the mystery of the racial solidarity between poor/working-class whites and their middle-class/elite peers, an alliance in which most often the former received the rhetorical benefits of whiteness while the latter hoarded the lion's share of the privileges of white supremacy, will see in this text a moment of disruption of that racial contract. Atlanta's white working class, which had responded to the call to unity in defense of white supremacy, found itself abandoned as white elites seized on the political tool of flight to escape changes in law and federal policy that undermined their ability to manipulate and control housing, education, and public monies.

Flight, argues Kruse, "mass migration of whites from cities to the suburbs[,] proved to be the most successful segregationist response to the moral demands of the civil rights movement and the legal authority of the courts" (p. 8). Working-class whites, outraged as black residents encroached upon their marginal neighborhoods, were even more stunned by the disinterest of the white elite and municipal acquiescence. In a politically charged game of last man out, working-class whites found that despite some early successes, established methods for resisting integration—vocal neighborhood associations and aggressive cooperatives—could not save their communities from the black "invasion." Indeed, they learned that the elite no longer placed the same value on the concept of white community but instead had embraced a new ideology of individualism that emphasized class stratification and celebrated the ethos of every man for himself. The white elite and middle class that benefited most from the post-World War II economic boom argued that their move from Atlanta and the remaking of a new whiteness in areas of suburban development was not a product of racial antagonism but a race-neutral consequence of upward mobility and pursuit of the American dream.

The subsequent secession of the suburbs as newly incorporated areas withdrew their tax support from the city, the abandonment of the municipal school district, and the white withdrawal from and shuttering of public spaces transformed Atlanta into a another "chocolate city" in which a small black elite/upper-middle class held office and ran the city at the behest of the white business elite, reigning in an uneasy alliance over a largely impoverished working-class black population. The white working class, without the financial means or social clout to escape the city in the early waves of out migration, experienced much of the same diminished quality of life endured by the city's new black majority. The Tuition Grant Law, which "guaranteed every child in Georgia money for a private education" (p. 170), provided thousands of dollars to finance white flight from the school system. Kruse notes it was "merely a handout to upper-class whites" (p. 171). The circumstances fu-

eled white working-class resentment at having to bear the brunt of the new racial reality. Still, in a slightly off-kilter repeat of post-Reconstruction era politics, the white working class fell into step with the white elite in yet another round of conservatism, this time under the flag of the Republican rather than the Democratic Party.

Kruse's book offers historians the chance to re-evaluate the impact of the modern civil rights movement. The use of democratic rhetoric about rights and freedoms masks the unwillingness of whites, regionally and nationally, to take seriously black calls for inclusion and equality. Kruse's well-researched, persuasively argued work invites us to investigate not the failure of black efforts but the limits of white imagination.

ALLISON DORSEY  
Swarthmore College

HOWARD GILLETTE, JR. *Camden after the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Post-Industrial City*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 323. \$39.95.

This book provides rich insights into the causes and effects of postindustrial decline. While some scholars question the notion of a "postindustrial" society, arguing that industrial production still spurs urban development, it is difficult to overestimate the negative effects of industrial flight from cities like Camden, New Jersey. In its heyday during the 1940s and 1950s, Camden seemed to hold the promise of a bright future, as racially and ethnically diverse residents enjoyed the prosperity sustained by the manufacturing of ships, soup (as in Campbell's), and television sets (as in RCA Victor). Subsequent decades, however, brought a reversal of fortune for the residents of Camden, as factories closed, moving their operations elsewhere, and ethnic whites (Italians, Jews, and Poles) departed for greener pastures on the suburban frontiers of southern New Jersey, leaving in their wake an expanding concentration of racial poverty, civil unrest, and infrastructural and environmental decline. This is a familiar story throughout the so-called Rust Belt, but Howard Gillette, Jr., delivers a powerful narrative, based on exhaustive research in newspaper archives and through extensive personal interviews, that examines the decline of Camden "after the fall," tracing the political struggles that ensued over the fate of this city and the lopsided allocation of economic resources and social capital within a broader regional context.

The flight of manufacturing jobs from Camden is only part of the city's problem. As Gillette documents in considerable (sometimes tedious) detail, the rise of suburban interests within southern New Jersey's political economy generated formidable resistance to not only the revitalization of Camden but also to the more equitable distribution of resources and the broadening of access to quality jobs, housing, education, and health care. It is precisely the latter part of this equation that the author upholds as the end use of public policy

throughout his story of Camden, and he takes civic officials and state legislators to task for their lack of a broader vision that addresses the needs of those outside the shifting bubbles of economic prosperity. While grandiose plans for sports arenas, luxury condominiums, and waterfront attractions purport to bring life back to Camden, they do not necessarily reduce poverty, nor do they alleviate the conditions engendered by such poverty. The courts have provided little help here, for as Gillette demonstrates, suburban homeowners and their representatives in government succeeded in blocking court mandates to provide affordable, quality housing for Camden's poor.

It is a tragic and all-too-familiar story of urban decline, but while the prospects of reducing (if not eliminating) poverty in Camden are bleak, Gillette's narrative, admirably, shuns the tone of despair. The author's attention to the stalwart efforts of citizen's groups, nonprofit organizations, community agencies, church councils, and public-interest lawyers breathes life into the story, providing a narrative counterweight to the daunting success of suburban lawyers, developers, bankers, insurance executives, and politicians. It is also underscores the mindboggling complexity of the often conflicting but sometimes overlapping interests that vie to resuscitate the anemic urban core. Gillette's emphasis on the material and spiritual dimensions of community organizing brings a unique and much-needed sensitivity to our collective understanding of urban decline, humanizing a story that is usually told from a top-down perspective that dwells on abstract structural forces and the monolithic hegemony of capital. While the details of the author's account are occasionally overbearing, Gillette delivers a humane and compelling analysis of postindustrial urban decline, and his book strikes a sound balance between racial and class antagonisms, as well as between structure and agency. The historical context of Camden's current condition is rendered thoroughly (although it may fail to satisfy those who disregard the present in their understanding of the past), and the author takes occasional pause to assess the city's predicament against that of other American cities. This is an important and lucid case study of the fate of American cities at the outset of the twenty-first century and deserves the attention of anyone interested in the past, present, or future of urban life in the United States.

ERIC AVILA  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

CHRISTOPHER BONASTIA. *Knocking on the Door: The Federal Government's Attempt to Desegregate the Suburbs*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 234. \$29.95.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the federal government failed to pursue meaningful racial integration in housing while implementing a substantial degree of affirmative action in the areas of employment and public

education. Christopher Bonastia's valuable book addresses this puzzle of divergent outcomes through a comparative analysis that builds on the models of historical institutionalism developed by political scientists and public policy scholars. Instead of focusing mainly on the grass roots or the White House, this approach highlights the considerable independence of executive branch agencies in fashioning social policies that can extend well beyond the intent of congressional laws or the preferences of particular presidents. Bonastia argues that the scope of enforcement depends upon the relative bureaucratic autonomy of a policy's institutional base, especially with politically controversial programs of race-conscious affirmative action. Chartered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) occupied an "advantaged institutional home" (p. 13) as a stand-alone agency with a singular mission that worked closely with civil rights groups and received judicial backing for its aggressive affirmative action remedies. Despite widespread political resistance, the semi-independent Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare also enforced a significant amount of school desegregation following the Civil Rights Act, though again with critical assistance from the judicial branch. But in federal open-housing policy, the "weak institutional home" (p. 160) provided by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) severely hampered the civil rights agenda to achieve residential integration following the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

After opening chapters on political theory and civil rights policies in comparative perspective, Bonastia provides a useful review of the extensive scholarly literature establishing that the "federal government historically has acted quite forcefully in the housing market—on the side of segregation" (p. 2). HUD represented a disadvantaged institutional home for fair-housing enforcement because many of its agencies, and especially the Federal Housing Administration, enthusiastically encouraged and subsidized racial segregation in private residential developments during the decades before 1968. After the Fair Housing Act, the new mission of promoting residential integration and penalizing segregated developments remained subordinate to, and often in conflict with, HUD's overriding imperative to facilitate metropolitan growth by expanding the nation's housing supply. The heart of the book examines the Nixon administration's open-housing policies during the tenure of HUD Secretary George Romney, a liberal Republican who endorsed the racial and economic integration of the suburbs. In 1969, Romney launched the Open Communities program, a carrot-and-stick approach that required suburban municipalities to approve the construction of low and moderate-income housing units in order to receive HUD subsidies for residential and infrastructural development. One year later, after HUD cut off funding to the noncompliant and nearly all-white Detroit suburb of Warren, a growing backlash led President Richard M. Nixon to

announce that the "forced integration of the suburbs is not in the national interest" (p. 109). In early 1973, Nixon proclaimed an eighteen-month moratorium on all federal housing subsidies, ostensibly because of a series of HUD corruption scandals, and the White House simultaneously forced Romney to resign.

Bonastia argues that Nixon's housing freeze "essentially closed an unparalleled window of opportunity for the implementation of aggressive, race-conscious policies on housing discrimination" (pp. 134–135). Public opposition to suburban integration is not a sufficient explanation for the minimalist enforcement of the Fair Housing Act, but instead the "weak institutional home for civil rights in housing made HUD a more inviting target for the White House to decimate than civil rights agencies in employment and education" (p. 96). As a policy lesson, Bonastia persuasively observes that an autonomous Fair Housing Board, modeled on the EEOC rather than submerged as a secondary priority within HUD, likely would have been more insulated from political backlash and therefore could have implemented more expansive affirmative action programs. Yet this book's emphasis on the importance of an agency's institutional home seems to overestimate the window of opportunity opened by Romney's scattershot and short-lived policies and to downplay other pivotal factors such as the role of the judiciary and the comparative intensity of suburban opposition to substantive residential integration. In education and employment, civil rights groups convinced federal courts to broaden the scope of affirmative action programs and mandate vigorous enforcement by the executive branch, but the Supreme Court refused to authorize similarly expansive race-conscious remedies to dismantle housing segregation. Unlike school desegregation, fair housing also represented a national rather than a regional issue from the beginning, with almost no political constituency for any suburban integration remedies beyond banning overt acts of racial discrimination against individuals in an allegedly free market. In the end, as Bonastia demonstrates with clarity, federal housing policies have played a major role in the creation and perpetuation of residential segregation while doing very little to undo the damage.

MATTHEW D. LASSITER  
University of Michigan

SIMON WENDT. *The Spirit and the Shotgun: Armed Resistance and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. xi, 279. \$39.95.

Simon Wendt's book shows that civil rights movement historians are free (at last) from the powerful but now trite formula of titling our works after hymns, Biblical passages, and slogans. Wendt's book does much more than this, but praise should start with the succinct and original title.

This is the latest in a spate of books on the relationship between nonviolence and armed resistance in the

movement. Inspired originally by Timothy D. Tyson's *Radio Free Dixie: Robert Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (1999), works by Lance Hill, Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar, Christopher Strain, and Akinyele Umoja have tackled this topic for a variety of different organizations, time periods, and regions. This body of literature was an important corrective to the movement's own propaganda and contemporary media portrayals that mythologized the role of nonviolence as a philosophy accepted wholeheartedly by everyone from ministers in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to sharecroppers in the Mississippi Delta. Armed resistance, in this original master narrative, emerged around 1965 or 1966, basically a byproduct of the black power movement. All of the works on armed resistance prior to Wendt's study complicate the simplistic dichotomy between a nonviolent civil rights movement prior to 1965 and self-defense in the later black power era. We now see that armed resistance (from Robert Williams in North Carolina to the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana) was part of the traditional civil rights movement and that the lines between this movement and black power are more than a little blurry.

Yet earlier revisionists tended to overstate the importance of armed self-defense, giving it the bulk of the credit for real gains in the movement and caricaturing nonviolence as a weaker tactic that worked only in high-profile cases with national movement organizations and big media coverage. Wendt rightly balances this equation and runs a parallel analysis of nonviolent activism and self-defense through the long history of the civil rights movement.

Starting with a brief discussion of these protest strategies in the Jim Crow era, Wendt shows that self-defense without a nonviolent mass movement "more frequently provoked white violence" than thwarted it (p. 13). This is an important corrective to previous scholarship that romanticizes the use of weapons to fight racial oppression throughout American history, reading successful militance back into even the nadir of race relations. From this introduction, Wendt goes on to look at the Congress of Racial Equality from the 1940s through the 1960s, with a fine explanation of their relationship to the Deacons. There is coverage of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's work in Mississippi, an explanation of the emergence of black power, and an analysis of the Black Panthers. Wendt is well versed in the gender and class analyses implicit in the debate between proponents of self-defense and nonviolence, arguing that the Panthers and other groups outside of the South gained more psychologically from the strategy of self-defense than tactically. Without the counterbalance of nonviolence and without a clear (acceptable) enemy like the Ku Klux Klan or the Citizens' Councils, Wendt argues, self-defense in the North and West could never be as successful as it had been in supporting a nonviolent mass movement in the South. In short, Wendt sees a symbiotic relationship between strategies of nonviolence and self-defense, ar-



guing that "The movement's ultimate success depended on both the spirit and the shotgun" (p. 7).

Scholars familiar with the movement may not be shocked by this thesis or by the examples from Wendt's book highlighted above. Yet there are pleasant surprises throughout that make it an instructive read for both experts and lay people. Wendt offers a deep case study of the movement in Tuscaloosa, which is something of a community study within the larger monograph. Here, we meet Joseph Mallisham, a union organizer and Korean War veteran, who was dedicated to the success of the nonviolent movement at the same time that he formed a local self-defense group. If this seems contradictory, Wendt masterfully shows that it was just such relationships that made local movements work in the South. "Our membership was a membership of peace," Mallisham remembered. "Any violence would be the last resort and that was stressed" (pp. 60–61). In addition to the Tuscaloosa movement, readers get fascinating vignettes on a self-defense group in Port Gibson, Mississippi (the Black Hats), and Cleveland, Ohio (the Medgar Evers Rifle Club).

The sum of these little-known vignettes (and the more famous ones) is greater than the individual parts of this book. There are times when Wendt's work feels like more of a synthesis because it followed the work of Tyson, Hill, Ogbar, Strain, and Umoja. Still, it does a fine job of showing that neither the spirit nor the shotgun alone could have won civil rights victories.

STEVE ESTES  
Sonoma State University

J. TODD MOYE. *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945–1986*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 281. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In this important book, J. Todd Moya evaluates the accomplishments of the American civil rights movement as demonstrated in one rural community in the Mississippi Delta over a period long enough to allow for worthwhile conclusions. As the title suggests, the book pays close attention to how black and white residents worked out the social and political changes that accompanied the dramatic shifts in the region's agricultural economy. The collapse of sharecropping cotton coincided with the modern civil rights struggle. By tracing the emergence of the post–World War II demand for access to the system by African Americans and the subsequent rise of massive resistance by white people determined to maintain the racist status quo, and then charting this story of conflict through the well-plowed fields of Mississippi's "Freedom Summer" to the era of black empowerment, Moya puts the civil rights saga in a new perspective. He then documents the biracialism that developed in the aftermath of the movement to show how black and white Mississippians joined together in common cause to move their communities forward, culminating in strategies to diversify the local po-

litical economy, all the while paying attention to who was doing what for whom and noting how the once all-white ruling class diversified to include a new black middle class in its ranks.

Building on earlier landmark studies that evaluated the civil rights era in Mississippi, such as Charles Payne's *I've Got The Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (1995) and John Dittmer's *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (1994), Moya offers a different understanding through deep analysis of a single locale over a period of time stretching decades after the struggle. Dozens of original interviews help Moya develop his thesis, although he notes, "I do not consider oral history research a substitute for archival research" (p. 231) and has also exhausted written primary sources on his topic. The selection of Sunflower County fits well with his analysis, for in it one finds many of the key players and recurrent themes that marked Mississippi's postwar transformation.

As the home of the infamous U.S. Senator James O. Eastland, who defended white supremacy in the halls of Congress from 1941 to 1978, and as the birthplace of the white Citizens Councils mobilized in response to the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954), Sunflower County symbolized the intransigence of white supremacy in the rural South. Yet it also epitomized an awakened black citizenry, for here one found the indomitable Fannie Lou Hamer, who emerged as the movement's spokeswoman, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's Charles McLaurin, whose indefatigable leadership in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party helped raise the consciousness of black political empowerment in the region. In the wake of the movement, activists in Sunflower County tried a variety of alternatives to better the lives of black citizens including the cooperative Freedom Farm, but all fell short of resolving the grinding poverty and powerlessness felt by many in the Mississippi Delta who relied on federal aid for survival. Education promised an out, and in Sunflower County the example of the Carter family—detailed more completely in Connie Curry's *Silver Rights* (1995)—demonstrated the difficulties African Americans faced gaining access to the better-financed public schools, only to watch as white students left for private academies. By 1985 the hiring of a black superintendent of education marked the success of local black political empowerment just as new catfish farms and a Dollar General distribution center that employed hundreds of workers signified a successful transformation of Sunflower County into the service economy derived in large measure from biracial cooperation. Moya concludes that the willingness of social activists to gain "seats at the table of power" (p. 207) as it existed, and the "white business community's newly found civic commitment to interracial democracy" (p. 208) that embraced black political empowerment enabled Sunflower County to move beyond the inequities of the past in a bid for a brighter future. As Moya understands, the story he tells



in this book depicts an outcome seen across the South in the years since the civil rights movement ended.

GLENN T. ESKEW  
Georgia State University

KIMBERLY SPRINGER. *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968–1980*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 228. \$21.95.

This book should put to rest any lingering assertions that second-wave feminism was an exclusively white, middle-class movement. Kimberly Springer traces the origins, organizational structure, ideology and decline of five black feminist organizations: Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA), 1968–1979; Black Women Organized for Action (BWOA), 1973–1980; National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), 1973–1975; Combahee River Collective (CRC), 1975–1980; and the National Alliance of Black Feminists (NABF), 1976–1980. Her goal is to “dispel myths that black women were not, or are not, interested in feminism as a potentially liberatory practice” (p. 168). According to Springer, black feminists engaged in “interstitial politics” in the “cracks” (p. 2) between the civil rights and women's liberation movements and fostered a “collective identity among activists distinct from that of those classic movements” (p. 15).

Black feminism was hardly homogeneous, and feminists confronted divisions over class, sexuality, leadership, and organizational structure. Both the CRC and the TWWA advocated socialist revolution, and the TWWA's anticapitalist and anti-imperialist politics compelled the group to broaden its membership to include all women of color. Refuting the essentialist notion that women are “naturally” inclined toward cooperation and group-centered leadership, Springer points out that the NBFO and NABF adopted a hierarchical structure, while the TWWA, CRC, and BWOA functioned more collectively, with the BWOA rotating leaders every three months. Yet even collectivist leadership styles could mask power and decision-making roles within organizations. Ironically, although lesbians founded several of the five organizations, homophobia plagued a number of them.

Friendship networks and romantic relationships frequently were the building blocks of black feminist organizations, but personal relationships sometimes clouded disputes over direction, leadership or ideology. Springer contends that privileging black feminist writings, such as the Combahee River Collective Statement which was widely distributed, and the focus on “well-known personalities” (p. 75) and white feminism, have distorted black feminism. For example, although the CRC has been credited with drawing attention to homophobia, Springer notes that chronologically the TWWA did so several years earlier. Similarly, Aileen Hernandez is widely recognized for her leadership in NOW and the EEOC yet is virtually unknown as a founder of BWOA. While “consciousness raising” has been defined as a bedrock of white feminism, Springer

reveals how black feminists used it to break silences around issues such as sterilization abuse, rape, and domestic violence. These are intriguing examples of the concrete issues black feminists addressed, and yet Springer's discussion is often sketchy, leaving one yearning for more detailed analysis.

Black feminist organizations, like other movement groups of the period, were plagued by financial strains, leadership disputes, and activist burnout. But black feminists faced additional hurdles including hostility from key African American institutions such as the black church and black press. The TWWA was also targeted by the FBI's domestic spying program, COINTELPRO, and some NBFO members believe internal disruptions were deliberately orchestrated by agent provocateurs.

Springer critiques social movement theory as well as the feminist “wave” analogy, arguing that both have obscured the history of black women's activism, not all of which was explicitly feminist. She states that black women in the 1960s were the first to articulate the notion of interlocking oppressions rooted in gender, race, and class exploitation, yet never mentions that pioneer civil rights activist Ella Baker (whom she cites as role model for 1970s black feminists) did so as early as the 1930s. It is precisely this kind of analysis that might have strengthened Springer's claims about the impact of the civil rights movement on black feminism, just one of several conclusions she asserts rather than proves. Springer is probably correct in noting that female civil rights leaders influenced black feminists; yet much of her evidence focuses not on these leaders but on the sexism that future feminists such as NBFO founder Margaret Sloan or CRC leader Barbara Smith experienced in the civil rights movement.

Although she acknowledges their brief existence and small membership, Springer joins other scholars who argue that the “numbers” debate misses the broader impact and legacy of black feminist organizations. The NABF established alternative schools attended by thousands of blacks in the Chicago area; the CRC organized a series of Black Women's Network Retreats, which attracted a network of politically active Black women; the TWWA sponsored “liberation schools” that were open to people of color in New York City; and several organizations published newsletters and participated in TV and radio shows, college forums, and community events that reached both members and non-members alike. Indeed, a 1972 national poll revealed that black women were far more supportive of so-called feminist issues (although many eschewed the feminist label) than any other segment of the U.S. population. Most importantly, black feminists “transformed the theoretical grounding” of contemporary feminism from a primary focus on gender to the notion of interlocking oppressions rooted in race, class, gender, and sexuality. And even after the demise of black feminist organizations, black feminism(s) continued to flourish in a wide variety of groups and different “types of direct action” (p. 171). As Springer reminds us, black feminists can

still be found among elected officials, writers, activists, journalists, and teachers.

Because this is an organizational study, Springer does not give us much information about how black feminists interacted with the Left or with civil rights, black power, or other feminist groups. It is perhaps unfair to ask for a different book, yet the scant 182-page text (excluding endnotes and index) might have benefited from more detailed analyses along these lines. Nevertheless, Springer has laid out an agenda for future research and enriched our understanding of 1960s and 1970s feminism.

CHRISTINA GREENE  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

PENIEL E. JOSEPH. *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America*. New York: Henry Holt. 2006. Pp. xiv, 399. \$27.50.

Peniel E. Joseph's sweeping book traces black power and black radicalism from World War II through the mid-1970s, profiling important leaders, describing key events, tracing ideological evolutions, and connecting art, culture, and politics, all within a broad international context. Through this narrative, Joseph expands our understanding of the post-World War II black freedom struggle and offers a look at the black radical movement overlapping and intersecting with the better-known and more mainstream civil rights movement. In the process, Joseph makes a significant contribution to the growing body of scholarship that is effectively challenging the traditional (and simplistic) notion of good 1960s/bad 1960s, civil rights to black power paradigm.

Joseph's narrative features high-profile public figures and organizations, including LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka), Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, the Nation of Islam, and the Black Panther Party. He demonstrates the ways that they were connected to and influenced by radical economic theories, Pan-Africanism, and international events, including the 1955 Bandung Conference, Ghanaian independence, the Cuban revolution, and the broader decolonization and independence movements of Africa and Asia. Joseph also includes people and events less well known to nonspecialists. For example, he profiles journalist William Worthy, a reporter for the *Baltimore-Washington Afro-American*, who "traveled freely between the front lines of some of the Cold War's most embattled countries and the then-equally dangerous domestic civil rights frontier" (p. 45). Worthy regularly defied U.S. travel bans and was prosecuted, under the McCarran Act, for a 1961 trip to Cuba. He shared platforms with Malcolm X, raised money for the Monroe Defendants (prosecuted for kidnapping and helping Robert Williams escape the country), helped found the all-black Freedom Now Party, and pushed civil rights movement leaders to internationalize the struggle. Joseph writes, "No name was given to William Worthy's political battles or the pockets of well-orga-

nized resistance that extended him aid and comfort. Many of them were northern militants who, while sympathetic to the civil rights movement, viewed their own struggle through different eyes. . . . On the fringes of the movement or, more often, an afterthought, black radicals during the age of civil rights walked a tightrope between conventional political protest and creative militancy" (p. 50).

In weaving together a narrative focused on key people and events, Joseph illustrates some of the intersections between northern black power advocates and the southern civil rights movement. He also details the differences—subtle and dramatic—between black power advocates who had varying degrees of commitment to Marxism and class struggle and those informed by more exclusively racial and nationalistic politics. He traces Malcolm X's evolution, including his deteriorating relationship with the Nation of Islam; addresses the dramatic public emergence of a black power movement with Carmichael's well-known use of the phrase during the 1966 Meredith march; explores the founding of the Black Panther Party and its internal differences and changes over time; covers the development of the black arts movement; details significant international events and connections; and argues for the significance of the 1972 National Black Political Convention in Gary where "Black Power came of age" (p. 276) and "promoted an agenda of radical political reform that focused on urban renewal, quality education, welfare rights, and economic opportunity fueled by the redistribution of wealth" (pp. 282–283).

Joseph effectively illustrates how "Black Power emerged alongside civil rights activism" and how "Black Power advocates embraced a different political radicalism altogether, one that promoted self-reliance, self-defense, Pan-Africanism, internationalism, and cooperation among blacks" (pp. 302, 303). However, his account privileges the best-known public spokesmen and highlights their oratory and theoretical evolutions. This may be inevitable for a book of this scope that is essentially top-down, intellectual history, but it leaves some gaps. For example, despite a massive bibliography, Joseph's account of Carmichael's popularization of the phrase "black power" relies too heavily on media coverage and memoirs. He does not cite the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) papers or Hasan Jeffries's important 2002 dissertation ("Freedom Politics: Transcending Civil Rights in Lowndes County, Alabama, 1965–2000") that locates the roots of SNCC's and Carmichael's move to black power in their southern rural organizing. By relying on media and memoirs and focusing primarily on Carmichael's rhetoric, Joseph misses an opportunity to more fully explore the important intersections and cross-fertilization between the painstaking southern-based grassroots organizing of SNCC and northern, intellectual-based understandings of black power radicalism. More than anything, this oversight points to the difficulties in writing such a broad history and Joseph's challenge in doing it when historians have just begun to research and pub-

lish works on black power that are grounded in local communities. Ultimately, Joseph makes a tremendous contribution in pulling together and adding to what we know and also in pointing to what remains to be unearthed and studied.

EMILYE CROSBY  
State University of New York,  
Geneseo

PETER L. HAHN. *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945–1961*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 398. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.95.

In this richly detailed study of America's policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict from the Truman through the Eisenhower administrations, Peter L. Hahn traces the domestic, regional, and global considerations that drew the United States inexorably into the Middle East during the first fifteen years of the Cold War. Making extensive use of British, Israeli, and American sources, he has written an impressive multi-archival and multidimensional account that can serve as a model for other practitioners of international history and also, perhaps, as a primer for contemporary U.S. policy makers who find themselves once again "caught in the Middle East."

Hahn begins his story with Harry Truman's attempt to make sense of the murky policies that he inherited from Franklin D. Roosevelt. Readers who know the work of Peter Grose, Michael Cohen, and Roger Louis will find much familiar terrain in the section covering 1945–1948, when tension between Truman's anti-Zionist State Department and a cadre of pro-Zionist White House advisers produced ambiguous, inconsistent, and "reactive" policies on Palestine. By placing the battle over recognition of the Jewish state squarely in the context of Cold War crises like the Berlin airlift, however, Hahn makes a compelling case that Truman was in effect "privileging anticommunist containment over an Arab-Israeli settlement *per se*" (p. 62) and thereby setting the mold for a fairly consistent American approach to the Middle East for more than a generation.

The section on Truman's second term is filled with provocative new insights which challenge the conventional wisdom that the Man from Missouri pursued a knee-jerk, pro-Israel policy based mainly on domestic politics. Hahn points out that between 1949 and 1953, Truman irritated Israeli leaders and their friends on Capitol Hill by rejecting Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's request for military hardware, declining to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and reiterating the centrality of the Palestinian refugee question. These chillier relations with Israel reflected the growing influence of Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who convinced Truman that the key to containing the Soviet Union in the Middle East was to "contain" the Arab-Israeli conflict through stringent arms control and impartial regional diplomacy.

Israel responded to Truman's new approach by launching a public relations blitz in Washington called

*hasbara*, a Hebrew word meaning "information." Relying on new material from the Israeli archives, Hahn shows that Tel Aviv secretly coordinated the *hasbara* campaign to increase congressional and media pressure on the White House to provide Israel with diplomatic, economic, and military assistance. In the end, the Truman administration failed to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict largely because U.S. policy makers became entangled in what Hahn calls "the firmness and influence dilemmas." Acheson and the State Department's "firm" approach to Israel during the early 1950s produced not deference but defiance, while Ben-Gurion's heavy-handed use of *hasbara* to "influence" the White House succeeded only in angering Truman.

Dwight D. Eisenhower took office in 1953 determined to reverse what he regarded as Truman's pro-Israel policies in order to block Soviet inroads among Arab nationalists like Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser. The analysis of Ike's first term recaps the findings in Hahn's earlier book on U.S. and British relations with Egypt. The Eisenhower administration adopted an even-handed approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict, invested much time and energy on an abortive peace initiative called "Project Alpha," and condemned Israel's invasion of Egypt during the 1956 Suez Crisis. What is new here, however, is Hahn's discovery that Israel launched another *hasbara* campaign in late 1956 to mobilize its friends in Washington to prevent Eisenhower from supporting formal United Nations sanctions censuring the Jewish state for its refusal to withdraw from the Sinai.

The late 1950s saw the United States embrace "selective activism" in the Middle East under the Eisenhower Doctrine, which placed a much higher priority on combating Soviet subversion than on resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed, Hahn argues that the relationship between Washington and Tel Aviv became so frosty in the aftermath of the Suez and Sinai crises that Eisenhower briefly considered "pull[ing] the plug on U.S.-Israeli relations" (p. 289) during the summer of 1958. By the end of the decade, however, America and Israel were headed toward a rapprochement based on a mutual desire to curb Soviet-backed radical Arab nationalism. Like Truman before him, Eisenhower realized that too much "firmness" could be counterproductive in dealing with Israel, while Ben-Gurion once again learned that "influence" on Capitol Hill did not always yield the desired results at the White House or Foggy Bottom. With a lasting settlement between Arabs and Israelis no closer today than it was half a century ago, American and Israeli leaders might do well to ponder the lessons contained in Hahn's excellent book as they struggle to put the Middle East peace process back on track.

DOUGLAS LITTLE  
Clark University

EDWARD D. BERKOWITZ. *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. 283. \$29.50.

Save for Christopher Lasch, in his masterful and aggravating *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (1979), it seems that no one has thought very deeply about the 1970s. Most of what has been proffered are pop culture studies that treat the period as an interim decade between its more activist predecessor and successor. Viewed as a decade without a philosophy, the 1970s have been marginalized to the point of trivialization. Thus, Edward D. Berkowitz's book was met with some excitement by this reviewer. I hoped that it would, as was promised in the introduction, "contain more details about politics, economics and public policy than do previous accounts of this period" (p. 10). Alas, it does not. This book, the newest addition to the ranks of trivial treatments of the period, is a disappointment.

Berkowitz is not without some game. He resurrects health care as a major concern of the 1970s, and his detail on this issue is the best of any subject in his book. He does, on occasion, offer provoking conclusions, but he stumbles in their articulation, offering them more in the manner of poking with a sharp stick. While I found myself innately disagreeing with Berkowitz (Watergate being paralleled to McCarthyism; "the economy was the factor that gave the seventies its distinctive character" [p. 54]), at least he mentions significant phenomena.

However, the negatives found in this book far outweigh the positives. Richard Nixon's domestic policy is virtually ignored. Watergate is treated as nothing more than the break-in, with the crimes of the Nixon administration going unnoticed. There are only four and a half pages on Nixon and Vietnam in a book on the 1970s. There is no depth of analysis of Gerald Ford, or a serious use of the available literature on his presidency—indeed, there is nothing on his domestic policy, save for a brief treatment of the New York City fiscal crisis. Jimmy Carter fares a bit better, but even this treatment is trivialized by more space being given to the president's encounter with a killer rabbit than to his domestic policy. In terms of popular culture, movies are synopsisized without any real analysis. With the exceptions noted above, Berkowitz strains when he attempts to generalize or draw conclusions about the decade, failing to offer either evidence or thoughtful discussion of several key themes. Indeed, errant conclusions like his assertion that Henry Kissinger experienced "none of the taint that other Nixon staffers received from Watergate" (p. 35), his labeling of the gay rights movement as "undoubtedly reflect[ing] a view of life from the relatively rarified vantage point of Manhattan's upper-West Side" (p. 149), and his observation that "Italians played better than African-Americans at the box office in the seventies" (p. 191) will be challenged by every thoughtful reader.

As important as its historiographical limitations is the fact that this book is not particularly well written. Sections are short, choppy, and uneven; paragraphs are massive; typos abound. This is particularly true in the several sections on economics—according to the au-

thor, the foundation upon which the decade rested. His treatment of the dismal science mirrors the epithet: they are dry, wordy, and completely inaccessible to the generalist. Berkowitz does attempt to engage the reader in other sections of the book, but his trivial phraseology, such as describing Nixon's leaving Washington in 1974 as "like the Wizard of Oz . . . [he] got in a flying machine and returned to civilian life" all too often falls flat (p. 30).

Should you be an instructor looking for a book on the 1970s to supplement your class discussion of the decade, look elsewhere (truth in advertising—I have series edited such a book on the 1970s). Should you be a specialist looking for well-written, thought-provoking observations on an underexplored time in American history, re-read Lasch.

JOHN ROBERT GREENE  
Cazenovia College

HOWARD BRICK. *Transcending Capitalism: Visions of a New Society in Modern American Thought*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 324. \$39.95.

Howard Brick's two previous books are *Age of Contradiction: American Thought and Culture in the 1960s* (1998) and *Daniel Bell and the Decline of Intellectual Radicalism: Social Theory and Political Reconciliation in the 1940s* (1986). His purpose in the book under review is to remind us that capitalism is not a timeless universal. He wants us to remember that many social scientists in the United States and in other modern nations from around 1900 until the 1970s saw capitalism as a momentary phase in world history that was being superseded by a more humane society. These economists, political scientists, anthropologists, and sociologists were prophets, therefore, of a "postcapitalist" society. Although influenced by Karl Marx, they rejected his belief in the need for violent revolution. They also envisioned a new world with both public and private property.

Brick's book, then, is an intellectual history of a post-capitalist vision that almost disappeared in the 1990s. For him the crucial weakness of this tradition was its faith in spontaneous transformation that did not require political organization and a systematic plan of transition. Nevertheless his book is a labor of love. Post-capitalism, for him, provides a usable past in spite of its weakness. And so he declares, "For those of us who wish to turn the table on the capitalist triumphalism that grips U.S. social and political life at the end of the twentieth century, it is useful to survey the heritage of the postcapitalist vision in hopes of building on its insights and moving ahead to a real, rather than imagined, transition beyond capitalism" (p. 249).

In his introduction Brick discusses the development around 1900 of a transnational concept that capitalism is a time-bound phase of world history. But he does not place this concept in dialogue with the nationalisms that were so powerful in the bourgeois countries at that time. Most political and intellectual leaders in each



bourgeois nation assumed the autonomy of that nation. It was the purpose of each nation's historians to demonstrate the isolation of their homelands. It would be heresy for any academic historian to suggest that his or her country was part of a transnational pattern. Each bourgeois historian's nation was the end of history.

It was the heresy of Marx to deny that bourgeois nations were autonomous and eternal and instead to claim that they existed within a transnational and time-bound capitalist experience. Brick discusses how a variety of social scientists in the United States participated, between World War I and World War II, in projecting this postcapitalist vision. However, he does not point out the continuing nationalism of most historians and literary scholars, whose vision of an isolated United States did not weaken until the 1940s.

In his analysis of social scientists from World War I to World War II, Brick does not discuss the possibility that these academics might hold simultaneous, contradictory commitments to both internationalism and nationalism. Institutional economists, for example, borrowed concepts from anthropologists to criticize the belief of laissez-faire economists in an autonomous individual making only rational decisions. In their criticism of what they saw as the false universalism of laissez-faire economics, the institutional economists insisted that the marketplace was defined and sustained by institutions that were particular to their nation.

In his subsequent chapters on the 1940s and 1950s, Brick continues to underestimate the significance of nationalism. President Franklin D. Roosevelt defined World War II as a revolution in which Americans renounced their commitment to a national economy and embraced an international economy. This moment marked the highpoint of optimism among the social scientists discussed by Brick. Now the transition from an old competitive to a new cooperative world seemed to be taking place. But what these social scientists failed to see was that this commitment to internationalism by political and economic leaders was really to international capitalism with the United States as its political and intellectual center. The national destiny was to spread American capitalism to the entire world. Capitalism was not the past; it was the future. When Ronald Reagan became president in 1980, social scientists finally realized that their postcapitalist prophecies had failed.

This richly informative intellectual history reminds us that the social sciences have been segregated from the humanities. It also reminds us of the even greater segregation of the humanities and social sciences from the physical sciences. Brick does not inform us, therefore, that while criticism of capitalism seems to have reached a high point among social scientists in the 1940s and has declined since then, criticism of capitalism by physical scientists has been growing. But unlike social scientists who, while critical of capitalism, accepted the capitalist faith in perpetual prosperity, physical scientists reject the promise of such plenitude. They deny the possibility of endless economic growth be-

cause they see a nature that is unstable and that has limits. Because of those limits capitalism will collapse. It will be interesting to see if social scientists critical of capitalism will enter into dialogue with these physical scientists.

DAVID W. NOBLE  
University of Minnesota

#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

SUSAN KELLOGG. *Weaving the Past: A History of Latin America's Indigenous Women from the Prehispanic Period to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 338. Cloth \$74.00, paper \$19.95.

In this book, Susan Kellogg masterfully weaves together Latin American indigenous women's threads of energy, of ambition, of heartbreak, and of silence, creating a highly important—if often torn—quilt of indigenous women's lives. The subtlety of the quilt can be found in its multiple "patches." In fact, Kellogg's secondary research into a very broad range of mainly anthropological studies stretches throughout Latin America, although she mainly focuses on indigenous women's experiences in Mexico and Peru during the colonial period.

During that era, Kellogg tells us, Latin American women engaged in numerous tasks, ranging from weaving, to selling pulque, to working in or even (certainly very occasionally) owning mines. Everywhere (and here Kellogg's geographic range is astonishing) indigenous women found themselves relegated to positions of relatively little social regard, virtual public invisibility. Perhaps the occupation most revealing of the cultures' limited regard for female health and welfare was carrying all manner of goods. Although Kellogg does not comment on this, in many places indigenous women's labor proved structurally crucial to the functioning of Latin American societies.

Kellogg's book also focuses with great subtlety on indigenous women's abilities to experience and at times overcome centuries of mistreatment. Yet on the whole her work reminds us that indigenous women, more than men, experienced poverty—poverty so serious that women went hungry far more often than men. Although Kellogg does not express it quite this way, her findings amply reveal that men could never be certain that women would not resist their demands. To diminish such resistance, indigenous men, themselves impoverished and mistreated, often brutalized their wives or their girlfriends.

In this otherwise very fine book, Kellogg specifically avoids entering the intellectual worlds where scholars have developed gender theories. She does so, perhaps, because she wishes to include multiple approaches to gender. Perhaps, too, she remains unaware, as many scholars continue to be, of gender theories developed through complex and physically dangerous ethnohistorical work. These theories nonetheless enable historical actors, researchers, and writers to experience,

almost viscerally, how so many overworked, underrecognized, physically insecure women have managed to produce and reproduce Latin American social structures.

MARJORIE BECKER  
University of Southern California

ALAN MCPHERSON, editor. *Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the Caribbean*. (Explorations in Culture and International History.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2006. Pp. x, 301. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.00.

In his address to Congress following the attacks of 9/11, President George W. Bush famously asked, "Why do they hate us?" Since then, pundits, soldiers, and citizens have wrestled with this same painful question. A burgeoning literature seeks to help. Alan McPherson's book will be of interest to those willing to look for answers beyond the mesmerizing catastrophes of the Middle East.

This collection of essays shows that there are multiple answers, depending upon the specific case, but that the most general answer is that peoples in smaller, weaker countries resent the shadow of the rich United States. Since Latin America was the region of the world where this uncomfortable disparity first became manifest, it makes perfect sense to look there for the etiology of anti-Americanism. Although European nations like France have a history of anti-Americanism as well, negative sentiment in the Old World arose many decades later than in the Americas, corresponding with the period when the United States' economy first began to eclipse the older world powers.

This is not the interpretation advanced by McPherson, whose reading of the nine fine essays in this volume leads him to assert that anti-Americanism is primarily the result of specific U.S. policies, not the gravitational pull it exerts in the constellation of nation-states. "The more US policy offended, the more widespread, deep, and visceral anti-US sentiment became," he concludes (p. 271).

Of course, this interpretation implies that different policies would have mostly prevented the rise of negative feelings toward the wealthiest, most influential country in world history. I doubt that this is so, but the cases described provide rich evidence for useful debates in which reasonable people may disagree. Walter Russell Mead, for example, has written that "only the collapse of American power" would end anti-Americanism. Short of this, he says, the task is "to manage pragmatically the resentments, irritations, and real grievances that inevitably accompany the rise to power of one nation, one culture, and one social model in a complex, divided, and passionate world" (*Foreign Affairs* [2003]). McPherson does not approach anti-Americanism as a problem to be managed, however, but rather as a form of "resistance to imperialism."

There is some logic to this conclusion. Most of the essays, written by leading scholars of inter-American relations, focus on well-known incidents in which dis-

pleasure with the United States came to a head. John A. Britton shows how Mexican leaders handled the menace of foreign control by expropriating the property of American oil companies in 1938, while deftly evading the charges of "Bolshevism" likely to be raised by its interventionist neighbor. Glenn Dorn documents how Juan Perón rode a wave of anti-Americanism to power in 1946 by excoriating Ambassador Spruille Braden's attempt to influence Argentine voters. (Braden famously released documents showing Perón's complicity with Nazism.) Jeffrey F. Taffet elucidates how, despite winning \$760 million in American aid during the 1960s, Chilean President Eduardo Frei came to resent the presumptions of the United States, which wanted economic and political concessions in return. Kirk Bowman depicts the displeasure of Brazilians in the mid-1970s, when youthful activists resented the United States for its support of the unpopular military regime while the military regime resented the United States for not being supportive enough. In all these incidents, local people responded to the actions of Americans.

But these examples also show that most (although not all) expressions of anti-Americanism came from elites, who often manipulated inchoate resentments to their advantage. Few tropes are more attractive than the claim to defend national honor from foreign malfeasance. Darlene Rivas and William O. Walker III, respectively, show how Venezuelan and Columbian politicians sometimes chose to employ, and other times to eschew, the tool of anti-Americanism, depending on its utility. When even the most gullible voters refused to blame anybody but their own politicians for Columbia's internal collapse, elites downplayed criticisms of America. Venezuelans, similarly, placed "primary blame on Venezuelan politicians and oligarchs" (p. 110) for social difficulties. Not surprisingly, the essay on Cuba by McPherson shows a society in which the communist elite pointed its finger resolutely north.

But neither U.S. policy, nor local manipulation, can explain anti-Americanism in toto, or perhaps even in origin. Bowman's essay on Brazil documents the current, widely held belief that the United States stands poised to invade and annex the Amazon. A recent industrial accident that killed twenty-one aerospace workers prompted Brazilian authorities to allege sabotage by the United States. Such accusations and fears are so wildly out of sync with U.S. history or any contemporary policy as to give one a migraine. But this is the point: anti-Americanism need have no basis in fact other than the frightening reality that one country possesses such an unprecedented degree of influence. Its policies can always be better, but its intentions will always be suspect.

ELIZABETH COBBS HOFFMAN  
San Diego State University

KAROL K. WEAVER. *Medical Revolutionaries: The Enslaved Healers of Eighteenth-Century Saint Domingue*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 163. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

Karol K. Weaver argues that the “enslaved healers” of Saint Domingue “had significant social, medical, economic, and political consequences for slaves as well as for their European and Creole masters” (p. 1). Weaver articulates her argument in eight chapters that locate the “pearl of the Caribbean” in the medical world of the Torrid Zone; discuss the roles of French medicine and physicians in the colony; and examine enslaved healers that served the plantations and broader social world of Saint Domingue. Weaver stresses the ambiguous role of enslaved healers on the colony’s coffee and sugar plantations. On the one hand, they operated in the cultural milieu of the workers, using medical approaches that were familiar to the enslaved masses. From the perspective of the masters, enslaved healers were less expensive than free healers and were easier to control as part of the plantation labor force. On the other hand, the privileged positions of enslaved healers presented countless opportunities for resistance to the slave regime, from delaying the return of a person to the fields to the use of poison against animals, other slaves, managers, and even masters. This “middle-man” role made enslaved healers especially dangerous and helped prepare the terrain for the Haitian Revolution.

The core of the book consists of five chapters that examine distinct types of enslaved healers in the French colony. Healers worked both inside and on the boundaries of the plantation system, positions that differentiated their contributions and potential for resistance. Healers associated with the plantation hospitals (*hospitales, infirmières*, midwives), along with veterinarians, occupied formal positions within the plantation systems. Herbalists were part of the plantation labor force, but without formal status as healers. *Hospitales*, who were generally women, ranked just below the male *commandeurs* that managed the first and second work gangs in the slave hierarchy. *Hospitales* effectively ran the hospitals, administered drugs and treatments, inoculated slave and free alike against smallpox, and performed minor surgeries, often without the assistance of a French surgeon. *Infirmières* worked as assistants to the *hospitales* and frequently served as the *commandeuses* of the third gang of young children who weeded the fields. Midwives, closely associated with the hospital, typified the ambiguous role of enslaved healers. Many planters realized that an increased rate of natural reproduction would lower their labor costs, a goal greatly enhanced by midwives. But midwives could also assist women with contraception, abortions, and even infanticide—things many masters feared.

Herbalists contributed to the creation of an “Afro-Caribbean medical system.” Many slaves brought African herbal lore to the Caribbean, where they acquired knowledge of local plants from indigenous peoples. Their mixture of medical practices continues to this day. Free and unfree colonists turned to enslaved herbalists for relief from fevers, wound treatments, and ways to combat scurvy. French naturalists sought out en-

slaved herbalists, hoping to learn the “next big cure,” perhaps a drug as profitable as chinchona bark.

Makandal epitomized the nightmares of the French colonists. A literate Muslim learned in African and Koranic medicine, Makandal became a *gardien de bêtes* (veterinarian) after losing his hand in a work accident. He fled his enslavement to seek refuge in the mountains, from whence his associates would descend to poison animals and slaves on the local plantations. Authorities seized him in 1758 and ordered him burned at the stake, making Makandal an icon of resistance in the process. Authorities became increasingly fearful of enslaved healers and their knowledge of potential poisons, thereby heightening tensions in the years leading to the Haitian Revolution.

In the minds of colonial authorities, *kaperlatas* “were the most dangerous element of the medical underworld of eighteenth-century Saint Domingue” (p. 113). *Kaperlatas*, who healed by divinations and herbal remedies, might be either female or male, slave or free. In the eyes of many French colonialists, their practices constituted sorcery, a danger in itself, but all the more potent when the *kaperlata* talismans became part of the voodoo ritual. Moreover, many different social sectors used *kaperlatas*, a further threat to the “natural” social hierarchy.

Weaver takes great pain to locate Saint Domingue’s healing practices within the medical and scientific dimensions of the eighteenth century. She makes maximum use of a limited documentary base, teasing out tidbits of information that she extrapolates into the larger context. Readers with less knowledge of the slave system of Saint Domingue, or of the process of the Haitian Revolution, might wish for greater contextualization. But this book makes an important contribution to the study of slavery in Saint Domingue and the Caribbean and merits close attention.

DAVID SOWELL  
Juniata College

PAUL BUHLE. *Tim Hector: A Caribbean Radical’s Story*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2006. Pp. viii, 272. \$32.00.

Paul Buhle’s book seems more to be a compilation of all that Buhle knows about the Caribbean and contains very little on Tim Hector. One chapter, an afterword written by Eusi Kwayana, and an appendix may be said to deal with the topic of the work. The study begins with the death of Hector and the various intellectuals and politicians who attended his funeral, noting that he was an excellent critic of the leadership of his country and that he had achieved in death that which escaped him in life.

From chapter one to chapter five, Buhle describes the region, its leaders, their failings, and the circumstances for which they are best known. He begins with the origins of the Caribbean and reminds his readers that it bears the name of the Caribs, who occupied the smaller islands in the region and fought against European in-

vaders. Buhle concludes that in the eyes of Eric Williams, historian and prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, European invasion and "the conquest of Africa achieved what the Crusades had failed to accomplish" (p. 23). It is not clear that this was the intention of the Crusaders. Without overdeveloping this point, which is a problem of the study, Buhle acknowledges that the islands were subject to intense migration, and he estimates that between 15 and 50 million Africans were transported and enslaved in the Caribbean. Here, Buhle overlooks more traditional historians' research, which has estimated figures that are much lower.

From here, Buhle jumps to the Second Hundred Years' War between England and the Dutch and the rise of the Americas. He argues mistakenly that the latter phenomenon led to the growth of democracy. The hallmark of American democracy was not extended to women for many years, while formerly enslaved people remained in the lower class without many democratic rights. Democracy is a late twentieth-century phenomenon that whites have used for the subjugation of other groups. Buhle seems to be comfortable with this concept.

Buhle jumps to the St. Domingue (Haitian) Revolution and supports the historic view of Toussaint Louverture as leader. Then, he likens Fidel Castro "as individual giant" to Toussaint, chiefly because of C. L. R. James's writings (it must be remembered that James was the mentor of both Buhle and Hector). Buhle notes, using Hector as his source, that the Haitian Revolution struck at the heart of the European system and greatly affected the wealth that was pumped into Europe. It also demonstrated to the wider world that the enslaved waited only for the right moment to finish off the privileged class of whites. Hector argued that blacks developed a diaspora on the Caribbean islands when they were brought there from Africa. They then developed a diaspora as they established homes in Boston and Harlem; they established secondary diasporas as they fled from Jamaica and Barbados to banana-producing areas in Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, and Cuba. Unfortunately, Buhle does not develop these themes in light of racial and national issues, the role that these former islanders played in sending home a part of their incomes, and the value of these incomes to the islands' inhabitants.

The author next discusses the proposed acquisition of the Danish Virgin Islands in 1867 and 1871; the refusal of the United States to annex the Dominican Republic in 1871; and the U.S. acquisition of Cuba and Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War of 1898. He considers the impact of the Platt Amendment, but even though he comments on Hector's reaction to these historical events, Buhle fails to analyze them in light of American influence on the Caribbean region. I am only partially impressed with Buhle's argument that protest in the region did not reach the level of Haiti; my own analysis is that protest in Jamaica with the Sharpe rebellion led to the ending of slavery in 1833, and the Bogle Rebellion in 1865 ended Assembly government

in the West Indies and introduced Crown Colony government, except in Barbados and Bermuda. I am surprised that Buhle never reported that Hector commented on this, since Antigua would have been exposed to Crown Colony government and the Birds started their political dynasty by rebelling against it.

Buhle argues that although revolution was not a feature of the British West Indies, institutionalized opposition accompanied by labor protests and Marxism were the major features of political life on the islands, and in Guyana. Buhle discusses Arthur A. Cipriani as a member of the legislative council, mayor of Port of Spain, head of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association, and leader of the Trinidad Labour Party. Buhle also comments on the rise of black nationalism and Marxism in the West Indies and the United States with the movement of Marcus Garvey and the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) to Harlem. Citing Hector, Buhle links their failure to the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the U.S. State Department, and he argues that they were propped up intellectually through the Harlem Renaissance. Buhle notes that the rise of strikes in the Caribbean after 1935 was because of the failure of capitalism, whose preeminent form was in the United States and whose near failure produced the Great Depression. Buhle does not demonstrate that capitalism is very much a part of the Caribbean system, adopted by leaders who might at the same time support a Marxist-Leninist agenda.

What does all of this have to do with Hector and Antigua? Buhle does not provide the answer. He lists events and discusses them, without analysis of the work of historical leaders of the region. His major personnel are George Lamming, Derek Walcott, Norman and Michael Manley, C. L. R. James, Eric Williams, Cheddi Jagan, and Walter Rodney. Buhle sees most of these men as anticapitalist leaders; yet, the island societies in which they lived are steeped in the British political tradition. In fact, according to Buhle Hector would be one of the first to object to the replacement of capitalists with state bureaucrats; however good their rhetorical defense of socialism and anti-imperialism (p. 141).

Buhle argues that the West Indies has failed as a socialist society; it really never was one. He sees the assassination of Rodney, the termination of Manley's socialist experiment in Jamaica, the coup and subsequent invasion of Grenada, and the demoralization of the Caribbean Left as symbolic of Hector's life and struggles in Antigua. In that sense Buhle's book is not really a biography of Hector, whose life and work deserve more careful assessment and analysis.

SELWYN H. H. CARRINGTON  
Howard University

NICOLE VON GERMETEN. *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans*. Foreword by STEPHEN W. ANGELL and ANTHONY B. PINN. (The History of African-American Religions.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. xiv, 287. \$55.00.



This book addresses the topics of religious confraternities and social mobility among New Spain's Afro-Mexicans, people identified as *negros*, *morenos*, *pardos*, or *mulatos* in colonial records. To my knowledge, it is the first book-length treatment of Afro-Mexican confraternities in New Spain, and the emphasis is on some of the colony's most Hispanicized cities and regions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nicole von Germeten has studied over sixty confraternities in more than twenty parish, ecclesiastical, and notarial archives, and she skillfully integrates information from confraternity record books with a variety of other materials. An introductory overview deals with symbolism and ritual practices in the seventeenth century, but the core of the book concerns the roles of confraternities and their members in Mexico City, Valladolid (Morelia), Parral, and a handful of smaller agricultural communities. There is also an interesting chapter on women's roles in Afro-Mexican confraternities.

The clearest pattern to emerge from this study is chronological. The confraternities were most visible and influential in the seventeenth century, when a distinctly African-influenced pattern of "baroque piety" was approved and encouraged by the church, including such practices as active female leadership, the persistence of African identities, and a distinction drawn between African and American-born members. Especially significant in this period was a symbolic association between humble status and spiritual merit. As the author shows for Valladolid, the link between suffering and saintliness brought poor confraternities bequests from wealthy Spanish testators. The use of segregated confraternities as a means to improve social status through group solidarity was at its height in the seventeenth century, and in later years the role of these sodalities changed considerably. By the eighteenth century, they were no longer promoted by the clergy, *mestizaje* had increased notably, and the slave trade was nearly at an end. Afro-Mexican confraternities became more conservative, more Hispanic in form, less concerned with public ritual, and more concerned with property and respectability. In short, they changed to reflect the increasing assimilation of their membership into the lower and middle ranks of Hispanic society.

Yet assimilation of Afro-Mexicans varied significantly from place to place. A chapter on Mexico City suffers from a dearth of confraternity records, but has much to say about the rebellions of 1612 and 1692 and the lives of a number of Afro-Mexican individuals. The author sees a shift from a race-based to a class-based society in the capital at the end of the seventeenth century, and confraternity records from later years ceased to employ racial designations.

Two chapters on Valladolid form the strongest part of the book. Case studies illustrate how seventeenth-century confraternities led by slaves and children of slaves were transformed into Hispanicized organizations of respected craftsmen in the eighteenth, even though the labels of *mulato* and *pardo* were retained. A separate chapter provides a detailed and illuminating

analysis of *mestizaje* in Valladolid, arguing that mulattoes were the most upwardly mobile group in the city. The statistical discussion is ably fleshed out with life histories of socially mobile confraternity leaders. While the shift from race to class seen in Mexico City also seems to apply in Valladolid, it came several decades later and the author's conclusions are more tentative.

The frontier town of Parral presents a significantly different pattern. The *pardo* confraternity in this small mining town did not become "acceptable" to public life until the late eighteenth century, when *castas* formed the majority of the population and the prosperous silver mining era had long since passed. Social mobility of Afro-Mexicans was more limited here because of the reduced economic circumstances and the longer persistence of slavery. The author skillfully demonstrates that patronage from well-placed Spaniards enabled the *pardo* confraternity to survive, and that the transition from race to class was never fully realized in colonial Parral.

A final chapter looks at confraternities in various small agricultural towns in western Michoacán and parts of Veracruz where racial hierarchies remained firmly in place through the entire colonial period. In these communities, class divisions were less salient and racially defined groups continued to occupy different social and economic roles.

This volume contributes significantly to the long-standing discussion of issues of race and class in New Spain. While it breaks no new analytical ground, it provides a wealth of individual and group case histories from a variety of locales. The accent is on diversity, and how the nature and pace of Afro-Mexican assimilation to Hispanic society varied in different times and places. This book has much to offer to readers interested in church history and race and class in New Spain.

JOHN K. CHANCE  
Arizona State University

CHRIS FRAZER. *Bandit Nation: A History of Outlaws and Cultural Struggle in Mexico, 1810–1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. x, 243. \$45.00.

A critical examination of the figure of the bandit as mutually constitutive of the political and cultural history of post-Independence Mexico (1810–1821) to the end of the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) is the focus of Chris Frazer's methodically researched and persuasive study. In placing banditry and its domestic and international discourse at the center of elite and popular class attempts to imagine and construct the emerging Mexican nation-state, Frazer's book simultaneously challenges facile notions of atavistic peasant outlaws and contributes to important discussions of the historical formation of the social and juridical definitions of *mexicanidad*.

Frazer's bandit exegesis judiciously balances cultural and materialist explanations of the tumultuous century following Mexico's independence from Spain. He correctly acknowledges his historiographical debts to his-

torians such as William E. French, Robert Buffington, and Pablo Piccato, whose recent work might broadly be placed within the "new cultural history" of Mexico. This intellectual trend inserts older social histories in a frame that examines the reciprocity of culture and politics in the construction of hegemony. Such studies, like Frazer's, often investigate the intersection of elite and popular ideologies and politics in the formation of a non-unitary "state."

Frazer builds on this foundation in general, and on earlier bandit studies by Paul J. Vanderwood and Gilbert M. Joseph in particular, but he compellingly stakes new ground for understanding the interplay between elite and rural and urban poor foundational narratives of these socially peripheral but symbolically central characters. In broad terms, Frazer helps us to comprehend the historical "facts" and narrative depictions of archetypal figures such as Pancho Villa, whose transformation from outlaw to national hero is part of a long history of strategic manipulation by and for the benefit of those "above" and "below." Elites, Frazer argues, mythologized bandits as part of a sanitized national memory that at once defanged the oppositional nature of bandits and subsumed them into archetypes of a popular imaginary. By contrast, Mexico's poor employed a "more flexible attitude" (p. 131) toward bandits that enabled them to celebrate the figure and position him (bandits were almost always men) as a paradigm for rebellion.

Frazer's analysis moves roughly chronologically through five chapters that examine the bandit's presentation and regulation in official legislation, foreign travel accounts, elite Mexican novels, popular folk ballads, and Porfirian and revolutionary criminological depictions. In the period leading to the liberal authoritarian reign of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911), elites attempted simultaneously to eradicate banditry and shore up their tenuous support with a decentralized peasantry through a series of new constitutions, extraordinary decrees, military conscription, penal legislation, and criminal statistics. Despite these judicial and legislative efforts, the persistence of banditry in the post-Independence years signaled an incomplete hegemony for elite Mexicans. "The political tumult of these years," Frazer writes, "erased the possibility of making gains in the struggle against banditry. The cycle of revolts made it impossible for any government to exercise power effectively" (p. 37).

Deeply concerned about Mexico's image abroad, elites cringed at the portrayal of their *patria* by Anglo-Saxon (and here one wonders why Frazer ignores French and German) travel writers who fixated on bandits and used them as a metric for Mexico's state of "chronic disorder" (p. 59). Frazer presents the development of the *costumbrista* novel, "a kind of cultural map of the nation" (p. 100), as the elite antidote to disparaging foreign accounts. Prior to 1867 and the triumph of liberalism under Benito Juárez, Frazer shows how Mexican novelists such as José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardo (*El periquillo sarniento* [1816]) and Manuel

Payno (*El fistol del diablo* [1845]) depicted bandits as vestiges of a corrupt colonial era. After 1867 and the parallel victory over French interventionists, Mexican writers such as Ignacio Manuel Altamirano (*El Zarco* [1888]) found new villains in the members of the lower class. Elite artists viewed poor bandits as the epitome of impediments to Mexico's entrance on the stage of industrial capitalism and modernity.

Frazer does an excellent job of critically interrogating popularly generated *corrido* lyrics as "remnants of oral culture [that] reveal that lower-class Mexicans mobilized notions of gender, class, and ethnicity to discuss bandits and to elaborate their ideas about justice" (p. 132). He convincingly argues that, although not necessarily directly representative of the vox populi, bandit *corridos* helped shape and articulate ideas of resistance among the lower classes.

Frazer astutely highlights the common themes of gender, race, and class that run through all of these elite (foreign and domestic) and popular representations of bandits. In unique ways, Mexicans used banditry as a metaphor for recreating and reinforcing social hierarchies that identified mestizo men as the essence of the "true" Mexican. While elites focused on constructions of the idealized citizen, lower classes situated outlaws as affirmative or oppositional models of right ethical behavior and community responsibility.

This book deserves a wide readership and should be important to Mexican history classes and comparative studies that examine the disruptive character of the bandit as critical in shaping elite and popular ideas and practices of nation-state formation.

MARK OVERMYER-VELÁZQUEZ  
University of Connecticut

PAUL HART. *Bitter Harvest: The Social Transformation of Morelos, Mexico, and the Origins of the Zapatista Revolution, 1840–1910*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 291. \$42.50.

This very good book fills a major gap in Mexican history. The movement led by Emiliano Zapata made the Mexican Revolution revolutionary. It developed in the State of Morelos, a warm basin south of Mexico City, where sugar estates jostled peasant communities from the sixteenth century. We have solid histories of the region in the colonial era: we know the sugar industry's early foundation under Hernán Cortés; we know the long and contested history in which estates expanded and stabilized in long waves, imported African slaves, and saw those slaves find their way into local communities that kept limited lands while providing vast reserves of cane-cutting labor.

The historiography of Zapata's 1910 rising and of the years his villagers ruled Morelos and shaped a revolution is vast. But we have lacked a history of estates and villages in Morelos from independence to the revolution. Thus we have not understood how the contested stability that marked the region at the end of the colonial era turned into waves of conflict from the 1840s

through the 1870s, then stabilized again only to explode in revolution in 1910.

Paul Hart has recognized the challenge and addressed it well. As the wars for independence ended in the 1820s, rural villages claiming rights rooted in an indigenous past mixed residents of Mesoamerican and African ancestry. They asserted claims to land and autonomy against sometimes expansive, sometimes struggling sugar estates during years of political instability and economic uncertainty. Conflicts escalated during and after the war against the United States. Entrepreneurs blamed villagers for their inability to profit, even for the failure to mount a strong defense against the northern invaders. Villagers saw those who ruled as weak and pressed back when and how they could.

In the 1850s, Morelos villagers continued to challenge estates and their managers. They joined Juan Álvarez in the movement that brought liberals to power in 1855. Álvarez was the one liberal strongman who adapted the program of regional autonomy, popular sovereignty, individualism, and private property to accommodate community lands and village self-rule. Once the liberals were in power, however, they ousted Álvarez. From that moment, liberals promising liberations and villagers demanding community rights were on a collision course. The split allowed some Conservatives and the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian periodically to court community support. Still, Hart is right in emphasizing that the underlying force assaulting Morelos communities during the nineteenth century was not liberalism but the expansion of a capitalist sugar industry that absorbed land and water, turning landed villagers into land-poor and eventually landless workers. Liberals promoted and legitimated that change, insisting they could not alter the market forces that brought vast accumulations. (They easily legislated the end of village landholding, justified by a preference for small private properties.)

Hart documents that it was during this period of conflict between liberals and conservatives, while Mexico faced war with the U.S. in the 1840s and then occupation by France and the imposition of Maximilian in the 1860s, that local sugar operators accelerated their expansion and Morelos villagers learned to resist locally and to mobilize what resources they could by engaging national forces. They spoke liberal when liberals were in power; they allied with conservatives or Maximilian when that promised gain. They did whatever they could to slow the collapse of village independence, to hold land rights, and to demand decent pay in cane fields that became their only source of income.

Conflicts that peaked in the 1860s set the terms of the revolution that began in 1910. Hart reminds us that Zapata's revolution was not merely a late attempt to end exploitations rooted in the colonial past. The Spanish regime recognized village rights to land, self-rule, and judicial appeal; liberals abolished them. Nor did the rising simply emerge from brutal Porfirian development in the late nineteenth century, destructive as that was. Hart shows that conflicts in the middle of the

century, while liberals fought to take power, began the process that led to the revolution. The decades after 1880 brought economic boom, sugar expansion, water usurpation, and growing labor demands that helped keep tensions contained until the economy collapsed under international market pressures after 1907. Then, land-starved villagers faced widespread unemployment; local and national political crises allowed conflicts that began a half century earlier to become Zapata's revolution. Hart explains and documents all this very well.

Every good book has limits. Hart argues that developments in Morelos paralleled those in other Mexican regions. I believe he is right. The integration of existing studies of nearby Chalco, Michoacán to the west, and other regions could have illustrated how Morelos was like other regions in important ways, yet unique in the intensity of sugar development. He has thus left to others the opportunity to draw out some of the larger implications of his work. He has given us all much to work with.

JOHN TUTINO  
Georgetown University

ELIZABETH DORE. *Myths of Modernity: Peonage and Patriarchy in Nicaragua*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 252. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

In this book Elizabeth Dore returns to debates about the development of capitalism in Latin America but deepens the discussion by making ethnicity, and especially gender, central to her analysis. Dore's position is that coffee production and privatization of land in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Nicaragua did not usher in capitalism because these economic changes did not create a landless peasantry that was dependent on wage labor for its survival. The issue of Latin America's transition to capitalism was much argued in the 1980s, and Dore contends that leading Sandinistas (most particularly Jaime Wheelock, Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform) seriously misread the agrarian history of Nicaragua. Judging that relations of production in the countryside had long been capitalist and that rural Nicaraguans were proletarians, the Sandinistas promoted large state farms on the assumption that rural people were more interested in wages and working conditions than in owning land. According to Dore, this policy led large sectors of the peasantry to oppose the government and vote against the Sandinistas in the 1990 elections.

Dore studies Diriomo, a rural area in the Department of Granada that became a major coffee producing area in the late nineteenth century. She examines how support for the liberal project of land privatization gathered strength in Diriomo when it turned out that the area was suitable for coffee production, and this led to the outlawing of commonly held lands and the dissolution of Diriomo's *comunidad indígena*. Unlike other areas of Nicaragua where native groups resisted the destruction of their culture, according to Dore,

there was virtually no collective resistance to the loss of land and indigenous identity in Diríomo. Rather, people who had previously been part of the *comunidad indígena* or depended on the commons for their subsistence devoted themselves to finding means of obtaining private property, and most were successful to some minimal degree. Dore contends that in the Diríomo the main significance of being Indian was having access to community land and that there is no evidence of native people's identification as a distinctive cultural/linguistic group. Once the glue of indigenous land was dissolved (probably helped along by native leaders who worked with local ladino authorities) there was no reason for an Indian identity to continue to exist. This may be entirely true, but the reader is left hungry for some basic information on indigenous culture and society in Nicaragua (pre- and postconquest) and some further discussion of why Dore thinks it became attenuated.

The book's most important contribution is Dore's analysis of the impact of liberalism on women in Nicaragua and how patriarchy impeded capitalist development. On the one hand, abolition of communally held lands meant that more peasant women, especially poor ones, were able to become landowners, whereas previously lands were held in usufruct by male household heads. On the other hand, the liberal property regime reinforced male domination in a variety of ways. Liberal legal codes were often unfavorable for married women because they ended the colonial practice of equal inheritance of wealth and property. Also, with the consolidation of private property, elite men's control over women's sexuality became more concerted because reproduction determined inheritance. Finally, in an effort to get and hold a labor force coffee planters relied on clientelistic, patriarchal relationships that mirrored the political consolidation of patriarchal authority on a national level.

After land privatization, debt peonage became the most common form of labor in Diríomo. Taking exception with historians who have argued that debt peonage was a market mechanism that coaxed peasants into wage labor, Dore argues that it was actually based on extra-economic coercion (forced labor laws, rural police, private guards) and did not lead to the creation of a market. Interestingly, many of the debt labor contracts studied by Dore involved peasant men signing up their wives and children to work for coffee planters. This gives us a new, gendered picture of the system that involves what Dore refers to as "patriarchy from below."

This book makes an important contribution to a growing literature on the contradictory nature of liberalism in Latin America, which proclaimed personal and economic freedom and yet often relied on coerced labor and limited citizenship rights. Dore has gone back to issues in economic and social history that were debated decades ago. Through careful use of archival sources and personal interviews she demonstrates that gender is intrinsic to those issues, and considering it changes our understanding of them. The book is pro-

vocative, well written, and clearly argued. It will be essential reading for Latin American historians in general and those interested in gender, liberalism, and labor studies in particular.

ANN ZULAWSKI  
Smith College

DAVID MCCREERY. *Frontier Goiás, 1822–1889*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. 297. \$55.00.

In this book, David McCreery introduces English readers to a region largely unstudied by historians of the nineteenth century. With a supple style and considerable skill in squeezing sparse documentation, he examines the years of the Brazilian Empire in Goiás, one of its most isolated outposts. What he portrays is an interstitial period, situated between the gold rush of the late colonial period and Brazil's definitive incorporation of Goiás early in the twentieth century, when government and society moved with much the deliberate speed of the ox carts that ferried commerce across the area.

The empire attempted to extend its reach into the interior (*sertão*) through bureaucracy. In Goiás, government combined executive functionaries appointed in Rio de Janeiro with assemblies of local notables. Unlike their counterparts posted to the coast and interior of São Paulo, the presidents and delegates assigned to Goiás were conspicuous by their short tenures and long absences, both of which left government largely in the hands of regional elites. The same was true of justice, officially administered by judges who represented the empire but in fact meted out by substitutes from the community. Inadequate budgets and education reduced the effectiveness of both the national guard and Catholic clergy in building a sense of nation. McCreery characterizes Goiás's government as an exercise in realpolitik, recognition by an underresourced central state of its limitations and by local elites of the benefits of remaining a part of the empire.

As a part of this implicit bargain, elites received a free hand to develop the local economy as they saw fit, and in McCreery's presentation, this development consisted primarily of import substitution and the search for export commodities. The former was totally frustrated. Schemes for textile mills and an iron foundry never came into profitable production. Cotton, sugar, and tobacco, despite much local enthusiasm and some capitalization, never reached their potential as exports. Only live cattle established a reliable market outside Goiás, and even here profits were very low and the enterprise never generated significant employment.

Having identified ranching as the principal economic activity for the region's elite, McCreery works through a series of its logical implications. Land, abundant and essentially a free good, never became a commodity, despite the empire's attempts to delineate and tax it. Rather than legally fix their claims to territory—McCreery insists that the cost of surveying would exceed



the value of the land—elites preferred to maintain access through the use of influence or force, which neither relinquished de facto ownership nor exposed their real property to taxation. Through their control of land, the elite worked out a series of arrangements with Goiás's free laborers. An institution known as *agregados* established a system of clientage through which the landless gained usufruct to subsistence plots in exchange for a variety of services performed for a land owner. However, Goiás's isolation from the capitalist system during the empire buffered demands for labor such that the free population never endured a system of coercion typical of other regions of Brazil and Spanish America. McCreery's treatment of *agregados* identifies a significant regional variant on land and labor relations in Latin America.

Developing Goiás's imperial history is constrained by available sources. From the outset, McCreery advises readers of the paucity of secondary works at his disposal and warns them to view quantitative data with skepticism. He might have added that the numbers he employs are based on a very limited set of official documents, primarily *dízimos* (the taxes levied on cattle exports and food production). And although McCreery does not cite it, the Brazilian Documents Project greatly enhances access to the empire's official record. Goiás's Presidential Reports, for instance, appear at <http://www.crl.edu/content/brazil/goi.htm>.

The imperial history of Goiás was characterized by compromise (the nation with regional elites in government; the same elites and free laborers through the *agregado* system), resignation (employment of cattle exports as the local economic base), and stalemate (the bloody impasse between European and indigenous Brazilians for control of territory). McCreery consistently offers a glass-half-full appraisal, noting territorial integrity and political peace, the absence of forced labor, and a rational use of available economic resources as characteristic of imperial Goiás. Still, when after a convincing account of the empire's failure to incorporate Goiás, and the entire interior, unfulfilled attempts by local elites to establish industry and open river systems to commerce, forest depredation as a byproduct of agricultural practice, banditry, and Indian depredations, he concludes that "Goiás . . . persisted, and in its modest way, prospered," I was surprised.

DAVID BLOCK  
Cornell University

DALE TORSTON GRADEN. *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835–1900*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. xxviii, 297. \$24.95.

A considerable literature has developed over the past thirty years regarding nineteenth-century slave resistance and rebellion in the Brazilian state of Bahia. However, with the exception of João José Reis's translated *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (1995), there are almost no book-length

treatments of this topic or representations of this influential scholarship available in English. Dale Torston Graden's work is, therefore, very much a welcome addition to the field. Indeed, this book offers a compelling case study of the swirl of events surrounding the nineteenth-century abolition of slavery in Bahia that engages the substantial body of literature on abolition in Bahia and across the Americas more generally.

With a focus on slave resistance and rebellion in the context of growing international abolitionist pressures and an expanding national industrial base, Graden suggests that to understand the series of developments contributing to abolition one must penetrate the world of the slaves and the avenues of resistance—cultural, political, and economic—available to them. Graden's account in this regard is detailed and well-sourced. He is able to make excellent use of materials culled from a dozen or so archives and from most of the available secondary literature to illustrate his case and provide a detailed account of slave resistance in Bahia over seven decades and a historical chronicle of those key events linked to the abolition of slavery in Brazil.

Graden elects to organize his presentation into four chronologically ordered sections that are distinguished by theme. This structure allows the author to guide the reader through the series of events over the seven decades considered, while avoiding a sterile and formulaic linear storytelling. Along with the introduction, chapters one through five in sections one and two introduce the basic conditions, events, and personalities surrounding slavery and the end of the slave trade in Bahia and set up the book's detailed analysis of slavery's eventual abolition in chapters six, seven, and eight. The organization of the material in this fashion for the most part provides the author with an effective format for rehearsing his primary themes; however, the occasionally weak cohesion and uneven symmetry within and between the four parts can, at times, detract from the flow of Graden's thoughts.

From page one, Graden wastes little time in establishing his primary interest in understanding slave rebellion as a major factor in abolition vis-à-vis other pressures such as international abolitionist movements or changes in the global economy. There are three basic moments: the closing of the Atlantic slave trade in 1850–1851, curtailment of the internal slave trade in 1880–1881, and the final abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888. Ending the Atlantic slave trade and the internal slave trade are important benchmarks on the path to abolition, and Graden is especially interested in how the events and circumstances surrounding these developments were shaped by slave resistance, particularly following the 1835 Muslim uprising.

For those familiar with the basic narrative of events in this period, Graden's book provides a plethora of archival materials detailing slave life and culture in Bahia to further expand understanding of these developments. Although there is less emphasis on a systematic comparative analysis of abolitionist developments in Bahia with those elsewhere in Brazil or elsewhere in the

Americas, the book succeeds in fulfilling its basic task of offering a case study of events in Bahia. One area where Graden may turn in his future research is the aftermath of abolition, discussed in chapter eight. The period following the abolition of slavery in Brazil is a momentous era and arguably deserves a fuller consideration than a single chapter toward the end of a book detailing the story of abolition. The epic tale of Canudos alone warrants greater attention, for example.

Graden's greatest strength is his clarity of vision and purpose, which helps to organize this book. Helayos out his research agenda, proposes a logical set of tasks to accomplish this, and then faithfully executes his plans. One may wish to quibble with the scope or orientation of the research agenda itself or the methodological choice of a noncomparative case study; however, one cannot deny that this book represents a scholar's fruitful engagement with compelling subject matter for which English-language monographs are sparse. Thus, within the context of the Graden's specific agenda, his book will offer those concerned with slave resistance in Bahia, in Brazil, and across the Americas a valuable understanding of an important region's experiences.

DAVID BARONOV  
St. John Fisher College

ANN ZULAWSKI. *Unequal Cures: Public Health and Political Change in Bolivia, 1900–1950*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 253. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

This is a significant contribution to the field of Andean historiography, as well as to broader studies of gender, ethnicity, health, and politics. It is, as Ann Zulawski remarks, "the first book that has studied politics in Bolivia from the perspective of public health." Furthermore, the book's originality rests in the way it links conflicts and policies pertaining to the establishment of a public health program in a small, poor country during the first half of the twentieth century to the larger context of gender, ethnic, and political history.

The contributions of this study are several. In the first place, it probes the ideological conceptions of the elite, evidenced in the writings of doctors and public health officials who were not just practitioners but also major contributors to the political discourse of the era in which they lived. As with their counterparts in other parts of Latin America, the Bolivian elite and scientific community viewed their nation's inadequate public health care system as a sign of backwardness that had to be corrected if the society hoped to join with other modern nations of the world. They talked a lot about "civilization," foreseeing a bright future for their poor country through the exploitation of, and international commerce in, its ample natural resources, especially mineral wealth. At the same time, in the eyes of the elites and the scientific community in particular, harnessing those resources relied on a strong and healthy workforce.

Zulawski's study does not take up health and med-

icine as a tangential "department" of the political and ideological national project but as a key feature of it. The book delves into the sides of a debate among professionals who, along with most members of the Bolivian elite, wondered if their country, with over half of its population made up of impoverished and uneducated Indians, could ever be considered "civilized" and progressive as defined by white, European culture. Zulawski relates the conventional political thinking of the time and demonstrates the ways scientific discourse in Bolivia relied on racist stereotyping and Social Darwinist prejudices.

The study then explores the reality of life for most of Bolivia's people and the reasons for their terrible health. The vast majority of Bolivians lived in extreme poverty, worked in abysmal conditions, never saw the inside of a school classroom, were confined to back-breaking work, and died before reaching their fiftieth birthday. Zulawski grants agency to the victims of the Bolivian class system and supports her thesis with clear evidence and personal accounts that cut against the anonymity to which the poor are often relegated. Moreover, the book's discussion of the work of the Rockefeller Foundation in Bolivia in the 1940s demonstrates the prejudices Foundation managers and scientists shared with Bolivia's elites. Both sides "blamed the victims" for their own abominable state of health, claiming that vices such as drinking, coca consumption, and disregard for sanitation were the reasons the poor—mostly indigenous Aymara and Quechua-speaking people—had such short life expectancy, high infant mortality rates, and overall poor health.

Finally, an immensely useful chapter details the connections Zulawski finds among politics, medicine, and women's health. Drawing on census data and public health surveys, she examines closely women's health and infant mortality. The chapter touches on the work of midwives, especially in performing abortions, and on the constant interaction, both contentious and cooperative, between midwives and doctors in the 1930s. This is a highly informative and original contribution, which should be expanded in future work. European and U.S. historians have been studying abortion, reproductive health care, and women's roles in all phases of medical history, but this field is quite new in Latin America. Zulawski's insights are important, especially when her work captures the often tense relationship between *curanderas* and practitioners of more traditional Western medicine.

Although a book such as this on public health in a single country of Latin America might seem too narrow for many courses, it is precisely the kind of study that students often find engaging. With Bolivia as the setting, Zulawski tells a much bigger story, and does so in a highly readable way. The history of public health in Bolivia is the interpretative platform for analyzing the prejudices of science, locally and internationally; for learning about traditional indigenous curing practices, and their importance within a community; and, ultimately, for understanding the conflicts between cul-

tures, genders, and races in the basic human quest to be healthy.

TERESA A. MEADE  
Union College

#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

HARRIET I. FLOWER. *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xxiv, 400. \$59.95.

Under the rule of the emperors, the Senate of Rome regularly passed measures to erase the memory of individuals deemed a threat to the state. Statues of the condemned might be removed, his or her name chiseled out of public inscriptions. A traitor's house could be torn down, and a funeral denied. The practices involved can seem eerily modern, like those of a Stalinist purge or the vaporization of "unpersons" in George Orwell's 1984. Were they a consequence of the despotism of the Caesars? Friedrich Vittinghoff seemed to suggest so in his classic study on the subject, published in 1936, by starting with Augustus's last and greatest rival, Antony, whose day of birth was marked, alone in the state calendar, "tainted."

As Antony's example suggests, Romans often appeared less interested in destroying all traces of an individual's memory than altering it. Identity was to be undone, not lost altogether, and the idea is well captured in a Latin phrase modern scholars invented to describe the phenomenon, *damnatio memoriae*. Yet there was never, as this coinage also unfortunately implied, a standard set of penalties. Memory sanctions were individually decided and went through constant change, mirroring political crises of the day.

Harriet I. Flower's stunning new book casts a flood of light on this chilling subject, powerfully showing that the punitive sanctions often deemed imperial originated in the republic with its distinctive culture of memory. When, in the age of the Gracchi, the aristocratic families who ruled Rome erupted into violence against one another, sanctions became a further way to target one's foe, precisely because Romans were so obsessed with perpetuating a lasting memory of themselves. Yet in the aftermath, Flower shows, the community's sense of the past was manipulated too, and this is a most novel aspect of her study. Drawing on recent studies of collective memory, Flower reveals a Rome where the past defined the present, not just through history writing but through shared civic spaces and elaborate public rituals. These, too, became battlegrounds, in a seemingly never-ending war over communal memory.

Flower traces the struggles to the death of Hadrian, primarily focused on how the ruling class of Rome articulated memory. "The rich memory culture of the plebs," she notes (p. xx), is not discussed, and this merits further study; comparative work exploring other towns of Italy would be welcome too. What we do get is the first full contextualization of memory sanctions—

and, along the way, an introduction to much recently discovered evidence, especially epigraphic. (This nicely complements Eric Varner's study of mutilated and re-carved statues, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* [2004].) What we also get is an extraordinary contribution to political history, showing how those in power constantly reconfigured the past, immediate and distant, for present needs.

Every student of Roman history should read this book, the richness of which can only be indicated here. A preliminary chapter adumbrates the importance of personal and collective memory in Rome. Part one ("The Roman Republic and Greek Precedents") links the rise of punitive sanctions against individual citizens and the partisan manipulation of the past to the breakdown in the late republic of consensus-based government. The fall of Gaius Gracchus in 121 B.C.E. was a turning point: the Senate was driven to claim extraordinary powers, while also imposing memory sanctions. Before, Flower argues, it was aristocratic families who served as guardians of memory, imposing sanctions privately on their members and otherwise promoting their own successes, to become the stuff of communal memory. (Here, in particular, one misses more attention to the plebs.) Attempts by cities under Hellenistic kings to erase memory of their rulers—demonstrably witnessed by Romans in the second century B.C.E.—were likely influential too. Sulla took the use of punitive sanctions much further, while also recasting Rome as a state centered less on the achievements of the old nobility than his own unparalleled honors: the aristocratic culture of sharing power was thus further undermined, paving the way for Caesar.

Part two ("The Principate from Octavian to Antoninus Pius") highlights the treatment of the "bad" emperors Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, interestingly showing the problem that survivors faced when a previous regime was discredited. Flower also explores Augustus's avoidance of senatorial sanctions after Antony's defeat, and their re-emergence under Tiberius as a tool to intimidate opposition. Another novelty of the imperial period was sanctions against women, especially those of the imperial house—a reflection of their increased prominence.

There are dark episodes in this book, when the ruling class of Rome knew lawlessness and even outright terror. Still, one can glimpse some lonely attempts at resistance. In the light of Flower's profound study, these now also deserve more scrutiny. One lesson the twentieth century has taught us is that in regimes that seek to distort the record of the past, there arise novel arts of remembering too.

JOSIAH OSGOOD  
Georgetown University

GREGORY S. ALDRETE. *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 338. \$60.00.

Modern Rome is walled off from its river, but this book by Gregory S. Aldrete reminds readers that Rome's rise upon a marshy floodplain had significant consequences for the residents, rulers, and builders of the archaic and classical city. These consequences are considered here in six chapters devoted to defining the characteristics of Tiber floods in antiquity, assessing their effects, and exploring responses to them in an ancient city that in many places now lies five to fifteen meters below its modern successor.

The thinness of the literary record complicates Aldrete's approach to the first two goals. Although ancient sources, especially Livy and Cassius Dio, permit Aldrete to identify forty-two accounts of thirty-three flood years between 414 B.C.E. and 398 C.E., many of these notices are lean. To compensate Aldrete draws on evidence from post-antique Rome and elsewhere. This combination of ancient *testimonia*, archaeology, comparative records, and scientific literature produces a unique portrait of the Tiber in flood. Vast areas of the city—including the entire Campus Martius, the Transtiberim to the foot of the Janiculum, the valley of the Circus Maximus, and the Roman Forum—were submerged by exceptional floods, when the Tiber ran eight to ten meters above normal level (pp. 47–48). Such floods, medieval and modern records indicate, most likely occurred between November and February, while flood conditions passed within a week (pp. 66–68). Aldrete also argues for an average of one such exceptional flood (fifteen meters above sea level) every twenty years with more frequent minor flooding, a considerably higher rate than most previous scholars have suggested (pp. 71–81). If so, a telling conclusion follows: most Romans experienced floods as “a natural part of the urban landscape” (p. 97).

But what did they experience? Aldrete makes it clear that serious Tiber flooding brought wide-scale disruption and property loss. Again modern data must complement the meager sources. While the effect most frequently mentioned by ancient writers is building collapse, Aldrete's discussion of construction techniques suggests these were not the monuments of public architecture (with the exception of bridges) but shoddily built apartment buildings (*insulae*) and other low-rent housing (pp. 102–105). Loss of life is harder to measure, but to the injury and drowning attested by the sources, Aldrete adds the now widely recognized effects of food spoilage, disease (described in rich epidemiological detail), and psychological trauma, although noting that the flood-resistant design of Roman granaries (*horrea*) and the extramural water provided by aqueducts should have markedly reduced the impact of famine and water-borne diseases (pp. 140, 152).

Undoubtedly various civic officials participated in immediate rescue and recovery, although the ancient sources are more forthcoming about governmental response to the fires that periodically ravaged Rome (pp. 163–165). Nevertheless, awareness of the need for flood control is manifest in several ways. By the early sixth century B.C.E. drainage and landfill projects in the Ro-

man Forum attempted to ameliorate the seasonal swampiness and vulnerability to flooding that impeded development there. Such efforts would become ever more systematic and extensive, culminating in a network of *cloacae* (underground drains) and the Augustan reorganization of the *curae* of the city's water and sewer works and of the Tiber and its banks. But the ambitious flood control projects that were occasionally proposed were never realized, and even the river embankments that were constructed were discontinuous and, Aldrete argues, conceived primarily as port facilities, not floodwalls (p. 193).

Thus there is mystery here. Aldrete wonders why the Romans, who possessed the technological and logistical capabilities to build floodwalls like those finally constructed in the late nineteenth century, did so relatively little to reduce flooding. Religious scruples against too overt intervention may provide one explanation, for the ancient accounts often present Tiber floods as portents or divine retribution (pp. 221–225). But other cultural realities, Aldrete suggests, may have weighed more heavily: the principal victims of Tiber floods were not the Roman elite, whose *domus* were often on the city's hills, but the marginal and powerless groups living closest to the river (pp. 230–231). Moreover, despite the high frequency of Tiber flooding, these events may not have been sufficiently catastrophic to encourage major public works projects. The proximity of high ground, the better construction techniques employed in public and imperial buildings, the design of *horrea*, and the rapid drainage and fresh water provided by Rome's sewers and aqueducts may have mitigated the worst effects of flooding and facilitated quick recovery (pp. 232–239). Aldrete's thoughtful study of one aspect of the relationship between ancient Romans and their river, though necessarily speculative at times, carries the weight of conviction. Moreover, it provokes reflection on the costs as well as the benefits of the river canalizations that at modern Rome and elsewhere have so severely cut off river towns from the waters that were once their reason for being.

DENNIS E. TROUT  
University of Missouri,  
Columbia

JEAN-LOUP ABBÉ. *À la conquête des étangs: L'aménagement de l'espace en Languedoc méditerranéen. (XII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle).* (Tempus.) Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail. 2006. Pp. 331. €30.00.

A discerning eye recognizes traces of former inland ponds all over the landscape of Languedoc (though they actually cover a modest proportion of the region's total arable area). Against wildly diverse received opinion on the ponds' history and significance, Jean-Loup Abbé's *mémoire d'habilitation* establishes most as drained during the high Middle Ages and sets out several contexts and consequences from which this can be understood. Put largely, wishing to advance the retarded development in France of an environmental approach to the



Middle Ages, Abbé explores how medieval society acted when it decided to reorganize its "space," that is, its relationship with its biophysical surroundings.

Abbé first surveys interpretations of the history of wetlands and water management from Karl Wittfogel's determinist "despotism" to the communitarian ideal attributed to medieval Flemish and Dutch institutions. He observes diverse regional experiences in medieval Europe and emphasizes how all arose from lords and peasants making decisions about use of resources. State authority played a minor role. Beneath such choices lie interplay among cultural understandings of wetlands, historically shifting around core ideas of wasteland, fear, opportunity, and natural preservation. For practical reasons Abbé narrowed his study to the terrain between the Hérault and Aude valleys (centered on Beziers and Narbonne), where some ninety-nine post-glacial inland depressions once held fifty-four ponds, of which twelve are especially well served by 138 medieval documents. Nearly two-thirds of these ponds covered less than 50 hectares but others went to nearly 500 hectares and two over a thousand.

Post-glacial climatic variations and wind erosion on the loess soils between the Massif Central and the Mediterranean coast had created the inland ponds. Medieval society understood these waters as seigneurial space, not juridical commons. Some probably once supported local fisheries, fowling, and salteries.

Charters and contracts for drainage as well as later property transactions document a movement for drainage that started in the late twelfth century, reached its peak in the mid- to late thirteenth, and ran out in the first half of the fourteenth century, always at the initiative of local lords. While new regular orders (Cistercians, military orders) *may* have been first, within a generation or two lay lords dominated this activity. Local urban elites provided financial backing, subcontracted the work, and later managed much of the new arable land. Somewhat to the author's surprise, rural communities took little visible issue with transformation of their landscape. The actual enterprises of drainage, which took months and years to complete and employed hundreds, were undertaken by skilled specialist surveyors and managers, hydraulic engineers before their time, some of them still identifiable by name. They surrounded a pond with a carefully sited circumferential canal, tapped it by radial or gridded ditches, and then ran the water into a nearby river—even, as at Montady just west of Beziers, digging an underground aqueduct for 1.4 kilometers beneath a ridge crowned by a Gallic *oppidum*.

Finally Abbé suggests how drainage transformed space, as the projects lay upon the landscape a new more anthropogenic order with regular measured units, fixed boundaries, tax-exempt land (because the ponds had belonged to nobles, not tax payers), and a single-minded focus on cereal production (later shifted toward more pastoral outputs). Although each project had its standard module of parcels and ditches, no single plan prevailed. In form and implementation the

drainage schemes thus resembled the new urban and rural settlements, *bastides* and *villes neuves*, simultaneously being set up in the same region. Abbé stresses how the systematic new landscape was but the consequence on the ground of changes in minds that now valued the profits from yields of cereal grains over the multiple uses of the one-time ponds.

Two aspects of the book deserve notice. Abbé acknowledges that environmental history requires interdisciplinarity and uses to good effect a wide array of cartographic, onomastic, and linguistic sources. His photographs of drained landscapes with their distinctive layout of parcels and the surviving infrastructure convey essential information. But neglect of environmental and field archaeology and inattention to aquatic ecology leave the ponds themselves poorly understandable as physical and biological entities plausibly capable of sustaining thinly documented human uses. An element essential to the author's thesis about choices simply evaporates to the realm of speculation.

An unexpected bonus is Abbé's close attention to century-scale climatic change as a force shifting the balance for human choices and success at managing the local landscape. From unpublished French archaeological research he narrates the varying temperature and precipitation regimes that shaped soils and landscape in Languedoc before the period of drainage. Then since the late thirteenth century the climatic instability and much heavier precipitation characteristic of the Little Ice Age in Mediterranean Europe helped end the movement and even submerged some of its apparent successes. This breakthrough in historical application of advances in historical climatology needs emulation elsewhere, and not only for agrarian history.

Abbé has accomplished a regional case study in impeccable detail and with wide, though not wholly novel, findings and implications. Despite initial reference to scholarship on water management, the book gradually loses track of comparative possibilities within medieval Europe itself. Intellectual hares are started in many directions—modular planning, Alfred Crosby's ideas on the role of practical mathematics in modernity, Wittfogel's despotism, mythic Cistercians—but Abbé eventually pursues few to ground outside his river basins. Hence he and his readers are left seemingly unaware, for example, that late medieval northern France, Italy, England, and Bohemia also had well-documented traditional local experts in water management; that seigneurial initiatives to reorganize and regularize landscapes shaped medieval agricultural development in northern coastal marshes and across much of East-Central Europe; and that choices between traditional extensive multiple uses and new intensive single use resource management were made not only in wetlands but also in woodlands all over later medieval and early modern Europe. Abbé thus misses an opportunity to establish both the genuine distinctiveness of medieval

Languedoc and the experiences people there shared with contemporaries elsewhere.

RICHARD C. HOFFMANN  
York University

JUDITH A. GREEN. *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 392. \$85.00.

Henry I was one of the most able and successful English kings during the Middle Ages. It is therefore surprising that it took so long for a modern biography to appear but much less surprising that two have now appeared in the space of five years. The first of these was *Henry I* by C. Warren Hollister (2001). The book under review is by Judith A. Green, who first made her mark with an excellent book on Henry I's government in England. She has since written on various topics, many of which shed light on Henry's reign, and she is therefore highly qualified to write this biography.

The first ten chapters of the book provide a detailed narrative of Henry's life and reign. The framework is basically chronological, although the author addresses broader issues as they arise. The eleventh chapter explores Henry as a ruler. Scholars in the past have sometimes portrayed Henry as fundamentally reshaping government. Green convincingly argues for more gradual and incremental changes. She also raises questions about the degree to which Henry was personally involved. Although she views him as a canny politician, she is skeptical about how much the nuts and bolts of administration mattered to him. Obviously, more evidence might reveal a different picture, but Green is clearly right in the light of the surviving sources to be cautious about the extent of Henry's involvement in and alteration of government. The twelfth chapter discusses Henry's relation with the church and depicts him as a reformer, albeit of a fairly old fashioned kind. The thirteenth chapter addresses Henry's court and court culture. I found this the freshest and most interesting chapter. In it, Green discusses familiar issues such as patronage, but also topics such as ritual, gift giving, and cultural activities. In the conclusion, Green provides a judicious summing up of what can be said about Henry's character and achievements. Overall, Green has written an excellent biography of Henry I.

Inevitably, one must compare her book to Hollister's posthumous biography, which his former student Amanda Clark Frost brought into publication in 2001. Naturally, they cover much of the same ground, especially since both devote the majority of their books to detailed narratives. Given the circumstances in which Hollister's book appeared, it is no slur on him or Frost to say that Green's work is more polished and more concise. In addition, Green, though she is interested in larger historiographic issues, is less likely than Hollister was to engage with narrower debates, especially in her narrative sections. Obviously there are many differences in detail, including which subjects each chose to address. To take two examples at random, Green has

done a good job of setting Henry I's coronation promises in a historical context, which Hollister largely ignored, but has passed over in silence Hollister's interesting hypothesis that Henry's 1105 campaign in Normandy collapsed because of developments in his struggle over investiture with Archbishop Anselm. The largest differences between them are set out by Green herself in the introduction: she pays relatively more attention to Normandy, Henry's later years, and court culture. Most important, she takes a more detached view of Henry. It is a cliché that biographers tend to fall in love with their subjects, but Hollister was unusually protective of Henry I. One can sometimes see him straining to put the best possible light on any of Henry's actions, no matter how disturbing to the modern reader. Green is more cautious. Nonetheless, the difference between their two depictions is less than one might expect. Partly this is because Hollister was a good enough historian not to allow his biases to overcome his essential respect for evidence. Green, in turn, takes care to place Henry's actions in the context of the cultural norms of the time, and to some degree thereby defends Henry against the charges of cruelty and harshness that some scholars have levied against him. Though Green does not have as high an opinion as Hollister of Henry's achievements, she depicts him as an able ruler who certainly had successes, not least his imposition of peace in England. Her judicious approach does not create a radically new picture of Henry but it does produce a convincing one. Overall, the bad news is that anyone interested in Henry I ought to read both weighty volumes. The good news is that there are now two detailed and penetrating biographies of this important twelfth-century king.

HUGH M. THOMAS  
University of Miami

FIONA J. GRIFFITHS. *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 381. \$65.00.

In this book, Fiona J. Griffiths makes a major contribution to the history of medieval women and religion. It is a rich study of the *Hortus deliciarum*, created by Herrad of Hohenbourg, the abbess of a convent of Augustinian canonesses in Alsace. The *Hortus*, originally a magnificent work encompassing text, images, and music, was destroyed in 1870 in the siege of Strasbourg. Before its destruction, extensive notes and tracings had been made of it, and Griffiths's study is based on a reconstruction of the manuscript published by the Warburg Institute in 1979.

Griffiths roots the *Hortus* in the history of this women's community, especially the important activities of two of its abbesses, Herrad and her predecessor Relinde. Griffiths paints a vivid picture of the tensions and aspirations that marked twelfth-century religious life—most importantly, the various attempts to reform the life of the church and the intellectual ferment crys-

tallized in the rise of cathedral schools and universities. Although the reform movements are sometimes associated with negative consequences for women, Griffiths makes a strong case for rethinking reform in terms of women's own commitments to it and their leadership in shaping reform endeavors to meet their own needs. Likewise, the rise of the universities, the development of scholastic discourses, the continued use of Latin—all associated with the major intellectual innovations of the day and often, at least implicitly, associated with a devaluing of women's intellectual life—are here reconsidered as the very fertile context in which Herrad created a monumental Latin text of often cutting-edge scholarship for the theological education of her sisters.

Herrad's goal of theological education (not mystical training, devotional guidance, or visionary revelation) for her sisters (not the world at large with its inevitable authoritative male judges) sets the *Hortus* apart from every other known text by a woman from the Middle Ages. So why has the *Hortus* not been mined for women's history before this? The loss of the original work accounts for this to some degree, but more important are other issues that Griffiths turns into illuminating points. First, there is the question of authorship. Most of the textual material in the *Hortus* was carefully drawn from other previously published Latin works. Griffiths proposes a process whereby Herrad acquired books, read widely, selected, edited, and annotated them, thereby creating a unique synthesis of scholastic and monastic texts directly addressing the issues she deemed necessary for the canonesses of Hohenbourg. What has been dismissed by scholars as mere compilation is convincingly argued by Griffiths to be what Herrad herself claimed as authorship, what would have been recognized as such by her contemporaries, and what was in fact a creative, highly disciplined process that led to the production of an innovative work. Furthermore, the *Hortus* does not conform to expectations about writings by, about, or for women: it is not mystical or visionary, it is not "experiential" or associated with bodily knowledge, and it was not mediated by collaboration with a male scribe. These distinctions are made particularly salient in Griffiths's detailed comparisons between the *Hortus* and works most obviously comparable: the *Speculum Virginum* and the works of Hildegard of Bingen. In asserting that the *Hortus* does not fit scholarly expectations about medieval women's literature, she appropriately insists on recognizing Herrad's achievement in the discourse it belongs in: a theological treatise. But the text is still also very much a "woman's book" with an agenda shaped by the circumstances of religious women's subordination to male authority. Religious women required male clerics, and yet a dearth of suitable clerics willing to serve women's needs was a conspicuous feature of this period. One of Griffiths's most startling insights, convincingly supported by her analysis, is that Herrad created the *Hortus deliciarum* to educate her sisters to evaluate the priests who might serve them and even to substitute for them.

Griffiths also situates Herrad's work in the traditions

of medieval pedagogy and memory training. Herrad's use of complex images and annotations as an integral part of her theological exposition is analyzed in convincing detail. If there is an unsatisfying aspect to the book, it surfaces here, due only to the difficulty in picturing the *Hortus* as the unique, complex physical object that it was. The plates that reproduce nineteenth-century tracings of individual images are essential to conceptualizing the relationship between text and image that Griffiths so carefully makes, but the overall shape of the *Hortus* as an object remains elusive.

Griffiths offers her analysis as a corrective to what she represents—overstating perhaps a bit to make her point—as the lopsided view of medieval women that has emerged from the recent decades of feminist history. She has succeeded brilliantly, producing a learned and fascinating analysis of what she so ably presents as the learned and fascinating creation of a twelfth-century woman.

ANNE L. CLARK  
University of Vermont

IBEN FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT. *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254*. (The Northern World, number 26.) Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. xvi, 287. \$134.00.

The crusade is a powerful metaphor in our times, often applied by agents of high-profile causes to justify their use of violence by claiming that there are such things as "just" wars. The problem is that any propaganda department of any belligerent party could tell you the same thing. It may be precisely this moral ambiguity that has drawn much scholarly attention to the original medieval crusades in recent years, whereby light has been shed also on the lesser-known Northern crusades, directed against pagan peoples on the Baltic Rim in the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. The latter began to be seriously studied in their broader European context only in the 1970s. The most recent contribution to the field is Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt's study of papal policy vis-à-vis the Baltic crusades from Eugene III to Innocent IV: in other words, from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century.

In its most general guise, the book addresses the widespread misunderstanding that the faculties of the Catholic Church were always the same wherever they appeared. Hence the Northern crusades have tended to be regarded as rather formal procedures that found their final form with Pope Eugene's proclamation of the Second Crusade in 1147. Fonnesberg-Schmidt demonstrates that this was not so.

Her method is to examine the indulgences and other conditions offered by various popes to crusaders, and she observes that these varied a great deal. The Second Crusade was launched not only to the Holy Land but also toward the Iberian Peninsula and the Baltic Rim, where the West-Slavonic Vends were attacked. Eugene offered the same indulgence to participants irrespective of which front they served on, thereby putting the Baltic crusade more or less on par with that to the Holy Land.

Except for the Iberian sideshow, however, the outcome of the Second Crusade was a catastrophe, which made later popes follow more cautious strategies, which Fønnesberg-Schmidt calls reactive. The job of subduing and converting the remaining pagans was left to neighboring Christian countries, whereas the papal curia assumed the role of ethical and moral arbiter, expressing encouragement and verdicts in a rich flow of letters to the various secular agencies.

A competition followed, foremost between Germans and Danes, with the consequence that the entire Baltic Rim was subdued by Christian regimes by the end of the thirteenth century save for Lithuania, which remained pagan for another century. However Alexander III and his immediate successors clearly allotted lesser importance to the Northern crusades than those directed to the Holy Land, whereas Honorius III raised their status, virtually putting them on par with service in the Holy Land, inspired by the emerging mendicant orders. His followers Gregory IX and Innocent IV took the same attitude.

Fønnesberg-Schmidt makes interesting efforts to interpret the application of metaphors in papal texts as markers of underlying intentions; but when she claims that the *arenga* of a letter appointing William of Modena a papal legate demonstrates that Pope Honorius wished him to preach the gospel rather than undertake administrative duties (pp. 172–176), she goes too far. Preserved from William's mission are piles of administrative decisions, and her distinction is at best an unnecessary one.

Fønnesberg-Schmidt's book is foremost an investigation of the papacy: the way it made use of its means of power, its exercise of political craft among secular nations, and its careful distribution of celestial mercy in order to reach political ends. She wrestles with the subtle nuances of papal semantics. According to canon law the application of violence served a good cause as long as its purpose was to defend the creed and protect neophytes, but it was *not* a proper means of conversion. But what difference did such distinctions make out on the Christian/pagan frontier? Quite rightly the author favors an open definition of penitential warfare.

To a lesser degree this book is a study of what happened on the Baltic rim during that most crucial century, when it was decided that this region should become a part of Western Europe. One might have wished for more analysis of what implications Fønnesberg-Schmidt's observations have for ongoing debates in Scandinavian and East Baltic historiography. That said however, her book provides a much better context for continued discussion of papal influence on medieval Baltic Rim politics than existed before.

NILS BLOMKVIST  
Gotland University

BLAKE R. BEATTIE. *Angelus Pacis: The Legation of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, 1326–1334*. (The Medieval Mediterranean, number 67.) Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. xxv, 245. \$128.00.

"Angel of Peace" was a rhetorical reference to a papal legate. The papal chancery remembered that *angelus* meant a messenger, and peace was rhetorically assumed to be the constant aim of papal policy. But in reality papal legations usually entailed more war, not less.

In 1326, when Cardinal Bertrand du Poujet found that he could not manage his war against Visconti Milan and the pro-imperial cities in papal Lombardy and Romagna while simultaneously keeping in order the southern subject towns and provinces, those latter territories were handed over to a new legate, Cardinal Giovanni Orsini. Pope John XXII hoped that this sprig of a powerful Roman clan could serve him effectively with his local knowledge and influence. Instead, the Orsini family's interests, their inveterate feud with the Colonna, and the legate's incompetence doomed his mission to failure.

Failure though it was, this legation provides Blake R. Beattie a historical portal to the papal monarchy in central Italy. The popes sent many legates from Avignon in their stubborn effort to retain power and prestige by augmenting, pacifying, defending, governing, and taxing the papal state. Each of those goals was contrary to the others and usually at odds with the religious, pastoral purposes expressed in the official record, and so they all failed, even (eventually) the exemplary legation of Cardinal Gil Albornoz (1353–1367).

This book, an expanded version of the author's dissertation, is a richly informative study, packed with factual detail and mini-biographies of the most important actors. Four introductory chapters sketch the chaotic course of the papal government of Italy up to 1325, the regional and party difficulties that required the resection of Poujet's legation in that year, the medieval tradition of the *legatus a latere*, and the Orsini family resources, connections, and enmities that imposed themselves on the cardinal. Then three chapters narrate the events of Orsini's legation. Chapter eight is a topical treatment of his administration, including futile efforts at reform of local church governments. The last chapter sums up "The Failure of a Legation." Four appendixes give details from the archival sources: the cardinal's mandate and portfolio of special licenses, his retinue, and his many benefices. Beattie writes a solid, deeply descriptive narrative history, undistracted by any meta-historical theory, even the sacred history suggested by the sources. One fruit of this approach is his perceptive essay (pp. 16–18) in which the emptiness of "Guelf" and "Ghibelline" as fourteenth-century designations is revealed.

Readers of Brill's Medieval Mediterranean series should not be expected to have the casual familiarity with the institutional background and the topography of fourteenth-century Italy that this book assumes. The changeable *signorie* of Italian cities and their vital custom of having only a stranger as *podestà* should have been explained. Some timelines, an Orsini genealogy, a list of papal legations with dates, and a two-page map showing the papal provinces are obvious desiderata. There is one map (p. 109) of "Western Papal States"



that extends north only to Perugia, and another, about half the scale, of central Italy (p. 88) on which two dozen of the towns mentioned in the text are located, and a straight line pretends to be a parallel of latitude and the division between the territories assigned to the legates Pouget and Orsini. Boundaries of the papal provinces are not shown on either map.

The copyediting was not as good as it should be. Many mistakes remain of the kind to which electronic composition is prone: short words missing, misplaced, or duplicated; incomplete rephrasings and transpositions. Chapter two, devoted to the year of crisis for the Poujet legation, 1325, is titled with a portentous Roman numeral whose effect is sapped by being one C short.

The only Latin editing here is Appendix A (pp. 203–205), “General Mandate of the Legation.” No English translation is provided, although preparing one would have shown up some faults in the edition, beginning with the date. “*Datum Avenioni, xv kalendas maii anno Xo,*” since John XXII was consecrated in September 1316, works out to April 17, 1326, not April 18, 1328. The letters of license in Appendix B are of the same date, not 1327. Other errors include *que* instead of *quem*, omitting *prudenter* before *et fideliter, tanquam* instead of *tamen*, *semente* instead of *sevente*, *appellatus* instead of *apostolatus*, *operari* instead of *operante*, *premissam pendi* instead of *premissa impendi*, and *mediantes* instead of *meditantes* (pp. 203–204).

A degree of confusion and repetition in such a study are inevitable and even revealing: fourteenth-century papal Italy was indeed chaotic beyond remedy. The presentation of its written record, however, can be much more exact.

DANIEL WILLIMAN  
Binghamton University

F. THOMAS LUONGO. *The Sainly Politics of Catherine of Siena*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 233. \$39.95.

F. Thomas Luongo's book follows in a distinguished line of scholarly research that has attempted to free Catherine of Siena from the hagiographical shrine in which she has been encased ever since Raymond of Capua, her confessor, spiritual advisor, and biographer, wrote the *Legenda maior*, the vita meant to serve the cause for her canonization, which occurred in 1461. Beginning in 1921, and followed up with subsequent publications in 1930 and 1948, French scholar Robert Fawtier launched his attack on the Catherinian hagiographical tradition. More recent scholars such as Sofia Boesch Gajano, Odile Redon, Suzanne Noffke, and Karen Scott, while abjuring Fawtier's polemics, also have argued in various ways that Raymond's Catherine is a hagiographical construct composed with an agenda, not a historical portrait. In search of the historical person rather than the saint, they have read Raymond's *vita* against Catherine's own letters in an attempt to reconstruct her life and reassess her spirituality, along with the public nature of her mission or apostolate. In this

slim volume of five chapters, Luongo does this, too, but he moves the discussion forward in a welcome and innovative way by historicizing Catherine in the social and political culture of late medieval Siena. Luongo also intends his work to stand as a critique of the voluminous scholarship on female sanctity that has appeared in the wake of Caroline Walker Bynum's influential book, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (1987). He argues that much of the recent work on sanctity privileging gender as the primary category of analysis has had the unfortunate effect of deracinating holiness from its local context, simplifying and reifying it rather than complicating our vision of it. To rectify this problem, his study plants Catherine Benincasa firmly back into the Siennese soil of the fourteenth century.

Chapter one, “Catherine's Vocational Years: Worldliness and Female Sanctity,” sets the stage by plunging us into the local history of late Trecento Siena. We find ourselves in the tense atmosphere of the 1360s and 1370s in which the Siennese government of the “Monte dei Dodici” has fallen, the disenfranchised wool workers of the city are mounting a rebellion, and a new government, the “Riformatori,” led by an unlikely coalition of magnates and *popolo minuto*, has come to power. In the wider world of Tuscan and ecclesiastical politics, Florence, not unjustly wary of papal territorial ambitions in the area, begins to incite insurrection against the papal state, calling for a coalition to combat such objectives. This will lead to the “War of the Eight Saints,” in which Florence and a league of Tuscan cities pit themselves against papal forces.

Luongo argues that Catherine came of age in this world and was inevitably formed by it. To demonstrate, he pursues the path of documentary history first blazed by the Dominican historian M.-H. Laurent's *Documenti: Fontes vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici*, Volume 1 (1936), taking us into the archive in order to make a number of important and corrective points about Catherine's family status and political affiliations. In my view, the most important argument of this chapter is that the Benincasa family was in no way the humble artisan family that many historians, misreading Raymond of Capua, would have us believe. Indeed, with the aid of archival documents that show family and kinship relationships, Luongo shows how Catherine's family on both sides were members of the *popolo grasso*, the guild elite, allied with the recently toppled “Monte dei Dodici.” Along the way, Luongo nicely rehabilitates the reputation of Catherine's mother, Lapa, daughter of a Siennese poet of the *dolce stil nuovo*. In Raymond's representation, Lapa was a worldly minded shrew against whom young Catherine had to battle to defend her vocation. But clearly there was another side to Lapa, which Luongo discloses by means of a matriculation list. It turns out that Lapa too had a religious vocation: she entered the *mantellate*, around 1370, at the same time as her celebrated daughter.

Chapter two, “Catherine Enters Tuscan Politics,” turns to Catherine's letters in order to argue that they,

too, must be read through the lens of immediate Tuscan-papal politics, not merely as exemplars of late medieval spiritual concerns. Chapter three, "Niccolò di Toldo and the Erotics of Political Engagement," to my mind the least satisfying of the five chapters, analyzes Catherine's most celebrated letter to Raymond (Letter 273), pertaining to the execution of Niccolò di Toldo in 1374. By ferreting out supporting materials, many from the Sienese archives, Luongo is able to supply the much needed political context for the letter. I was less convinced, however, by the second part of the chapter, an analysis of the mystical language and imagery Catherine used in this letter. Miscued, in my view, by a host of literary scholars, we end up with analyses such as this one, discussing one of Catherine's possible textual influences: "the author then conflates the wounded Virgin with her wounded Son, and so shifts Christ's gender—a move perhaps suggested by the similarity between *vulnera* and *vulva*" (p. 106).

Luongo is back on *terra firma* in chapters four and five, which examine in depth Catherine's network of followers and her role in the "War of the Eight Saints." Chapter four, "Catherine's Sienese *famiglia*," presents a finely textured prosopographical analysis of her spiritual *famiglia* revealing that Catherine's followers (similar to her kin) were all of noble or *popolo grasso* status, many having held high municipal positions. Social status is often an indicator of political affiliation or allegiance, and in this case the high social status of these guild elites placed them squarely in the camp of the papal cause against the Tuscan league. Chapter five looks at the role Catherine played as a "papal agent" in the "War of the Eight Saints." As this book will have an audience among those interested in hagiography and women, but who may not be fluent in Italian history, I do think it would have been useful for Luongo to define the causes and explain the war in one of the early chapters rather than at this juncture, but this is a minor flaw in an otherwise interesting chapter. Here Luongo shows that Catherine's letters in the second half of the 1370s were anything but generic pleas for peace on earth, or even calls to end vendetta or ongoing enmity between Italian city-states. They were instead directly concerned with arguing for a specific diplomatic peace between the papacy and Florence, something that is easily missed if one reads the letters through the filter of Raymond's vita, which, as hagiography tends to do, drains the narrative of historical specificity, replacing it with a universalizing context unfettered by time and place. This chapter also shows that the Ciompi uprising of 1378 provided the background to both Catherine's Letter 295 and one of the last chapters of Raymond's *Legenda maior*. In this case, both Catherine and Raymond cast the event in hagiographical terms: as a missed opportunity for her martyrdom in a crowd full of indeterminate and violent rowdies. But Luongo's analysis lays bare the politics informing the event: Catherine was threatened physically and her lodgings attacked because she was viewed as a "papal agent" with Guelf sympathies.

To have restored Catherine to her political context is the signal contribution of this well-researched book. "Siena mi fè" ("Siena made me"), Pia de' Tolomei declares in Canto V of Dante's *Purgatorio*. Much the same can now be said for Caterina "di Monna Lapa" Benincasa.

KATHERINE L. JANSEN  
Catholic University of America

CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM. *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 402. \$49.95.

Caroline Walker Bynum has taught us a great deal through her acute readings of texts: about medieval conceptualizations of gender, the understandings of the human body that engagements with resurrection reveal, and, most recently, the complex interdependence of fragmentation, as concept and as experience, and the Christian longing for salvation. Her work has pursued no one theme, no one school, no one century, but constellations of symbols, attitudes, ways of thinking about core human issues.

It is tempting to say that this work is a "culmination." Certainly reading it leads me to rethink how I have read her earlier work, to see threads, questions, in higher relief. And, as Bynum writes in her preface, she seeks explicitly to go beyond those earlier works, to integrate praxis into her consideration of medieval attitudes and to posit a grand narrative. But to call this book a "culmination" would be an injustice: like each of her earlier works, this one opens out avenues of thought. It does not sum up but reorients our thinking about the fifteenth century and its relationship to the Reformation, and it illumines "blood" far more complexly than any of the studies that have, thus far, treated it in a single dimension, whether signaling violence or epitomizing Eucharistic wine or encapsulating Jesus' suffering.

In her preface, Bynum explicitly confronts the fertile tension running through her work, between "a 1990s sense that there are only particular stories and voices" and a "1960s conviction that, somehow, behind it all, lie common assumptions" (p. xvi). That tension pervades the book, serving at one level to organize the material, and at another, to problematize that very organization. Bynum opens with a discussion of a "Frenzy for Blood," in which she sketches the contours of "blood piety" and addresses some of the problems in how the historiography has approached the various cults of wondrous blood in late medieval Europe. Bynum then turns in part one to cults, providing first a detailed summation of what is known about the particular site of Wilsnack and the historiography of the site; second, a broader overview of other sites in Mecklenburg and the Mark Brandenburg. Her treatment of the cults brings together a great deal of recondite scholarship, summarizing it efficiently and succinctly, but shares with that scholarship one conceptual problem in the consideration of "praxis": in addressing the question of the "or-

igins" of the cult, Bynum also tends to speak of those cults as constant over time, fixed both at the level of rituals attached to them and at the level of ways people might have understood the wondrous blood. For Wilsnack, Mecklenburg, and the Mark Brandenburg cults, she draws upon authors such as Nicolas of Cusa and Jan Hus, who criticized the cults on theological and pastoral grounds, but she does not integrate the changing terms of debate among theologians into her framing of the cults themselves.

In part two she turns directly to theologians, organizing their work now no longer in reference to the sites but according to two clusters of theological engagement: debates about Eucharistic transformations and blood relics (chapter four); and Christ's blood in the Triduum mortis (chapter five). These chapters serve as counterpoint to the first part in two ways. First they delineate with Bynum's characteristic acuity and attentiveness to nuance the categories in which broadly influential theologians such as Peter Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, John of Capistrano, and Cusa wrote about blood: the relationships among matter, piety, Jesus's person, God, and humanity each one articulated. Second, they trace over a long chronology the changing engagements, sensitivities, and concerns of a broad range of theologians.

In part three, Bynum returns to both the debates surrounding the specific cults and the broader theological discussions to tease out "assumptions" about blood: medieval Christians' abiding concern for immutability, not simply of blood, but of divinity (chapter six); the ways in which blood, as living blood, is "poured out" (chapter seven); and blood's capacity to "separate" and be "shed." In taking up the various ways late medieval Christians spoke about blood and so carefully and sensitively exploring what those ways of speaking reveal about ways of thinking, Bynum recaptures, as no other scholar has done, not simply blood's "complexity" as religious or cultural symbol, but its "power": it linked what, in hindsight, seem to be widely disparate aspects of human existence, and it linked them, as Bynum reveals so eloquently, neither transparently nor crudely but obliquely and pervasively.

Part four treats sacrifice and soteriology—a logical endpoint for any consideration of blood in late medieval Christianity. And yet these chapters, with their solid grounding in the preceding analyses, fundamentally rethink sacrifice and its meaning for Christians in ways that are breathtakingly original. Bynum opens part four with a review of traditional scholarship on sacrifice, drawing on the previous chapters' explorations to demonstrate the inaccuracy of traditional categories of analysis, and drawing on Julian of Norwich's "fullest articulation in the Middle Ages of a theology of participation, with strong overtones of universalism" (p. 204), to reset the very terms with which she, and we, shall now think about sacrifice (chapter nine). Having established that some medieval Christians spoke in terms of participating in Jesus' sacrifice, and having shown that some of them also assumed something

shared between themselves and the person of Christ—what Bynum calls "universalism"—Bynum then moves to recast what "oblation" and "sacrifice" might mean (chapter ten) and to trace the frictions at the very center of the understanding of "sacrifice" that emerges in the later Middle Ages (chapter eleven, "The Aporia of Sacrifice"). Her conclusion is less a summation than an invitation to consider more complexly images, symbols, acts at the center of late medieval Christianity.

I have small quibbles with this book: words such as "frenzy" and "obsession" jar from an author who is so sensitive a reader of the voices of those who cannot correct us. Bynum's treatment of praxis is not as fully conceptualized as her handling of theological texts. But this is a book that those of us who study liturgy and historical Christianity must take seriously: it demonstrates eloquently that the standing categories of analysis obscure the meaning not only of blood in late medieval Christianity, but also of sacrifice to thousands of Christians, and challenges us to rethink blood and sacrifice theologically, liturgically, and culturally.

LEE PALMER WANDEL  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

ELIZABETH EVA LEACH. *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 345. \$55.00.

A simple question with a simple answer organizes Elizabeth Eva Leach's interesting new book. Are birdsongs music? During the Middle Ages the obvious answer was "No." This response may surprise us. Few today would deny that birdsongs are both beautiful and enjoyable. Medieval musicians would have agreed. They would also have added that music is not entirely constituted through its sonic qualities. Music is a rational activity, a human activity, and its producers and audience must engage intellectually and emotionally in the product, if mere pretty sound is to become actual music. If we take this response seriously, Leach contends, the simplicity of the question and its answer belie its significance. Medieval musical treatises that discuss birdsongs and medieval songs that actually incorporated birdsongs into their composition must be read as tools for reflecting on the nature and function of music, on the distinction between the human and the nonhuman, the rational and the irrational.

Leach proposes to analyze treatises on birdsong and human birdsinging as "constitutive of a late Latin literature with its own generic practices" (p. 15). It is a significant decision, one that actively recognizes "the ways in which the modern definition and ontology of music differ from those of late antiquity and the Middle Ages" (p. 11). Those differences have everything to do with the centrality of music and musical education to the intellectual and cultural life of the medieval elite. Despite the ubiquity of recorded music in contemporary society, according to Leach, music itself now possesses a rather watered-down existence as mere "orga-

nized sound." The medieval conception of music was much richer. Boethius had bequeathed a tripartite conception of music that stretched from the heavens themselves down to the corruptible products of human ingenuity. There were, he asserted, the music of the celestial spheres, the harmony of the human body and soul, and, finally, the music of instruments. Moreover, medieval musical theorists were invariably practitioners, trained simultaneously in both grammar and music; the proper performance of the psalms was central to their religious self-conception. But how do we distinguish between religious chants and the pleasing sounds that birds make? Or for that matter, between proper and improper humanly produced music? The deep connections between grammar and music, Leach demonstrates, fed into a conception of music that sought to distinguish human music from animal noises in terms of meaningful articulate sound. While the development of systems of musical notation supplied the emphasis on articulation, on the divisibility of music into a kind of language, Aristotelian natural philosophy stressed the necessary relation between, even the intermingling of, perception and judgment. Music, in its purest sense, required both performers and listeners who understood its rational underpinnings.

None of this was quite as straightforward as it at first seems, and the most original chapters of Leach's book investigate how reflection on birdsongs and the use of birdsinging in medieval music often tested the limits, gaps, and tensions inherent in the medieval ontology of music. Not all of these investigations are equally successful. In chapters two and three, Leach explores how the nightingale was used to think about the implications of musical notation. While the nightingale was often aligned with human singing in order to elevate the natural qualities of human song over "artificial" instrumental music, the development of musical notation and other literate practices threatened this elevation of vocal music (equated with increasingly outmoded oral practices). To stress this point, Leach depends upon some slightly strained readings from the *Lais* of Marie de France. Still, uninspired musical literacy was not without its own critics, and the monotonous voice of the cuckoo occasionally found its way into songs to criticize those singers who could do no more than recite what they found on the notated page. Through careful analysis of songs that incorporated human performers singing as nightingales, perhaps improvising counterpoint in sub-minims (notes quicker than the notational system could handle), Leach compellingly argues for a medieval debate between oral and literate practices, between the inspired and the text-bound performer.

Leach's facility with her sources is nowhere more evident than when she turns to the development and critique of polyphony and hocket through careful examinations of a variety of songs about hunting, culminating in an excellent reading of Gace de la Buigne's *Le Roman des Deduis*. Emphasizing a courtly setting concerned with such morally problematic, if enjoyable, activities as hunting, gaming, and music, Leach trans-

forms Gace's musical mirror for princes into a reflection on the fine line between decorous and indecorous behavior, between ethical propriety and the descent into vice. The barking of hunting dogs, voiced in these songs through hockets, points to the dangers of empty decoration, empty recreation, and the empty promises of flatterers. Pleasure is often necessary to relax the mind, Gace advises, but pleasure without reason, like sound divorced from reason, is not human at all.

This is a fine book and is all the more useful for bringing the technical skills of the medieval musicologist to bear on issues important to any historian of medieval court life and the complex interplay between orality and literacy.

DALLAS G. DENERY II  
Bowdoin College

#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

STEPHEN GAUKROGER. *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1210–1685*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 563. \$65.00.

In this lengthy volume, the first of a projected five, Stephen Gaukroger ranges from 1210 to 1685, encompassing the period from the entry of Aristotle's natural philosophy into the Latin West to its replacement in the seventeenth century. By selecting 1685 as the terminus of the first volume, Gaukroger chose to consider Isaac Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687) in the second volume.

This is essentially a study of the development of natural philosophy and its interrelationship with Christian religion and theology. Gaukroger displays an enormous range of scholarship as he describes the various transformations of natural philosophy and provides detailed descriptions of the views of those who made, or contributed to, these transformations, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here the reader will find thorough discussions of Pietro Pomponazzi, Nicholas Copernicus, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, Nicolas Malebranche, Robert Boyle, Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, and many others. The "Scientific Culture" of which Gaukroger speaks is an outgrowth of a constantly changing natural philosophy, the agenda for which was set by Christianity (p. 3). "Far from science breaking free of religion in the early modern era," Gaukroger argues, "its consolidation depended crucially on religion being in the driving seat: Christianity took over natural philosophy in the seventeenth century, setting its agenda and projecting it forward" (p. 23).

As seventeenth-century natural philosophers abandoned Aristotelian natural philosophy, Gaukroger paints a complicated picture of what replaced it. There were natural philosophies based on dynamics, kinematics, and hydrostatics and there was natural history, which emphasized "the Christian idea of a universe de-



signed and created *ex nihilo* by a single God" (pp. 455–456) and which became natural theology (p. 472). Various methods and methodologies were utilized by these natural philosophies, as, for example, corpuscularianism, mechanism, experiments of all kinds, and the extensive application of mathematics to problems of kinematics and dynamics. Gaukroger presents detailed and illuminating descriptions of the manner in which these methodologies were used by natural philosophers in the seventeenth century.

Gaukroger's book is an important contribution to our knowledge of the interrelations between natural philosophy and religion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But there are some omissions. There is no doubt that Christianity played a significant role in the minds and hearts of many seventeenth-century natural philosophers. But even as some celebrated God's creation and sang his praises, they also warned against mixing science and religion, as did Bacon and Boyle. Indeed, we learn from John Wallis that London meetings of natural philosophers around 1645 excluded theology from their meetings. But even if religion and natural philosophy were frequently intermingled, Gaukroger does not inform his readers how religion and theology substantively affected natural philosophy. Would a natural philosopher whose object was to reveal God's glorious creation produce a natural philosophy that would be identifiably different than one produced by a natural philosopher who excluded God and employed only natural causes for his natural philosophy? If we exclude traditional requirements that natural philosophy accept the world as God's unique creation, along with the Eucharist and Resurrection, how did theology and religion substantively affect natural philosophy?

In his description of medieval natural philosophy, Gaukroger fails to do justice to the significant medieval departures from Aristotelian natural philosophy. Although he considers Nicole Oresme's fourteenth-century discussions of the possibility of other worlds and whether or not the earth rotates with a diurnal motion (pp. 74–76), he ignores substantive medieval discussions of impetus theory that were employed to explain problems of dynamic motion. There is much about impetus theory in Gaukroger's book, but it appears only in the early modern period for figures such as Galileo and Isaac Beeckman. Also ignored is a strong tendency possessed by medieval scholastics to rely heavily on their imaginations. Scholastics did not support their proclaimed empiricism with much observation, but they applied their imaginations to a range of problems concerned with void spaces that were assumed within and beyond our cosmos, as well as to other worlds that were imagined in an infinite void space beyond our world. In his chapter on "The Quantitative Transformation of Natural Philosophy," Gaukroger fails to mention the medieval effort to quantify variable qualities in what was known as "the intension and remission of forms," which involved the application of mathematics to physical changes. Within this framework, Oresme gave a

geometrical proof of the mean speed theorem: namely  $s = (1/2)at^2$ , where  $s$  is distance,  $a$  is acceleration, and  $t$  is time. Within Islam, there was even a call to merge mathematical optics and natural philosophy. Some scientific advances of the early modern period had preliminary formulations in the late Middle Ages.

These criticisms, however, cannot alter the fact that Gaukroger has produced a major contribution to our understanding of early modern science and the foundations it laid for the future.

EDWARD GRANT  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

MATTHEW L. JONES. *The Good Life in the Scientific Revolution: Descartes, Pascal, Leibniz, and the Cultivation of Virtue*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 384. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.50.

In this book Matthew L. Jones argues that mathematical practice served an ethical function for the early modern philosophers René Descartes, Blaise Pascal, and Gottfried Leibniz. Jones persuasively enumerates the normative implications of natural philosophy, and especially mathematics, for these philosophers. He claims that Descartes, Pascal, and Leibniz all saw the practice of mathematics as a kind of spiritual exercise that could, in varying degrees, contribute to an individual's virtue and self-cultivation. Jones emphasizes the heuristic value of mathematical and philosophic practice—whether Descartes's geometry, Pascal's examination of infinite volume or Leibniz's squaring of the circle—in encouraging ethical behavior.

But the three differed in their evaluation of mathematics's role in creating a rational individual who would know how to live an ethical life. Descartes argued that mathematics could train the mind to recognize true and false and good and bad. Mathematical practice becomes vital in producing knowledge of self, as both an individual and a member of society. According to Jones, Descartes was inspired by the ideal of the robe nobility: *honnêtes hommes*, or cultivated gentlemen, who knew both how to behave and how to judge.

Descartes believed that moral and intellectual discipline sharpens the mind, allowing it to intuit clear and distinct ideas. However, while the practice and knowledge of mathematics is helpful in becoming a moral individual, the study of natural philosophy is essential. Wisdom and virtue are the products of true knowledge of the causal principles of things, because such knowledge allows one to distinguish the best among moral alternatives. Ultimately, humans seek perfection by seeking to understand the physical world, and how best to live in it. Such perfection is not the result of simple astonishment about the nature of things but rather the product of exercising the mind to distinguish and judge the value of things. Descartes believed that a trained mind would use wonder about the nature of things as an impetus for discovering their nature.

Pascal, by contrast, saw mathematics as a practice

that would ultimately lead to recognition of human incapacity. Mathematics teaches both the greatness and the insufficiency of the human mind. Human intellect can gain a certain knowledge of things, but not a complete comprehension of what they are. We can grasp the principles of natural philosophy or religion or anthropology, but we cannot comprehend them in their entirety. We can describe a mathematical object, like a cycloid, but we can never truly understand it. Human beings are ultimately monstrous hybrids; the greatness of their reason is compromised by its inadequacy. We can only wonder at our wretchedness and find comfort in a faith not tied to human capacity: Christianity.

Jones finds Descartes and Pascal dour but Leibniz much more sanguine. The German philosopher viewed mathematics as a tool for perfecting human nature. Mathematics teaches how to use symbols to reveal the underlying unity and harmony of all things. By thinking symbolically, and developing notational systems for all kinds of knowledge, the human mind can become more perfect and rational. A disciplined mind, trained by mathematics and attention to multiple perspectives, can ultimately achieve wisdom and happiness. Enumeration of the details of all created things, says Leibniz, can result only in wonder: proof of God's goodness and justice.

Jones has done a masterful job of relating the mathematical thought of his three philosophers to their ethical and epistemological concerns, but his analysis suffers from a lack of definition of his main categories. The idea of "the good life" is very vague indeed. Certainly, Descartes and Leibniz thought that human perfection and happiness were aims of any philosophic practice, but what they thought the good life would actually be is not examined. The good life is sometimes equated with the philosophic life, but what either means in practice remains elusive.

Jones's study is very much an example of traditional intellectual history, which is both its strength and its weakness. He reads texts brilliantly, demonstrating to even a mathematically challenged reader how Descartes, Pascal, and Leibniz utilized their mathematics in articulating their philosophies. But Jones's discussion of the political and social contexts of their thought is superficial. For example, while the Jesuit practice of spiritual exercise is crucial to his discussion of Descartes, he provides little explanation of Descartes's experience of these practices. Pascal's aim of persuading skeptics to embrace Christianity is mentioned but not explored. Jones's discussion of Leibniz's intoxication with "wonders," such as tricks of perspective and magical shows, is engaging, but it begs the question of what "wonder" meant in the seventeenth century. For the reader really to understand these philosophers' preoccupation with the training of the mind, Jones needs to explain why they thought simple rationality no longer provided the means to live the good life—whatever that might be.

LISA T. SARASOHN  
Oregon State University

GIORGIO RIELLO. *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century*. (Pasold Studies in Textile History, number 15.) New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xiii, 302. \$110.00.

Giorgio Riello has three goals in his charmingly titled book: he wants to bring the little-studied history of shoemaking into the research of fashion history in the early modern period. Using shoemaking as a case study, he seeks to challenge a number of accepted truths about the history of guilds and of the "consumer revolution"; and he wants to add new evidence to refute the idea that change in economic institutions necessarily comes from mechanical inventions.

In his first objective, acquainting us with the story of shoemaking, Riello succeeds very well. His book is full of fascinating details about the evolution of shoe construction and manufacture, and he uses extraordinary pictures to illustrate his points. Until the eighteenth century, for instance, shoes did not distinguish between right and left. From the seventeenth century on, French shoe manufacturing excelled in creating the most stylish products and dominated the market across the English Channel. The French use of interior labels and their lower labor costs made Parisian luxury shoes more popular and caused the British to alter their practices. Thus the author takes issue with the belief advanced in consumption studies that major change only follows mass demand. There is something of a disconnection, however, when Riello cites the competition of American mechanization that caused the industry finally to switch from handicraft to factories.

Riello is on firmer ground when he suggests that studies of consumption might be pursued more flexibly than has been the current practice, adding to our knowledge of manufacture. For example, the wide array of footwear available at any one time points not only to more varied markets but also to the different skills developed in the shoemaker's trade. These included working with luxury textiles for the uppers of women's and men's shoes, as well as using different grades of leather.

The different centers of consumption also shaped the shoe trade. Urban bespoke customers exerted a marked influence on style and material, but so did buyers in city shops, country warehouses, the military, and the export trade. Military orders provided sudden upsurges of opportunity for the shoe trade, and they also caused normal prices to rise. Beside the army and navy, the export trade had a tremendous influence on the development of the ready-made market. Standardized techniques were used to produce the huge stocks of footwear exported to the American colonies, and later to the West Indies. Shoe sizing, first noted in seventeenth-century army documents, acquired the form it still has today.

Riello takes pains to show that in shoemaking there was not a single path from handwork to mechanization; instead old and new practices of making and selling shoes existed simultaneously. By the mid-1700s London shoemakers had begun to specialize and to display their wares in increasingly appealing shops. By the late 1790s,

the majority of shops sold all kinds of shoes, but ready-made did not necessarily mean cheap shoes of poor quality. Nor were the individual shoemakers catering to the bespoke trade put out of business. Their orders might come directly from customers in the shop, from letters with detailed specifications, even from French shoemakers. Payment often entailed complex credit arrangements, thought mistakenly by current historians to have originated only in connection with mid-nineteenth-century department stores and industrialization.

While the finest shoes had always been made in London by skilled shoemakers, the cordwainers' guild in the capital lost control of the industry by 1800. Provincial shoe manufacturers and wholesalers in the outlying towns of Northampton and Leicester, making goods at lower prices, became both trading partners and competitors of London establishments. Riello emphasizes that some entrepreneurs in London and provincial cities subcontracted manufacture at the same time that they ran upscale shops in the capital. In other cases, the ties linking production, wholesaling, and retailing were broken. The eighteenth-century London shoemakers' guild had little effect on production and lasted mostly as a political and social entity.

The author presents this variegated picture to emphasize that modern business practices were not necessarily caused by mechanization. While the structure of much shoemaking changed radically to include large warehouses and specialized, segmented craft, not until 1850 did inventions for sewing shoe uppers and riveting shoes and boots become generalized. Then they were likely to be used by hundreds of individual workers in garrets or home ateliers. Not until the 1890s did thoroughgoing mechanization lead to the creation of factories outside London, and this—Riello emphasizes—was a response not to internal invention but to the challenge of the American shoe industry. While his exposition, in tone and organization, leave something to be desired, Riello's fund of information, his thorough knowledge of the history of consumption, and his insistence that historians credit preindustrial business with more nuance and complexity, make this an important volume for all who study the early modern economic world.

DARYL M. HAFTER,  
*Emerita*  
Eastern Michigan University

LIBBY SCHWEBER. *Disciplining Statistics: Demography and Vital Statistics in France and England, 1830–1885*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. 277. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Libby Schweber examines the efforts to create the disciplines of demography in France and vital statistics in England during the nineteenth century. Both demography and vital statistics took population as their object of study and statistics as their method. But beyond these similarities, demography and vital statistics differed in

numerous respects. French demographers were acutely concerned with measuring the state of population and its changes (or movement). Was France becoming depopulated? How great was infant mortality? English vital statisticians, by contrast, were more closely tied to public health and pursued a problem-oriented approach. How could mortality rates be used to gauge the sickness and health of different locales? How could this information guide policy?

Schweber organizes her book around the major figures who pursued and promoted demography and vital statistics: in France, Achille Guillard and his son-in-law, Louis Adolphe Bertillon, and in England, William Farr. Her study is not biographical; she bases her analysis entirely on such published sources as journal articles, proceedings of meetings, and textbooks, a methodological approach that retraces the public (as opposed to the private) trajectory of demography and vital statistics.

In part one, Schweber reviews Guillard's and Bertillon's attempts to establish demography as a social science on par with political economy. Guillard introduced the term demography in 1853 and in 1855 devoted a book to the subject, but demography, as a new science, was rejected by political economists because of its reliance on theoretical rather than descriptive statistics. The creation of the Société de Statistique de Paris and the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris around 1860 gave Guillard and Bertillon the opportunity to promote demography, and by the 1870s it had become a recognized scientific field.

Part two discusses Farr's work during the 1830s and 1840s, particularly in the field of public health. After reviewing the composition and goals of various societies that contributed to vital statistics, including the General Registrar's Office, the Statistical Society of London, Section F (Statistics) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Social Science Association, Schweber explores Farr's major contributions: namely, the life table and standard mortality rates, statistical tools used to identify geographical areas with unacceptably high levels of mortality and hence in need of public health measures.

In parts three and four, Schweber assesses the process of disciplinization as gauged by traditional markers of discipline formation. Schweber connects disciplinary activity with epistemological exclusion, not with professionalization. Only when Bertillon and Farr encountered resistance to or dismissal of their methods and ideas did they engage, publicly and successfully, in discipline-building activity. In 1876, Bertillon was given a chair of demography at the new Ecole d'Anthropologie at the Faculty of Medicine. A new journal, *Les annales internationales de démographie*, was founded, and in 1878, the first International Congress of Demography convened. In England, the Statistical Society of London endorsed vital statistics over other forms of statistical inquiry. But these advances were short-lived. The deaths of Bertillon and Farr in 1883 deprived demography and vital statistics of their driving forces, and af-

ter 1885 new institutional and political developments changed the intellectual landscape, thereby displacing demography and vital statistics.

Schweber positions her book between studies of national styles of science and micro-histories of specific scientific communities. She calls attention to institutions and administrative bodies (what she labels meso-level structures) as key actors in mapping knowledge and policing boundaries. Indeed, her analysis relies heavily on spatial metaphors like meso-level structures, elite spheres, and second-tier statisticians and administrators. But the diagrams illustrating the relations among these various conceptual and concrete entities lack scales, dates, and/or causal linkages, thus making interpretation difficult. Knowledge and their concomitant disciplines are positioned in different intellectual and political fields, but it is not always clear how these fields and their rules and logics are constituted, maintained, or changed.

Schweber faces the very difficult task of analyzing an abstract entity—the discipline—without becoming too immersed in the detailed knowledge and methods that define the discipline. This often leaves the reader wanting to learn more about the ideas and techniques developed by demographers and vital statisticians, in addition to their disciplinary activity (creating institutions, journals, prizes, and so on). Moreover, because it is a comparative study in which France is the primary case and England the foil, the amount of detail is again constrained. The comparison, however, allows Schweber to map the larger contours of demography and vital statistics on to their respective political landscapes, thereby underscoring the point that even though nineteenth-century France and England were liberal polities, their understandings of population and the role of the state were fundamentally different. This will come as no surprise to many historians, but Schweber has given us a new perspective on how these polities disciplined the social sciences of demography and vital statistics.

ANDREA RUSNOCK  
University of Rhode Island

SUSAN GROSS SOLOMON, editor. *Doing Medicine Together: Germany and Russia between the Wars*. (German and European Studies, number 4.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2006. Pp. xvii, 533. \$ 65.00.

The need for a comparative analysis of medicine in the Soviet Union and Weimar Germany has long been apparent. While Loren R. Graham had drawn attention to similar agendas shared by eugenics movements in Germany and Russia in the 1920s as early as 1977, it was only in the past two decades that the wider medical discourses in these two countries were subjected to sustained analysis, most notably in the works of Mark B. Adams, Garland E. Allen, and Sheila Faith Weiss. This recent volume, edited by Susan Gross Solomon, the result of a conference organized at the University of Toronto in May 2000, not only belongs to this interdisci-

plinary tradition but in many ways is its finest illustration to date. The collection offers fresh perspectives and original scholarship on a range of topics pertaining to Soviet-German collaboration in medicine and public health. Two guiding premises constitute its innovative approach: one considers collaborations between the two countries at micro levels; the other relates these collaborations to European scientific developments and trends in general. The result is a solid analysis that is both authoritative in character and based on the in-depth evaluation of historical sources.

The book is divided into four parts, each illustrating the heterogeneous topicality characterizing scientific exchange between Weimar Germany and the Soviet Union in the 1920s. The first part outlines the fragile political environment of the period and how scientific contacts between the two countries developed. German and Soviet scientists collaborated on as diverse topics as epidemiology and race. While Paul Weindling concentrates on German medical activities originating among ideologically opposed groups and ideas of cultural and geopolitical expansionism in the Soviet Union, Marina Sorokina discusses the 200th anniversary of the Academy of Sciences in 1925, and the opportunity it offered to the scientific and political elite of the nascent Soviet Union to interact with foreign scientists. This tension between leftists and nationalists in Germany and between scientists and politicians in the Soviet Union is further elaborated by Michael David-Fox in his analysis of Soviet-Weimar cultural diplomacy.

The second part of the book discusses, at length, the exemplary case of the German hygienist Heinz Zeiss, particularly the relationships he established with Soviet microbiologists and his collaboration with various institutions across the Soviet Union. According to Elisabeth Hachten, Zeiss labored to create propitious conditions for collaboration between German and Soviet scientists, including the establishment of such important centers of medicine as the Institute for Serum and Vaccine Control and the Mechnikov Museum in Moscow. In the troubled and uncertain times of the 1930s, however, Zeiss became both a symbol of scientific cooperation as well as a political liability, as he was suspected of spying for his native country. That Zeiss had political connections with the German establishment (he was also an employee of the German Foreign Office) and professed strong ideas of German nationalism and cultural superiority—which, in turn, marked his travels to the Soviet Union and subsequent scientific career—is demonstrated by Wolfgang Eckart. As the next two essays by Solomon and Sabine Schleiermacher document, concepts of cultural and political expansionism strongly informed Zeiss's contributions to geomedicine and medical geography, as well as his role as a representative of German *Kulturpolitik* in the Soviet Union and campaigner of the cause of the *Auslandsdeutsche* in Eastern Europe.

The third part of the book focuses on two medical fields particularly fraught by political polemics: brain



research and eugenics. Occasioned by the interest in analyzing and preserving Vladimir Lenin's brain, German researcher Oskar Vogt, the founder of the Neurological Institute of the University of Berlin, was invited to establish a corresponding institute in Moscow. As Jochen Richter explains, Vogt's research in the Soviet Union culminated in the final report on Lenin's brain delivered in 1936, a document that illustrated not only how one-dimensional scientific research had become during Stalinism and Nazism but also how political imperatives triumphed over scientific principles after 1933. The tortuous relationship between science and politics is also discussed by Nikolai Krementsov in his investigation of the Seventh International Genetics Congress. The congress was initially scheduled to take place in Moscow in 1937, but due to conflicting views on eugenics and race among geneticists and the increasingly disturbing German racism, it took place in Edinburgh in 1939.

The book concludes with two studies on scientific marginality and racial exclusion: Ulrike Eisenberg's description of the German neuro-anatomist Louis Jacobsohn-Lask's activities in the Soviet Union, and Carola Tischler's overview of the emigration of German-Jewish physicians to the Soviet Union after 1933. Although dealing with different case studies and human experiences, ultimately each author describes interconnected strategies of professional and individual survival in a period dominated by political and racial intolerance.

Richly informative and finely edited, the volume offers valuable interpretations of hitherto relatively unknown chapters in the history of scientific collaboration between the Soviet Union and Weimar Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. Scholars interested in the history of medicine and the interwar period will welcome this timely international collaboration and commend its achievement.

MARIUS TURDA  
Oxford Brookes University

ULF BRUNNBauer, MICHAEL G. ESCH, and HOLM SUNDHAUSSEN, editors. *Definitionsmacht, Utopie, Vergeltung: "Ethnische Säuberungen" im östlichen Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*. (Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft, number 9.) Munster: Lit Verlag. 2006. Pp. 301. €29.90.

This book adds to the substantial amount of research about "ethnic cleansing" that has been published in recent years in the German language. The essays included cover three major topics: the process of ethnic cleansing and its causes, the collective memory of various cases of ethnic cleansing, and the change of societies in previously cleansed areas. Unfortunately the volume is not structured in this way, so it is advisable not to read the articles consecutively. Since two of the editors are specialists in the history of southeastern Europe, the reader learns most about this part of Europe. Several essays also deal with the German debate on expulsions

and the conflicts with Poland and the Czech Republic resulting from it.

The introduction explains the outbreak of violent ethnic conflicts in terms of several key factors: the ethnic and ancestral definition of the nation, the idea of the homogenous nation-state, and the goal of radical modernization. The editors contend that wars gave an opportunity to enact ideologies of national purity. One could add that twentieth-century wars led to a breakdown of moral and legal norms and radicalized existing nationalisms. The editors also point out the role of the modern state, which was necessary to carry out mass ethnic cleansing. This is indisputable, although recent historical and political science research about ethnic conflicts emphasizes the destructive role of warlords and of the breakdown of the state monopoly over the legitimate use of violence.

Hans Lemberg points out another major cause of ethnic cleansing. He demonstrates in his essay about the interwar period how national minorities came to be seen as sources of unrest and conflict. In particular, British experts and politicians proposed the "unmixing of people" as a conflict solution. Detlev Brandes and Marie-Janine Calic deal with the ethnic cleansing of Germans during World War II and in the former Yugoslavia, but I recommend their more extensive monographs. Based on his dissertation, which compares the Nazi-German and postwar Polish policies of ethnic cleansing, Michael G. Esch's essay reassesses the technocratic goals of ethnic cleansing. Its proponents sought to reach a deep socioeconomic modernization, which they could not have carried out in times of peace.

Several articles in the volume go beyond the process of ethnic cleansing and deal with the memory of it. Holm Sundhausen emphasizes that the concentration on the crimes committed by Nazi Germany since the 1960s was a prerequisite for building up a liberal democracy in West Germany. He also warns against dangers of a new German victimology. Sundhausen particularly stresses that the expelled have not been victims only in many cases, and that the attempts to create a national "Center against Expulsions" will provoke conflicts with Poland and the Czech Republic. The Polish reactions on the recent German victimology is also dealt with by the Polish historian Piotr Madajczyk and in a comparative perspective by Peter Haslinger. The Turkish historian Onur Yıldırım shows how the memory of the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor in 1922–1923 was politically instrumentalized by various twentieth-century Greek governments. The same could be said about the debate on expulsions in postwar and post-1989 Germany.

The volume also contains two contributions by young researchers who are exploring new sources. Natalija Bašić analyzes the motivations of former soldiers and perpetrators of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Her interviews show that in retrospective all sides of the war construct a positive memory of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia. The war is presented as an act of self-defense, which demonstrates how dangerous vic-

timologies can be. The killing of the enemy is legitimized as an act of protection of self and family. Surprisingly, national ideology hardly plays a role, at least not in the post-facto explanation and legitimization of the warfare. Carolin Leutloff-Grandits focuses on the postwar situation in Krajina, a region of Croatia where first the Croatians were expelled in 1991–1992, and then the Serbs in 1995. Leutloff-Grandits shows how difficult it is to deal with the legacy of war and ethnic cleansing. The policy of deliberate Croatization was stopped in the year 2000, but the discrimination against Serbs continues on the local level. Another major problem is unresolved property disputes. Moreover, because of the dismal economic situation only a small proportion of the Serbian population expelled in 1995 has returned. But young Croatians also try to emigrate from Krajina. The situation in this region shows that ethnic cleansing is indeed a negative utopia that does not serve even those who were allowed to stay in their homogenized homelands.

It is a virtue of the volume that it unites authors from various disciplines and nationalities. The essays also provide a good overview of recent research on ethnic cleansing in various European countries.

PHILIPP THER

*European University Institute,  
Florence*

CHARLES BEEM. *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. viii, 271. \$69.95.

This is a surprisingly good book. I write “surprisingly,” because the book started out with some serious drawbacks. First, individual female rulers have already been extensively discussed; second, Charles Beem has chosen not to devote much attention to the one who excites the most interest, Elizabeth I; and, finally, scholarly accounts that span 700 years of history tend to be uneven in coverage and quality. These might have been fatal flaws if the author had not been an excellent writer and researcher who sticks to specific topics and follows broad analytical outlines rather than allowing himself to get bogged down in detail. The result is highly readable, engaging, and enlightening. One might even consider reading this book purely for pleasure.

Beem proposes to examine “the long view of female rulership as a particular category of English kingship” (p. 3). He takes as his primary examples the Empress Matilda, who called herself “Lady of the English,” Queen Mary I, Queen Anne, and Queen Victoria. He concentrates on particular aspects of their rulership, including their relationships with political elites and the roles of their consorts. Elizabeth I, Mary II, and Elizabeth II are dealt with more briefly. Beem uses the oxymoron “female kingship” to describe how women ruled legally as kings, while remaining physically women. He is sensitive to the particular gender constraints under which they toiled, as well as to the changing political systems in which they operated. Female rulers, accord-

ing to Beem, became more politically acceptable by the 1500s, due to a shift in the understanding of kingship, which was seen less as a personal dominion over territory and more as an impersonal office. None of the women he discusses, however, sought to inspire any changes in gender relations among their subjects. When they expressed opinions on the topic, it was usually to the effect that women other than queens regnant should not be involved in politics.

Beem’s interpretations may not be entirely original, but they relate to case studies that have never, to my knowledge, been placed side by side, allowing themes to be traced over time in a novel way. Matilda paid little attention to her husband; Mary I wanted to restrict the influence of hers; Anne’s consort, Prince George of Denmark, was simply a spouse whose position gave him no special authority at all (although he was granted an English title and sat in the House of Lords). Anne did not regard her bedchamber ladies as political appointees; neither did Victoria, which led to a blowup with her second prime minister, Robert Peel. If you have read Marjorie Chibnall on Matilda, David Loades on Mary I, Edward Gregg on Queen Anne, and Margaret Homans on Queen Victoria, and if you have carefully followed the journal literature on the significance of gender in each of these reigns, you may not find that there is much new here, beyond Beem’s own research on Prince George. You might, however, be pleased to have it all in one place, and you would certainly appreciate the clarity and concision with which Beem has presented it. If he is a little shaky on political theory, he more than compensates for it by the assurance with which he traces the careers of his queenly protagonists.

The previously neglected heroine of this book is Mary I, who paved the way for her far more admired successor by having Parliament pass an Act Concerning Regal Power in 1554, stipulating that a female ruler’s authority was no less than that of a male. Mary’s influence on the image and the rhetoric of Gloriana is badly in need of further reassessment. The famous legal doctrine of the king’s two bodies, for example, was probably concocted in Mary’s reign; it influenced her sister’s royal image but survived only fitfully thereafter, perhaps because it was associated with Catholicism.

Female rulership was possible in England only because the succession lacked strict rules, like the Salic Law. Howard Nenner has argued that the absence of an English law of royal succession also opened the door for choosing the monarch by parliamentary statute in 1689 and 1701. Once the ruler had been chosen, however, gender reasserted itself, and women inherited only when there were no direct male candidates. The latest parliamentary attempt to alter the succession so that women might inherit the throne equally with men was squashed by the Blair government in 2004, presumably because Queen Elizabeth II did not approve of it. Women may rule, but they are not yet equal, in part

because the most powerful woman in Britain does not want them to be.

PAUL MONOD  
Middlebury College

JOHN BELLAMY. *Strange, Inhuman Deaths: Murder in Tudor England*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. 209. \$49.95.

John Bellamy is a distinguished historian of crime and the law in late medieval and Tudor England. In his latest work he demonstrates again his profound scholarship, and more particularly an ability to draw upon a wide variety of source materials.

Slightly more than half of the book is taken up with four case studies. The first involves Philip Witherick, of Bildeston in Suffolk, executed in 1538 for the murder of his lodger, Ambrose Letyce. Witherick was convicted largely on the basis of evidence given by his young son, Martin, and shortly after the execution Letyce was found to be alive and well and living in another county. The second case history is more familiar: the murder of Thomas Arden (perhaps more familiar through literary sources as Arden) of Faversham in Kent. Arden, an ex-mayor of Faversham, a jurat of the town, and probably its richest inhabitant, was done to death in February 1551 by a group of conspirators headed by his wife, Alice, and her lover, a tailor named Thomas Mosby. The Arden case attracted lengthy treatment in Holinshed's *Chronicle* and also formed the subject matter of a play published ca. 1590, *The Lamentable and True Tragedie of M Arden of Feversham in Kent*. The third episode was, as Bellamy suggests, probably the most notorious murder in Tudor England: the killing of the Somerset gentleman William Hartgill and his son John by Charles, Lord Stourton, in 1557. Despite the fact that there was an ongoing feud between Stourton and the Hartgills, the actual killing took place in cold blood thirty-six hours after the two Hartgills were taken captive by Stourton and his servants. Fourth comes the story of George Saunders, a well-to-do London merchant tailor, another man murdered by a conspiracy headed by his wife. This case, which occurred in 1573, is noteworthy in that it apparently furnished the subject matter for the first example of what was to become a flourishing genre, the murder pamphlet. Last, almost as an appendage, Bellamy adds the tale of Margery Freeman, probably a successful murderess.

As Bellamy remarks, the main common features of these disparate stories are that they attracted considerable contemporary comment and that they are all well documented. What is striking, however, is Bellamy's ability to employ a wide variety of materials in order to tease out the details and contexts of these tales of homicide. Thus chronicles, trial records, the records of the Privy Council, and pamphlets are all drawn upon with imagination and deftness. In particular, the case of Philip Witherick and the murder of Thomas Arden are placed firmly in the context of the communities where they took place. Bellamy has unearthed a great deal

about the individuals involved in these affairs, as he also did to very good effect in the story of Charles Stourton and the Hartgills. Another bonus is the way in which, in the Arden and Saunders cases, Bellamy engages with plays later written about the murders in question, and compares what these literary sources have to tell us with information derived from more standard historical sources.

After an introduction in which the author explains his objectives in writing the book, there come chapters on murder and the law, and on writing about murder from the late medieval period to the reign of Elizabeth I. As might be expected from this historian, the chapter on murder and the law is an excellent succinct overview of the topic. What is perhaps more surprising, but in many ways more useful, is Bellamy's chapter on writing about murder. As he comments, what he is examining are "the origins of the English murder story." Here he is interested not in court records or in legal reports but rather in accounts written by non legal writers of murders that they deemed newsworthy, and in which they felt the general reading public might be interested. Bellamy makes an exhaustive search of late medieval and Tudor chronicles, a type of source that has not been much used systematically by historians of crime, and demonstrates that, although there had been earlier mentions of murder, reporting and commenting on murder cases in any sort of detail was very much a mid-sixteenth-century development. He has also made what appears to be a comprehensive survey of murder pamphlets, the first of these (if we set the exceptional case of Richard Hunne aside) coming, as we have noted, in 1573. Anyone wishing to pursue the history of murder in the Elizabethan era through these pamphlets now has, thanks to Bellamy, a full listing of the relevant publications.

Overall, then, this is an imaginative, scholarly, and essentially humane book that adds important perspectives to our understanding of murder in Tudor England.

JAMES SHARPE  
University of York,  
United Kingdom

DEBORA SHUGER. *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Language in Tudor-Stuart England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 346. \$59.95.

The history of early modern English censorship that presented it as a series of draconian if imperfect mechanisms that repressed freedom of writing has recently been dismantled and replaced by another in which censorship was not a regular mechanism of the state but an exceptional and *ad hoc* response to particular offenses. In this rich and complex study, Debora Shuger outlines the norms and legal regulations governing acceptable speech from the late sixteenth century through 1641. Her account, focused on language and legal traditions rather than procedures and particular cases, extends and corrects the new, revisionist orthodoxy.

Censorship is morally intelligible, insists Shuger, not

least because prior to 1641 it constituted a response to hate speech. To see this we must understand both the legal background to the offenses that resulted in censorship and the rules of civility that governed verbal interaction. The first chapter shows how the language of complaint about the press in "Tudor-Stuart" England (in practice meaning pre-1641) concerned its excess of freedoms, and its tendency to falsehood and forgery. Chapters two through four then sketch the difference between two legal traditions. Most of Europe practiced forms of censorship that derived from Roman laws outlined in the *Codex*, which constructed a notion of speech as an ideological offense. This tradition resulted in indexes and intellectual witch hunts. England, by contrast, developed (and Christianized) a view of censorship from the earlier *Digest*, which construed the offense as a form of *iniuria*. Prior to the civil wars the ideological view of censorship—ideological used in the narrow sense of seeking to control ideas—was almost nonexistent in England.

Chapters five through eight outline the cultural norms and values that defined what constituted permissible speech, and what offensive, scandalous, or libelous. For example, the truth of (most) libels and slander (the modern distinction is a later one) was irrelevant because controls were designed to prevent violence. This also shaped the understanding of intention, which was treated as the implicit meaning and probable consequence of a statement, not what the author claimed it was. Other concerns that Shuger shows to be central to these norms include charity and honor. Honor was a matter of private property, yet it lay in the eyes of others, so derogation was a mode of assault. For this reason writers used veiled forms or impersonal modes to avoid offense to individuals. Shuger explores the circumstances when one was obliged to overcome charity and speak the truth, such as when public interest (understood narrowly) was at stake. Readers were also expected to apply the principle of charity in their interpretation, and this shaped legal proceedings, within the constraint of the definition of intent offered above.

There were many more such rules, and there is not space here to do justice to the intricate patterns that Shuger lays out. Perhaps the most valuable insight offered is that censorship cannot simply be understood from cases or legal definitions but must be fully historicized. We have to be able to see the coherence of censorship as a whole and in particular moments. This means, of course, distancing it from the First Amendment principles that shape contemporary American notions of freedom of speech. Censorship is not about rights: it is about what kinds of statements violate the values that shape your interaction with your neighbors. The range of materials that Shuger uses is, appropriately, very broad, comprising legal texts and court records, parliamentary proceedings and legislation, pamphlets and literary texts by Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare.

What emerges is not a new model of censorship. Much of the thrust of the argument concerning the mar-

ginality of ideological censorship will be familiar from the work of Sheila Lambert, D. F. McKenzie, and, more recently, Cyndia Clegg. Instead we see how the mechanisms we understand more precisely through their pioneering work need to be set against an equally complex account of the cultural background. This is an important insight and adds much depth to the bibliographically focused account. Shuger does extend the revisionist model: she argues that pre-1641 ideological censorship was usually concerned with hate speech, including William Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), culpable for its damning of his enemies, not for its unoriginal arguments. Shuger discusses the exceptional cases of properly ideological censorship in her ninth and last chapter. These were cases in which Puritans in Parliament instigated attempts to control beliefs and expression. In other words, the party that we usually associate with the victims of repressive censorship practices were in fact the perpetrators of them. One outcome of this was the more interventionist approach to press control that we find in the 1640s—and it is this regime that John Milton denounced in *Areopagitica* (1644), not the relatively lax prerevolutionary mode.

In other ways Shuger corrects the revisionist credo. First, she claims that pre-1641 licensing was effective, at least in preventing the kinds of fabrications that became familiar in the 1640s; and while she rejects the history of censorship underlying Annabel Patterson's *Censorship and Interpretation* (1984), she embraces Patterson's account of the role of ambiguity and veiled speech in avoiding offense. Shuger's focus is very much on social and cultural norms, however, and not on the minutiae of licensing practice. She does not engage with licensing procedures, nor the role of the Stationers' Company, entry in the Register, or Company licenses. This is a significant omission: expectations and customs were interwoven with these practical matters, which were not as innocent as the revisionist case claims. Shuger's cultural case needs to be taken back to the procedural, and the totality they make further examined. This will, I suspect, significantly attenuate the extreme revisionist position, as might a further examination—in the manner of the new social history—of the limits of charity and honor. These values describe non-symmetrical hierarchical relationships, and the silences they enjoin fall disproportionately upon the socially inferior (who are much more likely to be described in general terms anyway). Such censorship is ideological in the broader sense.

One final reservation, and it applies also to Clegg's work, with which Shuger's differs and dovetails nicely. Shuger identifies individuals acting out of self-interest, at which point the possibility of principled motivation is discounted. It does not seem to me that this is always the case—and Milton's denunciation of licensing in 1644 is only the most famous example—as one can articulate a principle, and with it the social norms that make that principle meaningful, even when it serves one's own turn. State officials can be said to be acting out of self-interest in silencing critics, but that does not



mean that they are acting without the principles that Shuger has diligently reconstructed. This book is a powerful and stimulating intervention, and all early-modernists need to respond to its challenges.

JOAD RAYMOND  
University of East Anglia

MICHAEL BRYDON. *The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker: An Examination of Responses, 1600–1714*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. 232. \$80.00.

Richard Hooker (1554–1600) is widely regarded as the founder of what is now called Anglicanism. This acclaim is owed entirely to his magisterial *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, a sequence of eight volumes that sought to establish the ecclesiology of the Church of England in the wake of its re-establishment in Protestantism in 1559. The first four books were published in 1593, and a fifth appeared in 1597. The remainder were published after Hooker's death: books VI and VIII appeared in 1648, and VII as part of John Gauden's edition of Hooker's works (1662). There were others who wrote ponderous tomes designed to separate the English church from the Roman confession, but few could match Hooker's philosophical acumen. Yet Hooker has remained an elusive target, and many modern scholars have been preoccupied with his ambiguity on, for example, the matter of grace and free will. Here, interpretation has been shaped by the view that the chief division in the church concerned soteriology, yet the *Lawes* go much farther than that; if a theme unites the disparate whole it is ecclesiology, and the relation of the church to the realm. So much was clear to John Henry Newman and others in the Oxford Movement and, as is revealed by Michael Brydon's new study of the afterlife of the *Lawes*, Hooker's successors enlisted him in a series of debates on the problem of ecclesiastical polity.

Hooker's early death meant that his work was left to speak for itself, and it emerges that, at first, the *Lawes* was largely ignored. This was owed in part to the number of polemical texts that burst forth from the presses after 1600; this literature was topical, rather than philosophical, and took the form of short pamphlets that addressed clearly defined issues or replied to other texts. Hooker dealt with positions rather than authors, and his *Lawes* appeared at a time when the anonymous Martin Marprelate dominated public debate over liturgy and episcopacy. As it turned out, Marprelate was more entertaining than Hooker, and his readers were spared the complexities of Aristotle and the other canonical figures crammed into the margins of the *Lawes*. For others who took scripture as the sole guide in all matters of the faith, Hooker's erudition smacked of scholasticism. Brydon argues that it was not until the age of William Laud and Caroline ceremonialism (1630–1642) that Hooker enjoyed respectability, and his great work came to be used as a sort of theological buffet. Yet again, the business of polemic made any sustained engagement with Hooker's system impossible;

instead, writers borrowed a phrase here and a passage there as they squared off with opponents on matters of governance and ceremonial practice. The civil war pamphleteer Henry Parker lifted whole pages from the *Lawes* and silently incorporated them into his *True Grounds of Ecclesiasticall Regiment* (1642). At the Restoration, Hooker's reputation was at its height, and it was at this point that his works were published and the first biography appeared.

From 1670, however, Hooker's reputation, and writers' treatments of him, depended on the political and religious context. This was a period of profound disruption in the church and state, and we have literally thousands of political works and sermons dealing with Presbyterianism, Latitudinarianism, "popery," and the political effects of nonconformity. Charles II and James II appeared to be soft on Catholicism, and here Hooker was vilified as someone who had urged a *rapprochement* with Rome. In 1688, James II was obliged to abandon his throne (or was he overthrown?), making way for the impeccably Protestant William of Orange; Whigs and Tories, the newly emergent "parties" in politics, were defined by where they stood on the question of James's departure and what sort of church settlement should prevail. High Churchmen mined the *Lawes* in order to make the case for monarchy and church *iure divino*, Whig nonconformists saw the work as evidence of the need for contractual monarchy and religious toleration. In a final chapter, Brydon places Hooker's work in the context of what was arguably the last gasp of the High Church in the first decade of the eighteenth century. With the death of Queen Anne in 1714, a political solution was found in the form of the Protestant House of Hanover, and the church was (or so it seemed) no longer "in danger."

What emerges from Brydon's somewhat overstretched narrative is that writers turned to Hooker during times of acute religious and political instability, and that this state of affairs continued without interruption through the long seventeenth century. This is necessarily a selective study, given its scope and relative brevity, but Brydon is nevertheless a sensitive reader; the book is firmly grounded on an impressive array of secondary literature and does well to transcend the periodic divisions that have fragmented our view of the seventeenth century.

CHARLES W. A. PRIOR  
University of Hull

CHARLES W. A. PRIOR. *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603–1625*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 294. \$85.00.

Charles W. A. Prior has provided a valuable contribution to the increasingly contested field of the Jacobean church. His study is an engagement with the changing focus of argumentation applied to the definition of perception of the constitution, history, practice, and au-

thority, primarily of the Church of England. It is delivered through a close critical reading of the published texts relating to a succession of issues through the period after 1603.

Prior opens by making it plain that this is a contextual study of ideas, divorced from parochial and episcopal practice, paying attention to the parameters of polemical exchanges driven by particular circumstances, intending to broaden the field beyond the more "canonical" authors. What follows is a largely chronological account of the debates, moving from the language of ecclesiastical polity at the start of the reign on to contextualization and discussion of the works in reaction to the 1604 canons, models of ecclesiastical polity and authority, arguments over the nature of the enforcement of ceremonies and related matters of jurisprudence, and a broader survey of similar issues arising from the new circumstances of two contrasting churches with one governor, tracing ways in which the arguments drew upon each side of the border between England and Scotland.

Prior brings the advantage of a fresh pair of eyes with a different set of givens. This can be seen particularly in an ever-present attention to the importance of the authors cited by Jacobean controversialists in their efforts to prove or contest claims about the church being both "ancient and reformed." These influences come through especially clearly in the conformist stances on the history of the church. There was an effort to draw parallels between governance and civil loyalties, thus raising the stakes of adherence to episcopacy. Consequent upon this was a desire to show the required ceremonies to be both edificatory and restored from the corruptions of Roman Catholic practice. Prior shows how this made the accuracy and authority of the Church Fathers far more than an academic issue, making conformity a matter of both civil and religious loyalty. While this assessment is both persuasive and praiseworthy as a means of illuminating the sensitive points and the debateable common concerns within the English church, it is especially useful in comprehending the debates on the relations between the two churches, primarily after the Five Articles of Perth. Having two churches under one governor, each claiming to be the *true* reformed church, lessened the possibilities of mutual respect and effectively eliminated the option of live and let live. This section is an excellent application of the British perspective to the history of religious thought.

Throughout this monograph Prior shows a sensitive concern for matters of nomenclature, requiring a prefatory note explaining why he has chosen to refer to "conformists," choosing to omit the qualification of "*avant garde*" or "*moderate*," and similarly preferring "*reformist*" to "*puritan*" either "*radical*" or "*moderate*" (pp. xiii–xiv)—the last in order to avoid a supposed homogenization of the term "*puritan*" in the historiography of the period from 1560 to 1640. This is a worthy sensitivity, but in practice it raises a couple of reservations. On the one hand, a reader sensitized to no-

menclature is rather surprised to see some of the reformists, particularly Paul Baynes and especially William Bradshaw, described as calling for "a Presbyterian model" (p. 102) in a time when reformist ecclesiology was in as much of a transitional phase as conformist writing. On the other hand, it may also be another result of the fresh eyes mentioned above. The Puritan-Anglican model rightly dismissed is far from orthodoxy and the waters of reformist nomenclature have already been muddled, making historians much more aware of the fluid, processual, and politicized nature of taxonomy. Simply to replace contemporary terms with alternative, supposedly neutral ones ignores the role of nomenclature in raising the stakes. This apparent unfamiliarity comes across most clearly in the book's conclusion when Prior appropriately discourages historians from portraying a Jacobean Calvinist consensus and limiting themselves to soteriological issues in their efforts to understand the religious controversy of the early Stuart period.

The complexity he notes has already been addressed, however, and the sharpness of the shift post-1625 that Prior finds in the historiography is not wholly accurate. This is a pity for two reasons. The first is that it has prevented Prior from taking the opportunity to show how the Jacobean palette provided a choice of colors to create even greater divisions on issues of authority and history in the following years. Second, it detracts from attention to the richness of his close readings, which are, in their specifics, a valuable addition to our understanding of the parameters of debate, the language, and issues of identity of the Jacobean church.

TOM WEBSTER  
University of Edinburgh

DENNIS C. BUSTIN. *Paradox and Perseverance: Hanserd Knollys, Particular Baptist Pioneer in Seventeenth-Century England*. Foreword by IAN GENTLES. (Studies in Baptist History and Thought, number 23.) Milton Keynes, U.K.: Paternoster Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 380. £24.99.

The scholarship of dissent is riddled with denominational histories and biographies that carry a triumphal or hagiographic tone. One challenge faced by historians is to reconstruct to the extent possible their subject's original context and attendant uncertainties without adopting a teleological perspective. Although sympathetic, Dennis C. Bustin's study of Particular Baptist leader Hanserd Knollys generally navigates these waters. Bustin's Knollys struggles to reconcile "two diametrically opposed aspects of seventeenth-century society, the religious and social order represented by the Established Church and the attraction of Apostolic purity promised by more radical Protestant religious groups" (p. 4). Knollys emerges as a reluctant revolutionary who maintained friendships with radicals of many stripes, but whose main contribution lay in the organization and establishment of Particular Baptists. As he traces Knollys's path from his beginnings in the established church to his final years as elder statesman

among Particular Baptists, Bustin manages to make a virtue of his subject's moderation, which he portrays as born not of cowardice or indecision but conviction.

Bustin introduces his work with a historiographical overview; subsequent chapters are organized chronologically with occasional thematic departures. The second chapter discusses Knollys's early life in Lincolnshire and education at Cambridge University, where he imbibed the Puritan gospel, although Bustin suggests that Knollys likely brought such leanings with him. The third chapter follows Knollys to London in the 1640s, where Baptists were part of a hodgepodge of religious radicals who took advantage of the political anarchy to gain a foothold. In the fourth chapter, Bustin traces Knollys's activities during the Commonwealth and attempts to parse his relationships with three key radical groups: Levellers, Quakers, and Fifth Monarchists. In each case Bustin finds some common goals and beliefs but then carefully observes Knollys's efforts to distance himself and the churches he led from those whose positions were often the logical extension of his own. The fifth chapter covers Knollys's difficulties during the Restoration, while the sixth shows how Knollys interpreted these sufferings and the possibility of a restored Catholicism in an apocalyptic context. Like many of his age, Knollys was convinced he lived in the last days, but he never translated his beliefs into the basis for violent uprisings. The final and longest chapter outlines many of Knollys's doctrines and shows how his writings and leadership provided Particular Baptists with the structures (regional associations, general assemblies, paid ministry) that would allow them to claim legitimacy in the eyes of their contemporaries and maintain some level of control over ministerial qualifications.

Bustin's work rewards—or better, requires—careful reading, including footnotes and appendixes. The book has an abundance of notes that sometimes equal or exceed the main text on a page. Most of the content notes follow tangential lines of inquiry or discuss secondary literature; however, occasionally important items are buried and thus easy to overlook. For instance, one must read below the line to learn that despite Knollys's advocacy of believer's baptism, his autobiography fails to offer any account of his own conversion to Baptist principles or his baptism, an odd omission in a work that finds time to report on the condition of the food on a transatlantic voyage (p. 79, n. 48). Elsewhere in an appendix Bustin (following Muriel James's recent genealogical work on Knollys) makes a compelling case for revising Knollys's traditionally accepted birth date of 1598/99 by a full decade, to 1609. More significant is a five-page appendix that examines Knollys's installation in 1648 as rector of St. Giles Church in Scartho, Lincolnshire, upon the death of his father, who had served as minister there. Here Bustin offers a cogent analysis of possible reasons why Knollys, who had previously declared his ordination in the Church of England to be invalid, would accept a position in the established church. Given that this issue bears directly on Knollys's ecclesiology, the discussion deserves a place in the main

text. Such considerations are important because they show a nascent willingness to bring a historian's eye to Knollys's autobiography, a work more theological than historical, and one that glosses over important periods. (In addition to the baptism, we learn less than we might from Knollys about his sojourn in New England and hear nothing of his work for the government during the Commonwealth, a period that receives a scant page of coverage.) Bustin is stronger in this regard than the recent work by Barry Howson (*Erroneous and Schismatical Opinions: The Question of Orthodoxy Regarding the Theology of Hanserd Knollys* [2001]), but the prosecution of this key source should be foregrounded.

The worth of this book lies in its thorough examination of Knollys's many writings and parsing of the theological concerns of the Particular Baptists. It should be read by those interested in Baptist origins but will also be profitably considered by scholars concerned with the fluidity of religious categories in the period.

SCOTT MCGINNIS  
Samford University

ANDREW C. THOMPSON. *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688–1756*. (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History, number 3.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 267. \$85.00.

It will come as no surprise to early modern British historians that religion—or to be precise, Britain's identity as a Protestant state—played a primary role in the making and execution of foreign policy in central Europe between the Glorious Revolution and the beginning of the Seven Years' War. In this monograph, Andrew C. Thompson has adopted the revisionist stance laid down by Steven Pincus in *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1680* (1996) to present the diplomacy of the period as a product of, and participant in, a vigorous public debate about the threats that popery posed to the Protestant liberties of Europe. The conventional concerns of war and trade that have hitherto dominated the diplomatic history of the early eighteenth century are absent from an account of Anglo-Hanoverian partnership in which pietism and anti-popery dominate the thoughts and actions of diplomats, ministers, and monarchs. Here balance of power and universal monarchy are presented as confessional concepts while pamphlets, both British and German, receive as much attention as the official record.

Britain, argues Thompson, both acted and was regarded as the leader of a Protestant league until the 1740s, when the decline of the United Provinces, the accession of the impious Frederick II of Prussia, and the gradual secularization of English Whigs and their political theory led to a parting of the ways between Britons and Hanoverians. Religion, once a benchmark of British identity at home and abroad, was giving way to more individualistic and "nationalist" ideas of community. An interventionist European policy was no longer conceivable or, as Thompson demonstrates from

a linguistic analysis of tracts and sermons, defensible as a Manichean struggle against the forces of universal popery. The liberties of Britain and, ultimately, Europe, would increasingly be defined in territorial, commercial, and political terms.

This is a major revisionist book that, in its emphasis on the intellectual and cultural underpinnings of diplomacy, breaks much more decisively than other recent research has done with the "realist" paradigm that has so long dominated the study of eighteenth century international relations. Through careful analysis of Anglo-Hanoverian responses to selected German religious "crises"—the revocation of the 1563 Heidelberg catechism by the Elector Palatine in 1719; the Thorn "massacre" of Lutherans in 1724; the expulsion of Protestants from Salzburg in 1731; and the Polish succession disputes of 1733–1734—Thompson demonstrates the importance of Protestant concerns to the first two Georges and their advisers. Thompson's treatment of policy formation and the debates surrounding it in the pamphlet press is also admirable for its depiction of diplomacy as a form of dialogue within and between states. Tracing the twists and turns of public opinion in early modern Europe is no easy task, and Thompson has consulted a wide range of sources to reconstruct some of the ways in which Britons and Germans conceived and defended the Protestant interest. Diplomats and their masters emerge from this account as men by no means blind to public debate. What is less clear for much of the book is the impact of that debate on the formation or modification of policy.

While Thompson is to be commended for drawing attention to the survival of a long-neglected aspect of British politico-religious thought, he paints a picture of British diplomacy and its political culture that seems frozen in time. Righteous indignation about the sufferings of Protestants at Catholic hands can be found as much in the tracts and papers of the 1650s as those of the 1730s. William III was not George II. Although Thompson acknowledges that "rational" and "secular" forces were at work in British and Hanoverian society, he gives little sense, particularly in the public—if not the policy—domain, of how these "modernizing" trends intersected with older notions of providentialism, not to mention the newer pietisms of the eighteenth century. Balance of power, among other concepts of the time, was constructed from a nexus of beliefs both religious and secular by men who saw no necessary conflict between the two. Thompson is nevertheless sensitive to this messiness of history, and his book concludes with a call for others to rewrite the history of the early "Enlightenment."

JENNIFER MORI  
University of Toronto

DEIRDRE PALK. *Gender, Crime and Judicial Discretion, 1780–1830*. (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society. 2006. Pp. 202. \$80.00.

Deirdre Palk's book explores the effects of gender on the commission and judicial processing of three property crimes—shoplifting, pickpocketing, and the circulation of forged paper currency—in London. These crimes were all capital offenses in 1780, allowing the subjects of her inquiry to be tracked in the justice system from pretrial proceedings through trial, punishment, and pardon. Drawing on both quantitative and qualitative evidence from the Old Bailey, Palk seeks to determine whether juries and judges, "as they came to decisions about men and women charged with identical offences," were "comparing identical or different behaviours" (p. 4). She also attempts to assess the weight accorded to gender and the role played by paternalism in verdicts, sentencing, and the pardon process.

Before turning to her selected crimes Palk looks first at the legal status of women in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, discussing coverture (the doctrine that a married woman's legal identity was subsumed within that of her husband) and the excuse of marital coercion. While interesting, much of this discussion has no direct bearing on the book's subject: coverture had limited application where criminal law was concerned and marital coercion virtually no relevance to the crimes of pickpocketing and shoplifting. More to the immediate point is the concluding section of chapter two, in which Palk argues that in creating the criminal law the lawmakers were preoccupied with male crime and viewed female criminals as "something of an aberration" (p. 36).

Palk's goal in this study is to demonstrate both "gendered behaviour on the part of those committing serious offences" (p. 156) and that the criminal justice system was "suffused not just with discretion but with gendered discretion" (p. 176). No one would argue with either claim. Ultimately, however, Palk's "modification and refocusing" (p. 9) of the work of Peter King and others is modest. The qualitative detail relating to the gendered worlds of male and female activity in which criminal behavior was sited yields no surprises: we were already aware both of the high levels of female participation in shoplifting and pickpocketing and of the differences in male and female commission of these crimes. Nor does it come as a surprise to learn that judicial paternalism was inconsistent and depended in part on the willingness of female criminals to demonstrate vulnerability, sobriety, and deference. Palk's exploration of female involvement in the circulation of forged notes is more original, and her discussion of pretrial plea bargaining and postconviction petitions to the Bank of England particularly interesting, but the conclusions reached regarding the level and nature of female participation in this crime accord with established views of female criminality: women comprised only twenty-five percent of defendants and were frequently charged with the trivial offense of disposing of single notes. Finally, in attempting to explain the greater leniency experienced by (some) women in the courts, Palk repeatedly asserts (pp. 65, 88, 164) that the narratives contain no evidence of stereotypical assump-



tions that women were less brave, less criminally dangerous, or less violent than men, that they were the accomplices of men, or that they stole items of less value. This may be true, but it is also a reflection of the types of offenses examined.

Broadening the enquiry to include burglary or highway robbery would have shed a different light on the criminal activity of women. Such crimes were excluded for a reason: Palk deliberately chose offenses for which women were prosecuted in significant numbers in order to assess the role of gender in the response of the authorities. The qualitative analysis she urges, moreover, is only made possible by the paper trail created by the indictment process. But in considering the relationship between gender and crime the comparative absence of female defendants from other categories of offenses must be acknowledged and addressed. That absence may itself reflect the operation of gendered discretion exercised by potential prosecutors and by magistrates; equally, it might be indicative of the constraints placed on female agency by a patriarchal society, as Barbara Hanawalt, Carol Wiener, and Peter Lawson have suggested for earlier periods.

Studies of gender and crime are still in their infancy, and this book will be situated with the pioneering work of King, John Beattie, and Garthine Walker. While introducing valuable nuances, however, it does not radically alter our understanding of either female criminality or discretionary justice in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century London. Palk's introduction implies that her research will call into question received wisdom to the effect that "women commit much less crime than men and are more leniently treated when they do" (p. 7), but her findings are not in themselves sufficient to challenge it.

ALLYSON N. MAY  
University of Western Ontario

AKIHITO SUZUKI. *Madness at Home: The Psychiatrist, the Patient, and the Family in England, 1820–1860*. (Medicine and Society, number 13.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 259. \$49.95.

At first glance, the subject of the rise of psychiatry in nineteenth-century Britain appears to have been well covered, with copious work on the rise of the asylum through detailed micro-histories of institutions, on the eclipse of moral treatment by an organicist paradigm, on the professionalization of psychiatry, complemented by work on the social and cultural history of madness and recuperation of first person accounts of madness. All this has fed into ongoing debates about the status of psychiatry in the modern world and of madness itself. Thus at the outset, the prospects for Akihito Suzuki's study of domestic attitudes and responses to madness based on published reports of commissions of lunacy may not be the most promising. However despite its modest compass of 260 pages, this study is a quiet revolution, articulating what could with justice be de-

scribed as a new paradigm or framework for the history of psychiatry.

Suzuki takes his starting point by remarking that studies of nineteenth-century psychiatry have neglected to pay sufficient account to its practice. The consideration of commissions of lunacy—public legal procedures designed to establish whether individuals were of unsound mind—is intended to make good this lacuna, and is organized around a series of richly textured case studies. Through these commissions, which were widely reported in the press, individuals could petition for someone to be recognized as insane. Witnesses were brought forward before a jury to testify to the individual's state of mind. If found to be of unsound mind, individuals were deprived of their civil rights, custodians were appointed to take care of their property and they were institutionalized. Thus the commissions provide a window into the interfaces among psychiatry, law, and the family.

Suzuki argues that the central issue that instigated such proceedings was economic, as families of individuals sought psychiatric assistance to gain control of their property to stop it being mismanaged. Thus psychiatrists were called on not only to protect society from lunatics but to serve families, and critically, to protect private property from being squandered. Second, families were motivated by the desire to avoid embarrassment due to the public misconduct of their members. Suzuki argues that it was these factors, rather than, as some have argued, the imperialistic ambitions of the psychiatric profession, which led to increasing internments during the period.

At the same time, these proceedings point to the existence of a lay cultural framework for understanding and treating madness. Prior to the proceedings, individuals had already been "diagnosed" in a family context, and what was being sought was an authoritative rubber-stamping. Suzuki calls this framework "domestic psychiatry." Rather than being a by-product of professional psychiatry, which advocates of a medicalization thesis would maintain, Suzuki argues that domestic psychiatry was a self-generated cultural framework. In the historical literature, much attention has been placed on notions of social control, in terms of how psychiatry expanded its power and established increasing governance over social behavior. Suzuki argues that this has led to the neglect of the study of regimes of control within the family. He characterizes domestic psychiatry as a "flexible fabric of strategies" that had certain key traits. First, attention was focused on finding someone with a suitable personality who could establish a relationship with, communicate, and control the individual in question. If a suitable caretaker could not be found from within the family, outsiders were recruited and employed. Second, individuals were encouraged within the context of this relation to unburden or "unbosom" themselves, and confide their troubles. Suzuki argues that this practice stemmed from the increasing emphasis on affective ties with the domestic sphere in nineteenth-century England, which in turn

was given added impetus by the Evangelical notion of the family as a locus for mutual recognition, support, and care, and its stress on the significance of the interiority of the individual. Such arguments in turn have consequences for histories of the family and intellectual histories of the self, which have paid insignificant attention to practices of the management of madness. Suzuki argues that domestic psychiatry sheds new light on the emergence of moral treatment, as the former contains a prototype of the latter, prior to being transplanted to psychiatric institutions. Thus moral treatment drew its saliency, and arguably its efficacy, from the fact that it was already embedded in a wider social network.

This study of the interplay between domestic and institutional psychiatry offers the most nuanced framework to date for understanding the interaction between psychiatry and society. It calls out for temporal expansion and for application to other geographical contexts.

SONU SHAMDASANI

Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine

BILLIE MELMAN. *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past, 1800–1953*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 363. \$99.00.

Billie Melman's theme is the emergence in England of a popular culture of history in the wake of the French Revolution. Melman is concerned with the ways in which history was employed by middle and working-class people as a source of pleasure. What is at stake in her book is the argument that constructions of the past offer a powerful way of thinking about identity. Romantic forms of history with a strong emphasis on narrative and color have helped shape national and individual consciousness in modern Britain. It was this form of romantic history with its emphasis on sensation that professional historians often tried to disown in the twentieth century, but Melman never patronizes her subject matter. Melman is dissatisfied with Foucauldian interpretations that see this historical culture as a form of control or manipulation of the masses. She finds these to be reductionist and employs an appropriation model, uncovering the processes through which people found history meaningful.

Melman focuses on the ways in which two historical periods were remembered: the Tudor age and the French Revolution. She argues that history was constructed as a site of horror and spectacle in the nineteenth century; hence the ubiquity of dungeons and gallows in popular representations of the past. This view of history was informed by an urbanizing society that constructed the city as a place of danger and romance. It was also, she demonstrates, a form of history that was gendered. Thus Melman tracks the images of women knitting by the guillotine that shaped the popular perception of the French Revolution. It is typical of this carefully textured and brilliantly argued book that she refuses to recognize distinctions between high and low

culture because there was so much dialogue and interpenetration between the two.

The author leaps about chronologically and weaves her themes together in complex but always compelling ways. Melman begins with Madame Tussaud, whom she reassesses as a cultural pioneer not just in the use of waxworks but in democratizing the museum through her presentation of a sensationalized history. The leaders of the French Revolution were included in her "Chamber of Horrors," shaping an influential view of the revolution as carnage rather than political argument. Melman argues not quite convincingly that the revolution was remade as an English event (p. 32). This then takes Melman into an exploration of Thomas Carlyle's account of the French Revolution, which he represented in terms of lower-class violence. His bird's-eye view of the past can be linked, according to Melman, to the emergence of the panorama as a form of spectacle. Carlyle influenced Charles Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), but Dickens offered a street-level view of the revolution that was different from Carlyle's panoramic perspective.

This essentially urban view of the past also affected the way the Tudors were perceived. Melman's theme is "History as a dungeon" (p. 121). The Tower of London had been the site of some form of tourism since 1599 but was reimagined in the nineteenth century not just as the home of antiquities but as a place of execution and imprisonment. The government was pressured into showing the Tower's dungeons to visitors as part of what we might call "torture tourism." The novelist Harrison Ainsworth really comes into his own here; his novel, *The Tower of London* (1840), also acted as a tourist guide book. The images of romance and execution came together in the cult of Lady Jane Grey in both fiction and painting.

Melman argues that the images of the past as a place of violence and instability were supplemented (but not displaced) from the late nineteenth century onward by an emphasis on the past as a source of comfort. Thus we see a greater number of representations of the heroism of the Elizabethan age, but also the appearance in 1905 of the Scarlet Pimpernel, Baroness Orczy's fictional aristocrat who saved innocent victims from the guillotine in the French Revolution. Such positive images of monarchy and aristocracy with an emphasis on duty and sacrifice balanced out the democratizing tendencies of the twentieth century and established a role for these groups in modern Britain. Historical films associated monarchy with the growing culture of celebrity; Flora Robson, for example, became associated with her depiction of Elizabeth I in a number of films. Historical films (particularly those made by Alexander Korda in the 1930s) succeeded in attracting female audiences and narrated the English past for children. The book ends with the failure of Benjamin Britten's opera about Elizabeth I, *Gloriana* (1953), which struck the wrong note in the year of the coronation when there was much grandiloquent talk by figures such as the historian A. L. Rowse about a new Elizabethan age.

When Melman talks about England, she means it. Scotland, Wales, and Ireland are largely absent from her account, which is the reason why one of the key figures in this new culture of history, Sir Walter Scott, barely rates a mention. Nor do other non-English sources of this wave of representations, such as Victor Hugo, appear. Scott and Hugo were presumably also excluded because they did not write on Melman's chosen periods, which points to the need for further studies of how other eras were refracted through the popular imagination. Given its focus on dungeons and horror, the book has remarkably little to say about Romanticism and the category of the Gothic. It is strange to read an account of how the Tudors were perceived that has almost nothing to say about the Reformation. Similarly, Melman describes popular accounts of the Elizabethans without examining how the performance and celebration of William Shakespeare's plays fit in. These are, however, minor quibbles about a powerful, imaginative, and excitingly interdisciplinary book.

ROHAN MCWILLIAM  
Anglia Ruskin University

MARK CONNELLY. *Steady the Buffs! A Regiment, a Region, and the Great War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. viii, 267. \$99.00.

The view currently dominating the historiography of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) during the Great War argues that the British military effort progressed along what is usually referred to as a "learning curve." According to this view the BEF was transformed: in 1914 it was ill prepared for the exigencies of a modern war of long duration, involving the deployment of new technologies and mass mobilization, but by 1918 it had become a highly efficient instrument of war. Critics of this view point to an apparent lack of clarity and consistency, suggesting that the progression was not a linear one. However, the concept of the "learning curve" provides the starting point for Mark Connelly.

Connelly's stated aim is to examine the two existing perspectives of the "learning curve"—the first approaches the problem through the higher levels of command, while the second focuses on the organization and management of formations at lower levels—by analyzing four battalions of a single regiment: the East Kent Regiment, or "the Buffs." The titles of the main chapters imply some form of linear progression over the course of the war. But Connelly is meticulous and balanced in his presentation of the evidence. In a general sense, he finds that the Buffs did reflect the broader experience of the BEF with a steady development of expertise overcoming initial deficiencies. These deficiencies, Connelly points out, were partly of the BEF's own making—such as its inability to coordinate artillery and infantry in an effective manner—but were more normally beyond its control. Accommodating the needs of its main ally, France, proved particularly difficult and often conflicted with the BEF's own requirements. The problem of industrial production and supply, which un-

derstandably took time to catch up with the demands of the war, also limited the BEF's fighting capability and, therefore, its early development. The arrival of new weaponry such as tanks and the unprecedented expansion of the army presented additional problems (and opportunities).

The real strength of Connelly's work is that he is able to approach the numerous concerns affecting the BEF through the experiences of a number of smaller formations with a shared identity. He then shows how these general problems were often overcome through a mixture of top-down and bottom-up initiatives, with revised manuals on training for offensive actions issued in 1916 and 1917 that increasingly devolved power to more junior commanders: the former was aimed at divisions whereas the latter was directed at platoons. This increased autonomy provided new opportunities to officers and men who had learned from their own practical experience and who then interpreted the instructions and implemented new tactics. The Buffs, Connelly argues, evolved organically, capitalizing on the leadership of prewar officers while developing the talents of new officers, promoting from the ranks, acquiring new weapons, and reorganizing and restructuring battle formations to maximize unit efficiency so that, if necessary, each attacking formation could act independently to support itself and protect its own flanks.

Deficiencies remained, however, and Connelly draws attention to confusion at high command level and also to the Buffs' experiences in the summer of 1918, when attacks were still liable to stall because of poor coordination with artillery. There was a relative lack of development in training for defensive action that Connelly contrasts with the progress the BEF had made as an attacking force by 1918.

Broadly speaking, Connelly is successful in conflating the two perspectives on the "learning curve" argument. By placing himself in the no-man's land between these two approaches he ran a real danger of failure. But Connelly avoided this by carefully selecting his focus. Paradoxically, this is also the book's main weakness because, despite the book's subtitle, Connelly does not analyze the whole regiment, opting instead for four of its fourteen battalions. The battalions selected (one regular army and three from the new army) do not include any of the Territorial Force. Nor does he analyze the region. Having gone to great lengths to show a strong connection between the Kent region and its regiment, he barely mentions this again until the final chapter—although this does neatly bookend the material. Finally, the only theater of the war under consideration is the Western Front.

It is not difficult to see why Connelly made these choices: the four battalions are the only ones that saw action on the Western Front and as the problem Connelly sets himself is to assess the learning curve, the region is quite naturally marginalized and local sources are arguably underused. The result is a book that will

be of great interest to military historians, but less so to historians of society during times of conflict.

GERARD ORAM

*Centre for First World War Studies,  
University of Birmingham*

JEREMY NUTTALL. *Psychological Socialism: The Labour Party and Qualities of Mind and Character, 1931 to the Present*. (Critical Labour Movement Studies.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2006. Pp. 213. \$74.95.

Jeremy Nuttall's book considers an aspect of Labour Party thinking to which, as he argues, theorists and practitioners have given a secondary importance: namely, the qualities of mind and character that are integral to the social democratic project and that may indeed be seen as definitive of its progress. Thus while much intellectual endeavor has been bestowed on issues such as nationalization, the redistribution of income and wealth, demand management, and sustained economic growth, less attention has been paid to the more fundamental questions surrounding the values, behavior, aspirations, and mindset that must characterize the citizenry of a social democratic commonwealth. In that regard theorists and politicians have been concerned more with material structures than with the more fundamental questions of how a socialist society would function as a society and what is understood by the concept of socialist progress. In turn this has made for a relative social-democratic neglect of such issues as individual aggression and ambition, sexual mores, culture, the nature and purpose of education, caring, and parenting. In Nuttall's view of things, "the left's materialism helped sideline [its] moralism" (p. 82).

In this underlying ambition to move the historiography of Labour Party thinking beyond a concern with its political economy, narrowly defined, the book is to be applauded. In some respects, however, the realization of that ambition leaves something to be desired.

The choice of chronological boundaries is always problematic when it comes to the writing of intellectual history. That said, some boundaries make more sense than others. In this regard the choice of 1931 as the starting point is strange. It has a political resonance, but its ideological significance is not immediately apparent. Moreover it precludes the author considering that rich vein of socialist literature emanating from, among others, William Morris, Ernest Bax, William Clarke, the many Christian Socialists of various types, Robert Blatchford, and R. H. Tawney. This is surely needful, as not only do these writers address at some considerable length the "neglected" issues surrounding qualities of mind and character, but their work also profoundly influenced the political consciousness of many within the early Labour Party. Nor, more generally, is the work well served by its essentially chronological structure, for what is lost are the thematic continuities and the sense of an unfolding debate, changing in character and in-

tensity perhaps but nonetheless revolving around a core of fundamental questions.

Nuttall's work is informed by an avowedly determinist stance, not in the economic but in the broadly defined psychological sense. "The book is sceptical about the existence of free will" (p. 23). Thus "it suggests that, given the flaws and strengths (in a quality of mind and character sense) of the British citizenry and Labour leaders and activists themselves, the history of social democracy was as it was." However, this determinist stance seems inconsistent with a contention that "the levels of 'caring' and 'intelligence' of the citizenry" had "implications for what one regards as . . . 'maximum opportunity' for social progressive politics" (p. 31). Opportunity after all presupposes that, if seized, things might have been other than they were. More generally it sits uneasily with a judgmental position that gives credit to those theorists who escaped the prevailing tendency to privilege matters material, and in particular those politicians who preferred the Treasury to the Department of Education: brownie points here for the Socialist Union and the Christian Socialist Movement.

It is not always clear what Nuttall has in mind when discussing qualities of mind and character, words that are used to encompass many things, not all of which would seem to fall under these headings. Thus they provide the putative justification for a discussion of Labour's position on levels of educational attainment, the nature of education, the "cumulative level of intelligence," a responsible and intelligent citizenry, "human character deprivations within the party," levels of caring, altruism, beneficence, moral sensibility, aggression, envy, vindictiveness, cooperativeness, sexual mores, cultural aspirations, and parenting skills—the whole leaving the reader unsure as to what will next command the discursive attention of the author. Nor are matters helped by the use of the overarching concept of "psychological socialism" and references to such phenomena as "the nation's cumulative psychological deprivation of morality and intelligence," something party theorists are accused of ignoring (p. 78, my emphasis). Neither is a clear distinction always made between the "mental" and the "moral." For example, "many of Labour's moral failings as diagnosed by Kinnock were mental: indiscipline, selfishness, introversion and indulgence" (p. 140).

Given the contemporary abandonment of a distinctively social democratic political economy by New Labour, or at least a blurring of the party divides with respect to this aspect of thought and policy, a book of the kind Nuttall has written is timely. For it is with respect to an agenda that promotes "qualities of mind and character" that the Labour Party may be able to put clear red water between itself and the Conservatives. This certainly seems to be Nuttall's view, and it is cogently argued in the book's best chapter, though with some concern as to whether New Labour will or can seize the opportunity. Here the chronological structure does not constrain or obtrude, with "New Labour" providing the core around which an interesting discussion of the par-



ty's "moralist-activist politics," and its increasing recognition of the complexity and multiple value objectives characterizing contemporary society can coalesce. It is, however, the more general absence of such thematic focus in other chapters of the volume that makes for a work that sometimes leaves the reader with a sense of an opportunity missed.

NOEL THOMPSON  
Swansea University

STEFAN COLLINI. *Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 526. \$45.00.

Stefan Collini's important and much-anticipated new book is not a survey of postwar British intellectual culture and life, although it has the range, learning, and acuity of judgment to be profitably read in that way. Explicitly, however, it is something different: an extended examination of the common claim that "there are no intellectuals in Britain." That this claim is nonsense almost goes without saying: like Germany, like France, like the United States, and indeed like modern mass-literate societies across the globe, Britain has its share of people who not only pursue scholarly or learned professions but make some effort to speak authoritatively about that work to a wider, nonspecialist public. (This is Collini's definition of an intellectual, worked out in the first section of the book, and it is a good one.) Yet, it is also the case that what Collini calls "the absence thesis" has been one of the dominant markers of British intellectual life for decades, held to by no group more firmly than by British intellectuals themselves. The question becomes, then, not "Why are there no intellectuals in Britain?" but rather, "Given that there are intellectuals in Britain, why is such an effort made to deny their existence?" What role, in other words, does the "absence thesis" play in British intellectual life?

This might seem a narrow question, but in fact the tight focus allows Collini to do what he does best, which is to marry fine-grained sociological and historical analysis with pitch-perfect studies of particular emblematic figures and ideas so as to illuminate and subtly shift our perception of British intellectual life as a whole. This is done most successfully in the second section of the book, which ranges widely over intellectual generations, coteries, and publications to establish the ubiquity, and the flexibility, of the "absence thesis." That they might be "men of letters" but were not, thank God, "intellectuals," was something that (say) G. M. Trevelyan and T. S. Eliot might agree upon; indeed, so comfortable was that particular invisibility cloak that even the most irredeemably highbrow of intellectuals (Bertrand Russell, for example) sometimes slipped it on. Or did they? It is in the nature of tropes of this kind to echo, unexamined, through scholarly literature, so that the most off-hand denial of intellectualism tends to be pounced upon and treated (including, Collini disarmingly admits when discussing Russell, in his own earlier

work) as memorable and representative, revelatory not of some passing moment of self-doubt or simple silliness but of the deep cultural character of the tribe. And so, by the middle of the twentieth century "intellectuals" as a conceptual category (if not as an actual sociological group) bore the unhappy stigma "of being cliquey, subversive, and self-important; unmanly, untrustworthy, and unhealthy; in a word, foreign" (p. 126).

That word "foreign" lies at the heart of the matter. Of all the odors clinging to the intellectual, the whiff of "foreignness"—and, usually, Frenchness—was the most pungent. True, some English intellectuals (step forward, Perry Anderson) saw that supposed deviation from supposed continental norms as an inadequacy rather than a strength, but they too agreed: England Was Not Like That. Most refreshingly, then, Collini's third section crosses various waters to ask whether French, German, and American patterns were so very different. These chapters are necessarily more dependent on other scholars' work, but they further undermine comfortable notions of English (and, for that matter, French, German, and American) exceptionalism. The claim that French intellectuals are somehow less "incorporated," for example, sits uncomfortably with the fact that many are the children of (state-paid) "instituteurs," received their excellent (state-funded) educations at one of two elite Parisian *lycées*, and are employed by that state to which they are thought to be so opposed. Collini does not deny the existence of different intellectual cultures, but by showing how tightly those cultures are enmeshed with particular institutional structures, he allows us to see how very different intellectual stances ("opposition," "independence") could both be culturally conformist. If the job of the intellectual is to sign petitions, does signing petitions make you a brave individualist? If the mark of the intellectual is to deny that you are one, is such self-denial a sign of independence of thought?

Returning to England, Collini devotes his fourth section to examining the way five intellectuals—Eliot, R. G. Collingwood, George Orwell, A. J. P. Taylor, A. J. Ayer—negotiated or exploited those structures and conventions. This is, in a sense, the most engaging section of the book, for Collini is a witty and often barbed writer, but it is also the section that reveals the book's limitations. Exploring this trope of self-denial among intellectuals as a group is revelatory and persuasive: when an individual thinker is examined through this optic, however, the idiosyncrasies of their thought and personality are inevitably flattened. Thus, Taylor's shameless pandering to the commercial media emerges more clearly than his infectious enthusiasm for history; Orwell stands indicted for "that most unlovely and least defensible of inner contradictions, the anti-intellectualism of the intellectuals" (p. 372) without much appreciation for how that self-punishing orientation fed off his hopeless attempt to purge himself of the habits and privileges of his class. Only Ayer, giving "calm, confident utterance to basic liberal truths" (p. 405), ap-

pears to have approached Collini's rather exacting definition of an adequate intellectual.

A final section brings the story up to the present, but also with mixed success. Collini persuasively shows how persistently academics and journalists alike parrot old and unexamined assumptions about the inadequacy or absence of British intellectuals; what is not fully explored is the question of whether the frame of reference itself ("British intellectuals") makes much sense in today's polyglot, networked, segmented, globalized world. Collini stands in a direct genealogical relationship to the men (yes, men) he studies; in spite of that, he is able to see them with a remarkably clear eye. When it comes to the present, though, that heritage perhaps constrains his view. He discusses those forces of commercialization and globalization but not in enough depth; his biting review of Edward Said's (admittedly bad) Reith lectures cannot stand in for some serious examination of the astonishing and creative role played by diasporic (especially postcolonial) intellectuals not only in metropolitan British culture but in anglophone culture across the world. Having spent more than 500 pages demolishing the myth of British exceptionalism, Collini ends with that most English of poets, Philip Larkin: he knows this is out of keeping with his lesson, but in a sense he just cannot help himself. It is easy to understand that gesture—Collini is an English intellectual, after all—but we end the book not quite certain of its implications for intellectual life in the here and now. It hardly seems fair to fault Collini for that, though: historians do not have to be prophets as well. It is a tribute to the intelligence and vision of this book that we might trust its author with that role.

SUSAN PEDERSEN  
Columbia University

CRISTIÁN A. ROA-DE-LA-CARRERA. *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism*. Translated by SCOTT SESSIONS. Boulder: University of Colorado Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 264. \$40.00.

Recent studies of sixteenth-century texts about the Spanish conquest and colonization of America have demonstrated the continuing impact of the Quincentennial's call to reevaluate traditional interpretations of these events. Around 1992 literary critics, such as Rolena Adorno, José Rabasa, and Walter Mignolo, among others, suggested new methods and models for analyzing the conquest. The fruit of their work is now evident in a new generation of scholars who have written monographs about newly discovered and canonical histories of the Indies. Cristián A. Roa-de-la-Carrera's study of Francisco López de Gómara's widely influential *Historia de las Indias y conquista de México* (1555) deftly analyzes the rhetorical and discursive strategies employed by this humanist historian, who argued that Spain's imperial expansion in the Indies was ethically sound.

The book fleshes out the historical and historiographical challenges that Gómara faced and his re-

sponse to them. Writing from about 1545 to 1552, at a time when the principles and practices of the Spanish conquest were under fire, Gómara's *Historia* argues for the justice and ultimate common good of the Spanish role in the Indies. Roa-de-la-Carrera deftly teases out the thorny issues that a pro-imperialist historian had to address: the greed and violence of conquistadors, the place of the indigenous populations in Christian world history and in the new cultural and economic system of colonization, the vicissitudes of church and crown policies regarding the role of conquistadors and Indians. Grounding his study in a close rhetorical analysis of the *Historia*, Roa-de-la-Carrera reveals how Gómara's strategies illustrate his ideological framework and propagandistic endeavors. "The production of the *Historia general* provides an excellent case to examine the institutional mechanisms that gave rise to the locus of the historian of the Indies in the creation of a New World empire" (p. 24).

Four chapter studies detail distinct but interrelated narrative positions. First, Roa-de-la-Carrera examines the influence of previous historiographical practices and politics on the construction of Gómara's eloquent narrative. Having served as Hernán Cortés's chaplain, Gómara argued for the rights of the conquistadors and Castile's expansion into the Indies. Roa-de-la-Carrera explains how the humanist historian used Cortés's own letters along with other histories of the Indies in an attempt to reach a consensus on the conquest and colonization process. Chapter two goes on to explore the ideological foundations of Gómara's historiographical project. He reveals how the Spanish historian situated the New World within existing ideas of geography and sacred history in order to explain human diversity and the roles the Spanish and Indians were to play in the new societies. Well-grounded in scholarly works on the colonial period, Roa-de-la-Carrera's book discusses the interpretation of Christian theories of the unity of the earth after Noah as the basis for Spain's sovereignty in the New World. "Gómara's geocentric, providential discourse provided an explanation for the subordination of native communities to the Spanish within the divine plan of human redemption" (p. 16). The subsequent chapter examines Gómara's rewriting of previous narratives about Spain's imperial expansion—including texts by Christopher Columbus, Peter Martyr, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, and Bartolomé de las Casas. Roa-de-la-Carrera demonstrates how the humanist created a "discursive economy" in which colonization was a process of material and cultural exchange to support his argument that imperialism provided a form of reciprocity between the cultures that resulted in a common good. The final chapter posits that even as Gómara had to confront well-known "histories of infamy" about the Spanish conquest, such as the massacre at the Templo Mayor and Cortés's torture of Cuahtemoc, he reworked their representation through a discourse of domination and patriarchal honor. In this new interpretative system, Cortés was a hero.

In every instance, Roa-de-la-Carrera demonstrates

how Gómara falls short in reconciling the “contradictory impulses” of the conquest. The *Historia* attempted to rewrite violence, greed, and destruction as necessary by-products of an ultimate common good in which both Indian and Spaniard gained through an economic and cultural exchange based on difference. Published only two years after the famous 1550 debate about the justice of Spain’s policies toward the Indian populations and in the same year that de las Casas published his influential *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, Gómara’s *Historia* was widely read and deeply criticized. Within several years it was banned in Castile. In subsequent decades, authors such as Bernal Díaz del Castillo continued to criticize Gómara’s text in order to promote other points of view and authority. Gómara’s pro-imperial ideology and strategic narrative construction were not enough to stem the tide of criticism of the Spanish enterprises in the Indies.

Roa-de-la-Carrera’s study is carefully researched, developed, and written. He convincingly frames his reading of Gómara within the context of key histories of the Indies and the often volatile politics of Crown policies regarding the government of the Indies. Perhaps the only weakness of this book is that it lacks a traditional conclusion. Readers are left to draw their own conclusions upon finishing the provocative final chapter about Gómara’s attempt to write an apology for the destruction of the Indies. Roa-de-la-Carrera’s study is essential reading for anyone interested in understanding Gómara’s influential *Historia* and the dynamic historical and rhetorical processes involved in the writing of a history of the Indies.

KATHLEEN MYERS  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

STANLEY G. PAYNE. *The Collapse of the Spanish Republic, 1933–1936: Origins of the Civil War*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 420. \$40.00.

Stanley G. Payne’s fifteenth published book returns to a familiar theme: the origins of the Spanish Civil War. His original investigation into the failure of Spain’s “first democracy,” *The Spanish Revolution*, appeared in 1970, and he has returned to the question several times. In contrast to those who see the Right as bearing the ultimate responsibility for the civil war, both in its limited acceptance of the Second Republic and in its eventual support for the military revolt that destroyed the republic, Payne argues that the Left always equated the republic with “progressive”—that is, left-wing—government. The only prospect for democratic consolidation thus lay with the center, for the author clearly recognizes the limited and contingent nature of the Right’s acceptance of republican democracy, although this is never emphasized to the same extent as is that of the Left.

The book’s premise is that the Second Republic began as “a quasi-revolutionary regime” (p. 7). Repeated efforts were subsequently made to “centre the Repub-

lic,” not least by President Niceto Alcalá Zamora, but all failed. Payne traces this failure through the latter years of the republic, from the Left’s electoral defeat in November 1933 to the outbreak of civil war in 1936. The failure to build a stable regime is seen as due in part to the destruction of the Radical Party, depicted here as a “liberal democratic” party (p. 125) that offered the best chance of rebuilding the republic on stable foundations. Throughout the book there are hints of an analysis that goes beyond the search for responsibilities—the attention paid to the eclipse of the center, for example, or the emphasis given to political violence. However, the author always returns to the question of responsibilities and, in particular, the blame borne by the Left.

Apportioning blame ultimately rests on a political judgment, even a political sympathy, and there is a very real danger that any search for “responsibility” will result in a dialogue of the deaf. Indeed, the search for the origins of the civil war has long been downplayed in an academic literature that has focused instead on the processes of political mobilization, particularly at local level. This historiography brings out the nature and depth of Spain’s civil conflict, emphasizing the social and cultural cleavages that underlay political polarization. In contrast, Payne presents the crisis of 1933–1936 in terms of a series of political choices favoring either revolution or rebellion. The origins of the civil war are thus seen in terms of a Left/Right dichotomy that oversimplifies social divisions and glosses over the weakness of the state structures that so clearly failed to contain them.

According to Payne, the turning point came after the Popular Front elections of February 1936, when a narrow victory for the Left in terms of votes cast was translated by an idiosyncratic electoral law into an overwhelming parliamentary majority. These elections were called as a result of Alcalá Zamora’s disastrous political machinations, although the previous term of office was not yet exhausted and there was “no dire national crisis” (p. 132). Even during the hard fought electoral campaign, there was comparatively little violence (p. 174), while an abstention rate of twenty-eight percent suggests that Spain in early 1936 “was not as hyperpoliticized as it may have seemed” (p. 177). Rather, the country became ungovernable in the wake of the elections, when political violence or “disorder” rapidly became a real problem for the weak and embattled republican government. How or why this violence emerged is unclear from this account: disorder enters the narrative suddenly and unheralded (p. 182) and immediately becomes integral to the analysis.

There is no doubt that the new government made some very bad decisions, not least the highly contested decision to rerun some of February’s electoral challenges. Payne explains these in terms of political chauvinism—the desire to exclude the Right and even the center—and the ill-judged actions of key individuals rather than the floundering of a regime on the brink of collapse. It is clear from his argument that the partial

and incomplete modernization of political parties also contributed to the weakness of the Second Republic. The elections of February 1936 were won by a wide-ranging electoral coalition, but socialist unwillingness to collaborate with "bourgeois" parties meant the republicans had to govern alone. It is not just that the center's political space was shrinking; that of the republic was too. With no mass base of their own, the republican parties owed their position to socialist votes. Small wonder that the government proved unable to curb the excesses of the Left.

The surge in political violence after February 1936 was symptomatic of regime collapse. As Payne convincingly argues, the parliamentary republic did not survive the outbreak of civil war (p. 338). He makes this case in part by exploring counterfactuals, most strikingly in the highly stimulating overview that provides the book's conclusion. However, it is notable that the one hypothetical not posed is what would have happened had the Right won the 1936 elections. For, if the answer to that conundrum is still civil war—albeit on a different date and via a different process—then the question of responsibilities becomes redundant.

MARY VINCENT  
University of Sheffield

HERMAN ROODENBURG. *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic*. (Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History, number 6.) Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders. 2004. Pp. 208. £45.00.

This book by Herman Roodenburg offers an engaging interdisciplinary foray into the developing emphasis on physical comportment in the Dutch Republic. Focusing on the familial networks around the poet and courtier Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), the book explores the social and physical behaviors by which an economic elite defined and performed the terms of its superiority. This is well-trodden territory, but the book manages to distinguish itself in a crowded field through its close attention to the way that behavioral comportment is reflected by, and absorbed into, the conventions of Dutch seventeenth-century painting. In its welcome emphasis on the visual culture of physical demeanor, the book returns us to the quotidian mystery by which a particular arrangement of muscles, bone, and skin can either produce the appearance of civility or elicit extravagant emotion.

The author emphasizes "the crucial significance of carriage and deportment" (p. 178) in Dutch seventeenth-century culture, beginning appropriately with childrearing practices. While the swaddling of infants was seen as a way of ensuring straight limbs and upright postures in children, instruction in music, painting, fencing, and horsemanship was designed to instill the socially significant traits of physical elegance and intellectual agility.

Roodenburg uses catalogs of book sales to establish the surprising popularity of Italian manuals of civility—not just Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, but also

Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* and Stefano Guazzo's *Civile conversatione*, among many others—in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century. He wisely looks at the complex connection between economic and social capital, particularly for a family such as the Huygens, whose financial successes had allowed them to migrate from commoners to the elite. Nevertheless, in its effort to understand the relevance of "the Castiglionian ideal" (p. 71) to the Netherlands, the book sometimes elides the enormous social and political differences separating the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic from sixteenth-century Italian despotism.

Indeed, the crucial concept from Castiglione of *sprezzatura*, the art that hides art, assumes an even greater force in the comparatively fluid elite of the Dutch Republic than in the theoretically static hierarchies of the Italian city-states. The necessity of masking the effort required to mime elite behaviors, to make those behaviors look congenital, is enhanced when status is not merely a function of birth. Paradoxically, a highly cultivated naturalness becomes the mark of a theoretically inbred difference.

The book is beautifully illustrated with contemporaneous Dutch paintings and prints. Roodenburg astutely suggests that the conduct literature of the period provides a repertoire of the physical gestures exhibited in the portraiture by which the Dutch elite represented itself to itself. He also shows how this literature supplies a grammar and syntax by which the meanings of these poses can be parsed. I wondered, though, whether this influence might flow in both directions: that is, whether the paintings might become models for rather than fulfillments of the conduct literature. Too frequently, moreover, the paintings or drawings remain just exempla rather than materials worthy of close analysis in their own right. I kept hoping that the author would linger over some of the striking visual material he includes to read it deeply against the rich cultural context he develops.

Nonetheless, Roodenburg does offer some arresting accounts of the ways the period managed to register class visually, generating images of corporeal dignity for the elite and of festive mockery of the bodies of the lower classes. Throughout the book he develops "A Visual Orthopedics" (p. 142) by which upright posture becomes a manifestation of social and moral prestige.

A suggestive chapter explores the symbiotic connections between postures from the stage and the canvas. Because both actor and painter confront the problem of how to manifest the workings of an inner self through external gesture, the comparison is potentially fruitful, but the examples given seem a bit too pat. A final chapter explores the importance of bodily eloquence manifested in the pulpit, and includes a fascinating moment when Huygens praises the clerical eloquence of the English preacher and poet John Donne. This promising chapter, though, strays somewhat from the project's signal emphasis on the visual, and never fully considers the possible tensions that might emerge between contem-



poraneous codes of smug civility and the stark otherworldliness of the biblical Christianity.

In its emphasis on the careful and deliberate choreography of grace and authority through physical gesture, the book usefully brings together materials from a wide range of national and disciplinary sources. It also includes a helpful bibliography, but one with some glaring omissions. Probably as a result of a printing error (it occurs between pages 191 and 192), there are no entries between Blanco and Damasio, leaving out in the process several prominent references, including Castiglione. Roodenburg's careful reading of the visual rhetoric of physical behavior merited better.

MICHAEL SCHOENFELDT  
University of Michigan

MINEKE BOSCH. *Aletta Jacobs 1854–1929: Een onwrikbaar geloof in rechtvaardigheid* [Aletta Jacobs 1854–1929: An unyielding belief in justice]. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans. 2005. Pp. 819. €37.50.

In the introduction to her voluminous biography of the internationally famous Dutch feminist Aletta Jacobs, Mineke Bosch chooses to pave the way with an account of the trustworthiness of *Herinneringen* (*Reminiscences*), published by Jacobs in 1924 as an autobiographical document. Bosch's aim here is to underline the fact that, just as every experience is related to other experiences, every narrative also refers to other narratives. This is the case in an autobiography such as *Herinneringen*, as well as in Bosch's biography. Although verification and reliability are basic aspects of the scientific process of writing a biography, in Bosch's perspective, her story of Jacobs's life is only one possible way of sketching the woman's life story. And, according to Bosch (p. 15), her narrative about Jacobs concentrates on answering the question about "what she thought and did" rather than revealing "who she was (as a person or a character)." Bosch thus follows the tradition of historians like Joan Scott, who, in *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (1996), explains that thinking of "feminist agency" implies that famous women have to be regarded as "sites—historical locations or markers—where crucial political and cultural contests are enacted and can be examined in some detail" (p. 16).

Because of her fame at home as well as abroad, it is remarkable that it has taken such a long time for Jacobs's biography to be written. In her letter of condolences at Jacobs's death in 1929, her friend and kindred spirit from the United States, Carrie Chapman Catt, wrote that the deceased was "a great woman," who had, however, "in her last years many disappointments, I'm sure." According to Bosch, Catt was referring not only to political opportunities that Jacobs had missed or to her financial problems but also to the lack of any official public and political recognition. Nonetheless, Jacobs was herself well aware of the success of her work. In 1928, looking back on her life, she assured Catt that she was "happy" because she had seen the three main ob-

jectives of her life fulfilled: "the opening up of all opportunities for women to study and realizing this in actual practice, making Motherhood a question of choice, and political equality for women" (p. 698).

The biography is built along these three lines. The first part tells the story of the young Jacobs, her Jewish background, and her life as the daughter of a physician in Groningen in the north of the Netherlands. Her route into secondary education and then to university is well known in the Netherlands, since she was the first Dutch woman to become a medical student. After completing her Ph.D., Jacobs went to London to study and work in a small hospital for women. Here, she not only learned a considerable amount about the world of women doctors—and this is where her fame as the first "Dutch Lady Doctor" originated—but she also became acquainted with the political and intellectual circles of freethinkers and feminists. These contacts were intensified by Jacobs's relation with Carel Gerritsen, her later life companion and husband. Her interests in neo-Malthusianism and birth control also stem from Gerritsen, although it was her medical practice that induced her belief that women and couples should be able to decide whether they wanted children or not.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Jacobs became prominent in the Dutch women's movement. It remains a mystery why Jacobs was not present at the first huge public manifestation of Dutch feminism around the turn of the century, the Nationale Tentoonstelling Vrouwenarbeid (National Exhibition of Women's Labor) in 1898. It could have been due to her attitude of being a "feminist radical" rather than a "radical feminist." During her life, Jacobs conducted many debates on the theme of integration or separation. This, however, did not prevent her from becoming more involved, both in the Netherlands and abroad, in the world of organized feminism. Her active international participation started in 1899, with a visit to the conference of the International Council of Women, accompanied by Gerritsen and their foster son Charly. A period of intensive active participation then started, both nationally and internationally, focusing on associations fighting for the right to vote for women. In 1911 she traveled around the world with Catt to promote the cause. The result of her struggle for women's political equality had to wait till 1919, when Dutch women gained the right to vote. In the meantime, her international fame and the threatening political situation in the world led her to become involved in women's activities for world peace.

Writing a biography such as this is an impressive achievement. It is almost thirty years since Bosch wrote her first article on Jacobs. She has since published Jacobs's correspondence with women of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in English. Bosch has meticulously looked into many public and private sources and has drawn up a highly scholarly account of the active, public figure that Jacobs was. At the same time, however, the abundance of information also constitutes the Achilles' heel of this biography. It is not always easy

to find your way, as a reader—and from time to time, an international reader would probably be even more so puzzled—through the narrative. This is even more so because, contrary to what is suggested in Bosch's introduction, the book is not clearly written from one perspective, or in other words, on the basis of a single, well-established narrative version of events. Moreover, the relatively little attention paid to the personal aspects of Jacobs's life makes it more difficult to stay involved in the storyline of this biography. As Bosch states in the concluding part of the book, the study is more of an attempt to add to "the knowledge of an important episode in Dutch history, namely the emancipation or integration of women in Dutch society" (p. 700), rather than an incisive life story of a person whom we still acknowledge as a true historical figure.

ANNEMIEKE VAN DRENTH  
Leiden University

MAARTJE M. ABBENHUIS. *The Art of Staying Neutral: The Netherlands in the First World War, 1914–1918*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2006. Pp. 423. €40.70.

As war engulfed Europe in August 1914, President Woodrow Wilson exhorted Americans to remain "impartial in thought as well as in action." His words might equally, and with more reason, have applied to the Netherlands. The Dutch dilemma in 1914 was straightforward. On sea it was confronted by a maritime blockade imposed by Britain that threatened the economic livelihood of the Dutch people. On land the Dutch border with Germany, effectively lengthened after the occupation of Belgium, raised the possibility of German aggression. Both sides were thus capable of coercing the Netherlands, and both sides could imperil the existence of the Dutch state. And yet, neither violated Dutch neutrality through the long years of war. Given this state of affairs, how the Netherlands managed to preserve its neutrality is worth exploring.

Historians such as Marc Frey have stressed that Dutch neutrality rested less upon Dutch actions than it did upon policies made in London, Paris, and Berlin. Maartje M. Abbenhuis does not contest this view, commenting "[w]hether a small state entered the Great War was principally decided by the policies of the most powerful belligerents" (p. 31). If this might leave readers perplexed as to what room for explanation remains, Abbenhuis argues that while the international dimensions of Dutch neutrality have been examined, the domestic context has been ignored. Internal compliance with the rigors of neutrality was required if war was to be staved off. Abbenhuis posits that the "military aspects" of domestic neutrality were crucial (p. 21). The Dutch armed forces found themselves not only the defenders of the state but also the guarantors of neutrality. A dual responsibility existed: to act as a conventional armed deterrent and to deal with a range of tasks that might invoke the wrath of one or more of the belligerents. The latter were numerous. It was the army that coped with

the flood of refugees that threatened to swamp the Netherlands in 1914; it was the army that attempted to check rampant smuggling; it was the army that, backed by the imposition of a state of siege, quickly became the guardian of order. But the effects of war were corrosive, for while the size of the army swelled as a consequence of these greater internal responsibilities it was increasingly incapable of meeting these challenges. By 1917 the toll exacted by mobilizations—not one but two—the lack of training and modern equipment, and the tensions engendered by the need for constant vigilance had markedly diminished the army's effectiveness. The Dutch army of 1918, though more than twice the size of its 1914 predecessor, was a weaker reed. When it appeared in the spring of 1918 that the Germans might invade, pessimism was unbounded. The commander in chief of the Dutch armed forces, General C. J. Snijders, told the Dutch cabinet that war with Germany "would be disastrous" (p. 244).

The book offers a good account of the military aspects of neutrality but is weaker elsewhere. Abbenhuis, perhaps fearing that an emphasis on the military is not enough, asserts that she is attempting to portray a "nation in crisis" (p. 21). Snapshots of the Dutch wartime experience are taken in pursuit of this objective, but they depict little of value. Instead, disjointedness is the result. Chapter twelve offers an example: in twenty-two pages the survey of 1918 hops from September to November, to Snijders's resignation, to the flight of Kaiser Wilhelm to the Netherlands, to the threat of revolution, before finally landing on demobilization (pp. 237–259). Paradoxically a less ambitious scope not only would have made for a more convincing work but also would have allowed a fuller exploration of the core subject. There is much here that attests to the importance of the military facet of the Dutch experience. The evidence that Abbenhuis adduces demonstrates the existence of powerful civil-military tensions. The existence of these frictions has long been a focal point of the historiography of the belligerent states, but Abbenhuis's findings suggest that war triggers civil-military discord in neutrals and belligerents alike. There are echoes in this account of other issues: the refugee question; the German decision to build an electric fence to hinder traffic across the Belgian-Dutch border; the problem of smuggling; and the exchanges of POWs. The author does not attempt to comment on what this tells us about neutrality beyond the confines of the Netherlands and World War I. If we are trying to understand why the Netherlands remained neutral, Abbenhuis's book does not alter our fundamental understanding, but military historians, historians of civil-military relations, and historians of neutrality will find it worth reading.

MARTIN HORN  
McMaster University

HENRY C. CLARK. *Compass of Society: Commerce and Absolutism in Old-Regime France*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2007. Pp. xx, 389. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$34.95.

In this book, Henry C. Clark examines how the scholars of Old Regime France (*philosophes*, as most of them have been called) such as Antoine de Montchrestien, Montesquieu, Vincent de Gournay, Turgot, and many others struggled to devise a "philosophy of commerce" appropriate for French society. Their concern with this problem did not derive from experience in commerce; none were practicing merchants and most were men of the cloth or robe nobles. Rather, their desire was to promote social cohesion in French society to combat the corrosive low social trust they believed pervasive in France, and to find ways to reconcile a more "liberal" (in the Adam Smith sense of the word) economic regime with France's absolute monarchy and system of statutory privilege. The result of the changes they advocated would be a stronger, wealthier France that would be able to wrest the lead in Europe away from the upstart English and Dutch. In a changing world they hoped that they could adjust their nation to the new economic realities without sweeping away entirely the monarchy and the social hierarchies and structures characteristic of France. Ironically, therefore, even though their ideas underlay the thinking of the revolutionaries, at least in the initial stages of the French Revolution, the revolution itself represented the failure of their hopes for more gradual and limited reforms.

Clark's analysis of seventeenth-century "dynastic commerce" and the resistance it encountered from French merchants is especially cogent and well-reasoned. In particular, it helps to explain the profound tensions between the practicing merchant communities in port cities and the royal companies that these merchants viewed with entrenched suspicion and skepticism. According to Clark, most French theorists of political economy in this period saw the "dynastic and patriotic commerce" (p. 28) the crown promoted as gravitating, especially under Finance Minister Jacques Colbert, toward luxury trades that brought dubious benefits to France's economy and civil society. They distinguished this commerce in luxury items that court society generated from a legitimate "local and mundane" trade. By the same token, merchants despised the royal trade policies and projects precisely because they failed the most important test in the eyes of merchants: they were neither particularly profitable nor designed with the goal of generating profits, at least for the merchants who were supposed to invest in them. Rather, they were intended, as Clark points out, to increase the power and glory of the monarchy. Early modern merchants wanted to make money. That was why they engaged in commerce. They often invested their profits in the tools of upward social mobility: land, tax farms, and especially royal offices. The last did invest them, in every sense of the word, in the glory and patronage of the crown. But even those merchants who aspired to the social status (and tax-exempt status) that royal offices brought to those who purchased them had no desire to increase the wealth and power of the king at the expense of their own. This was why most of these royally sponsored ventures ended up run by incompetent royal officials, and

also why they were unprofitable and frequently ended up bankrupt as well.

Thus most of the theorists Clark examines rejected Colbert's model of "dynastic commerce" that centralized control of overseas commerce and export-oriented manufactures in the hand of royal officials. Influenced by Dutch, English, and especially Scottish writers such as Adam Smith and David Hume, they believed that social trust and commerce would flourish best with minimal government interference. But could a "liberal" economic regime survive under an absolute monarchy, in a nation built upon a "spirit of conquest," and in a society where statutory privileges and corporate structures such as guilds were expanding rather than fading away? Did the economic and social outcomes the theorists desired require a republican government like that of Holland or, at best, a mixed monarchy like that of England, or could "liberal" economic policies be reconciled with a monarchical form of government? And if such reconciliation could be achieved, how would that happen and what would the end product look like? These were the problems with which the theorists grappled and most in the end advocated retaining the monarchy while weakening or sweeping away corporate structures. Their most radical belief was that commerce itself, absent royal interference or excessive hierarchical privilege, would nurture social trust, generate social and economic capital, and allow France to take its rightful place as the strongest power in Europe without abandoning the monarchy or even the nobility. Although their program failed with the French Revolution, their ideas remained integral to French thought throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Clark has written an original and thoughtful analysis focused on the too-often-neglected economic emphasis of French thinkers of the Old Regime.

GAYLE K. BRUNELLE  
California State University,  
Fullerton

EDWARD J. WOELL. *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counterrevolution in Western France, 1774–1914*. (Marquette Studies in History, number 1.) Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2006. Pp. 292. \$32.00.

The counterrevolutionary insurrection that developed in the Vendée region of western France has not gone without attention by historians of the French Revolution. Edward J. Woell's contribution to this literature is a well-written, sensibly nuanced study of the rebellion and its legacy in the small town of Machecoul and its immediate environs. This narrow perspective, utilizing parish and other local records in combination with regional archives and studies, affords a degree of detail and nuance to the events and their memory that otherwise is likely to be missed.

Woell's point of departure is the killing by local insurgents of numerous supporters of the revolution in Machecoul in early spring 1793. This set off civil war

between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries in the Vendée. It also established parallel sets of murderers and martyrs, depending on where one stood in relation to the revolution. This polarization of perspective characterizes much of the historical treatment of the region as well. Rather than trying to resolve the controversy Woell uses the diverging views as evidence for his own historical narrative. He begins by setting the context of social and religious life in prerevolutionary Machecoul, arguing that while the area could appear peacefully content on the surface, it was wracked by divisions and tension laden. The difference was that under the *ancien régime* there was no forum in which these divisions could be expressed. With the revolution this changed. Historians have tried to root the rebellion in a variety of factors, from geography to socioeconomics or politics, with varying degrees of success. Woell acknowledges their relevancy, but follows Dale Van Kley and others by arguing that "Questions about what it meant to be Catholic and why the church mattered often stood at the heart of the most serious political problems in France" (pp. 60–61). In Machecoul, he states, there existed a multiplicity of opinions among faithful Catholics as to how the church should be governed and operate in society. The passage of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy tended to polarize differences into increasingly suspicious camps. With the requirement of the Ecclesiastical Oath, which the vast majority of priests in the area refused to take, suspicion gave way to hostility, insurrection, and an escalating cycle of violence. Woell notes that other factors may have been behind individual motivations to commit violence, but religious issues provided the catalyst.

Almost immediately, the murders and reprisals gave rise to two competing narratives that disagreed not only as to why the massacres occurred, but even on how many had been killed. For republicans the violence was an example of how ignorance and religious fanaticism could be exploited by an unregenerate clergy for its own ends. The counternarrative, which Woell argues the refractory church was crucial in formulating, proposed a prerevolutionary golden age under church and king, with a peaceful hierarchy in which all knew their place and were bound together in a web of mutually recognized obligations. The revolution destroyed this harmony by trying to install a society devoid of God and based upon unrestrained individualism. With local clergy so quickly championing the insurgency, and in the process recasting the struggle of revolution and counterrevolution into a holy war, this latter narrative prevailed to assume near mythic status for local identity. Through religious acts like public sermons, catechisms, devotional societies, and iconography this interpretation was both embodied and represented in a way that increasingly centered on the saintly victims of republican barbarity, while the murders committed by insurgents virtually disappeared from popular memory. The strength and persistence of this narrative helped maintain a strong popular link between faithfulness to a Tridentine form of Catholic practice and hostility to

republicanism. Woell suggests that after 1914 much of this memory lost its meaning as the populace joined in the *union sacrée* to meet the national crisis of the Great War.

In many respects this brief summary fails to do justice to the richness of Woell's narrative or the judiciousness of his analysis. The lack of a larger comparative perspective does bring its share of frustrations. There is little help here to resolve broader questions such as why counterrevolution was so much stronger in the Vendée than elsewhere, even though before the revolution much of France was similarly divided over issues of religion and church/state relations. At the same time, the book supplies a wealth of detail and does much to elucidate the complexities of local contingencies behind seemingly inexplicable phenomena. Woell makes a compelling case for the role of religion in the revolutionary/counterrevolutionary dialectic that carries well beyond the borders of Machecoul. That this is accomplished in an easily accessible and engaging book can only be admired.

JAMES C. DEMING  
Princeton Theological Seminary

JEAN-PIERRE JESSENNE. *Les campagnes françaises entre mythe et histoire (XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. (Les enjeux de l'histoire.) Paris: Armand Colin. 2006. Pp. 285. €25.00.

How can one synthesize the rural history of modern and contemporary France, a country of myriad historic *pays* and 365 kinds of cheese? The answer offered in this good book comes from deciphering myths and stereotypes, identifying patterns within regional variation, and connecting the results with the general lines of French history. In this way, studying the integration of rural communities of great diversity into the singular nation-state shows that the French Revolution was the foundation of the distinctive "French way of development."

Jean-Pierre Jessenne presents his argument in two parts. The first discusses problems and methods. It deconstructs stereotypes and misleading dichotomies—individual/community, archaic/modern, rural/urban. The oft-supposed "closed world of the village" mistakenly implies that all change is imposed from outside on passive inhabitants. To restore historical complexity, he stresses, one must allow for contingency, autonomy, and a multiplicity of behaviors and meanings.

With issues and methods clarified, part two offers a chronological narrative from the Old Regime to the present. Reflecting Jessenne's particular expertise and the thrust of his argument, the revolution and its consequences receive more detailed treatment than other periods. The numerous historians who, like the late François Furet and some Anglo-American revisionists, would minimize the revolution's effects in the countryside are asked to reconsider critical transformations: the establishment of personal liberty when servile status still existed, the abolition of seigneurialism, and the institution of unfettered property ownership. These



changes opened the door for the landless to become micro-proprietors, maintained the ranks of large farmers, and provided a greater degree of economic independence to a growing number of middling peasants. Legitimized by the revolution's egalitarian principles and preserved by Napoleon Bonaparte and the regimes that followed, a heterogeneous "peasantry" proved an enduring characteristic of the French political economy over two centuries.

The integration of the heterogeneous countryside into the nation state afforded rural communes a greater degree of autonomy than many historians think. Even under the empire, local notables—typically large farmers—had freer reign in local governance than authoritarian administrative structures implied, and the supposed de-politicization of the village after 1800 is belied by a rejuvenation of communal political participation to constrain imperious mayors. Likewise, Eugen Weber's argument that the national political consciousness of peasants did not awaken until the Third Republic is shown to be well off the mark. From the revolution on, rural inhabitants acted on their own interests in disputes of local and national importance. Their political engagement was further stimulated by an 1831 reform granting the vote in national elections to the village elite and restoring the right of all village men to elect the communal council—an important reform that Jessenne surprisingly fails to mention. Linguistic diversity, another heterogeneous feature, did not, he argues, pose a great barrier to French identity, for in practice many villagers spoke either the local dialect or French as the situation demanded. The early emergence of cultural pluralism and multiple identities—local, regional, and national—reflected progress in village schooling arising from the Guizot law of 1833. National consciousness grew also through experience with common institutions: the *fisc*, the army, the land cadastre, and national imagery on postage stamps.

The Third Republic's supposed "conquest of the countryside" by legions of *instituteurs*, Jessenne shows, is a story in need of revision. From 1880 cooperation and collaboration better describe the relations between the government and the rural population, ties that strengthened in the face of repeated economic shocks and the trauma of two world wars. Initially forged during the agrarian crisis of the 1880s and 1890s, cooperation gained strength through the establishment in 1881 of an independent minister of agriculture and the rise of agrarian syndicates. Protective tariffs and other aid assured the continuation of family farming and, with the exodus of the non-agrarian population, villages were composed almost exclusively of peasants in a three-tier pyramid. Meanwhile, the regime fashioned a laudatory stereotype of the substantial peasant (upper tier) as the defender of the nation to rally rural loyalties to the republic against the growth of socialism among industrial workers. Jessenne disagrees with historians who see the state-peasant alliance as a regrettable cause of slow agrarian growth, arguing that the alliance and

slow growth facilitated desirable economic and social adjustments to change and external pressures.

Such cooperation briefly fell apart during the Popular Front government in the 1930s but resumed and expanded thereafter, with the alliance of farmers and right-wing parties repeatedly reaffirmed up to the present. While the great agricultural revolution of the 1960s saw productivity soar, micro-proprietors disappear, and the agrarian village hollowed out, generous agricultural aid nonetheless continued, with the increasing costs eventually transferred to the European Union.

This book is very much a French work of synthesis. A strength therein is Jessenne's marshalling of recent research by a new generation of French historians who are rejuvenating a field that lost momentum after the four-volume rural history of France, edited by Georges Duby and Armand Wallon, appeared in 1975, and the cultural turn took hold in the 1980s. A notable weakness is the rare mention of important studies by British, American, and other historians outside French academia. Similarly, the book invites others to incorporate research concerning, for example, the geographic restructuring of agriculture and the role of improved transport in that evolution. That said, Jessenne admirably succeeds in elucidating the distinctive evolution of the French rural political economy since 1750. His defense of French agrarian development and slow growth is a reminder that rapid growth at any cost—the Anglo-American choice—has disturbing consequences of its own to reconsider. The historic choices made in France are visible today in the country's working, rural landscapes that Anglo-Americans have good reason to admire. These landscapes are at risk, Jessenne cautions, because meeting today's challenge of overproduction will require revision of the French agrarian model. Distinguishing myth from historical reality, he hopes, can illuminate the difficult choices that lay ahead. An English translation would spread that wisdom.

ROBERT M. SCHWARTZ  
Mount Holyoke College

DAVID S. BARNES. *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle against Filth and Germs*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 314. \$35.00.

Paris has always been a smelly city, and the "great stink" David S. Barnes refers to in the title of his new book is actually not one stink, but two. This study of the culture of public health in France asks why in 1880, residents of Paris perceived a foul odor as a serious threat to their health, but in 1895, when a similar stench recurred, they treated it as a mere nuisance. The rise of germ theory alone cannot explain the difference, since Parisians already knew about germ theory in 1880. Conversely, although by 1895 few thought that bad odors caused disease, Parisians retained principles of hygiene that predated germ theory: "conformity with behavioral norms, avoidance of overcrowded living conditions,

public and domestic cleanliness, containment and disposal of bodily excretions, and . . . the neutralization of contaminating odors with disinfectants" (p. 2). Even as science proved that filth and stink did not cause disease, the cultural disseminators of germ theory continued to combat filth and stink, using pre-existing public health practices based on the very miasma theory that germ theory had supposedly overturned.

Barnes's medical and scientific history thus replaces overthrow with synthesis. At the intellectual level, germ theory disproved miasma theory, but in politics, culture, and everyday life, germ theory blended with miasma theory to yield what Barnes calls the "sanitary-bacteriological synthesis" (SBS). "A flexible framework for addressing health threats rather than a strict medical doctrine, the sanitary-bacteriological synthesis brought the commonsense cultural appeal and broad applicability of the old knowledge (for example, that foul-smelling substances are bad for one's health) into harmony with the specificity and scientific mastery inherent in the new knowledge of microbes" (p. 3). One form of knowledge merged with rather than absolutely replaced the other when the new theory of germs took advantage of the moralizing disgust that public health officials had inculcated in French citizenry during the nineteenth century.

Barnes makes his case by focusing on public health officials and the public's response to them, drawing on reports made by the doctors, elected officials, and civil servants responsible for public salubrity as well as on newspapers, school curricula, and public monuments commemorating scientists and doctors. The first chapter traces the Great Stink of 1880 and the interplay among citizens, scientists, elected officials, and public health administrators. The second chapter provides a history of public hygiene, focusing on the tension between its commitment to positivism and its belief that health depended on a nebulous moral concept of "civilization." Through a series of local case studies, the third chapter explores the uneven triumph of germ theory as an explanation of disease and a basis for its prevention. In the fourth and fifth chapters, Barnes shows how germ theory both produced new practices of disinfection and retooled older practices to suit new republican values. The final chapter, on "1880 and Beyond," extends the book's temporal and spatial borders to discuss the great stink of 1895 and public health in England, Germany, and France's colonies.

This book is useful because it situates the histories of science, public health, the body, and everyday life in a larger framework that includes urban history and the emergence of French republican nationhood. It will instruct both specialists, who are unlikely to have read the fascinating reports of public health officials, and non-specialists, whom Barnes deftly brings up to speed on such topics as educational reform, miasma versus germ theory, the history of public health institutions, the complex administration of Paris, and the history of Parisian waste removal.

This book is not, however, a radical intervention that

overturns established scholarly wisdom. There may still be historians of science who insist that they are tracing the triumph of knowledge over error, but it is no longer controversial for historians in general to assert that bodily sensations and notions of health and disease have a history. The greatest historiographical challenge Barnes faces is differentiating his book from Alain Corbin's groundbreaking work on the history of smell, and it is unfortunate that he defers a detailed account of the latter until late in his own book (pp. 243–244, 252). Ultimately Barnes's book reads like an extended footnote to *The Foul and the Fragrant* (translated in 1986); where Corbin provided a cultural history of smell in France, Barnes focuses on the links among smell, disgust, and disease. Barnes claims to be innovating by addressing areas of France other than Paris. While it is true that much work on dirt and smell has focused on cities, those familiar with nineteenth-century France will not be surprised to learn that a nation that prized urbanity perceived country dwellers to be filthy and backward, nor that such a centralized nation exhibited uniformity across regions.

SHARON MARCUS  
Columbia University

ELINOR ACCAMPO. *Blessed Motherhood, Bitter Fruit: Nelly Roussel and the Politics of Female Pain in Third Republic France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 312. \$50.00.

Nelly Roussel spoke dramatically and eloquently of women's right to control their own bodies, advocating birth control both to limit family size and to release women from their seemingly inextricable bond with pain and suffering. Linking reproductive rights with female emancipation and citizenship, Roussel developed a distinct and radical feminism in early twentieth-century France. As a writer, and especially as a popular speaker, her ideas profoundly challenged the era's conceptions of gender, class, and rights, as well as the conventionally accepted division between the public and the private. Elinor Accampo justly argues in this excellent biography's opening sentence that "Nelly Roussel would have fitted the 'second-wave' feminism of the 1970s better than she did her own time" (p. 1). In calling for female reproductive rights, Roussel recognized what would become a central concept for feminism decades later: that the personal was indeed political. Pregnancy and physical pain, issues of the utmost personal nature, shaped individual women's lives, but their control and amelioration rested well beyond the individual, in the realm of the state, church, and French patriarchal culture. Accampo points out that although the term "patriarchy" was not yet a part of the feminist vernacular, Roussel understood and criticized the institutionalization of gender hierarchy, as she attacked "the monstrous social organization" (p. 65) rather than individual men. This book elegantly and convincingly argues that Roussel—a married, bourgeois, beautiful, articulate, and engaging woman—threatened bedrock

structures of Third Republic bourgeois and political culture.

Accampo utilizes a "new biography" approach to investigating and reconstructing Roussel's life. The work demonstrates the ways in which Roussel (with help from her exceptionally supportive husband, the sculptor Henri Godet) self-consciously shaped her public persona. While Roussel actively promoted herself as a gifted public speaker, Godet and her other supporters emphasized her coexistent maternal and wifely role; they recognized the importance of maintaining her respectable bourgeois reputation as she shocked sensibilities with her writing and lectures. Roussel consistently transgressed boundaries in her work and life: she traveled alone; spoke publicly; openly discussed issues of sexuality and reproduction (advocating a "strike of wombs" [p. 55]); supported workers and strikes; expressed deep anticlericalism; and, in the final years of her life, advocated Bolshevism and revolution.

Roussel spent much of her adult life in pain, suffering through years of misunderstood and misdiagnosed health problems, most of which were attributed to nerves, overexcitement, and overwork. Thriving on speaking and holding the public eye, Roussel was nonetheless repeatedly given "rest cures," isolated and nearly immobilized in a series of sanatoria. As Accampo explains, even eulogies and post-mortem remembrances blamed exhaustion, rather than the true culprit—pulmonary tuberculosis—for her death. Accampo superbly evokes the complex interplay among Roussel's own health, body, and pain, and her politics of liberating women from pain and bodily subjugation.

The Judeo-Christian assertion of pain as natural and redemptive for women held especially strong in France. Accampo explicates how, within the increasingly secular Third Republic, the valorization of the pain of childbirth took on secular meaning rooted in France's revolutionary tradition. Merely producing sons and daughters of the republic would not suffice. The "battlefield" of motherhood became the realm of women's civic bravery in the war against depopulation. French doctors continued to reject available and otherwise widely used palliative measures, such as chloroform during labor, until the interwar period. Women's pain retained its ethical and functional value.

Accampo demonstrates the intensity with which France clung to the idea of the "eternal feminine," the unchanging, ahistorical existence of womanhood, within which suffering and fecundity were fundamental. Roussel seriously challenged the veracity of this conceptualization and laid bare its inherent contradictions within a republic. This well-crafted book establishes Roussel's significant and radical contribution to twentieth-century French feminism; no other feminist of either her generation or the next placed reproductive control central to women's emancipation. Roussel conducted successful speaking tours in Belgium, Switzerland, Hungary, and throughout France (although Accampo errs in labeling her the first feminist to travel and lecture in the provinces; this distinction properly be-

longs to the Paris Commune veterans Paule Mink, André Léo, and Louise Michel).

This is an exceptionally engaging, comprehensively researched, and finely crafted study. A significant contribution to French and to women's/gender/feminist history, the work also provides an estimable example of the "new biography" approach, empathetically evoking the self-conscious, lived experience of this fascinating, ground-breaking woman. Undoubtedly of interest to scholars, it will also inspire and intrigue graduate and upper-level undergraduate students in history and women's studies courses. Hopefully a paperback edition is on the horizon. In the book's final sentence, Accampo expresses the desire to have "done justice to feminism, to the history of birth control, and to Nelly Roussel" (p. 250). I cannot imagine her doing better justice to all three.

CAROLYN J. EICHNER  
University of South Florida

WILLIAM D. IRVINE. *Between Justice and Politics: The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, 1898–1945*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. 269. \$60.00.

Partisans of Alfred Dreyfus founded the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* (League of the Rights of Man) in June 1898 to rally support for the Jewish army captain falsely convicted of treason. His hard-won vindication permitted the League to portray itself during the succeeding four decades as the Third Republic's bastion of defense for human and civil rights, indeed as the "conscience of democracy." Most historians have concurred in this vainglorious description. William D. Irvine does not, and skillfully dissects—one is tempted to write "eviscerates"—this legend.

Although the League's actual role in the Dreyfus Affair was minor, being on the winning side brought it rapid growth. By 1900, there were 12,000 dues-paying members; by 1914, 50,000; by 1933, 180,000, its height. Members were organized throughout France into "sections," a reference, like "Rights of Man," meant to recall the Jacobin phase of the 1789 Revolution: seventy sections in 1900, 2,500 in 1933. The great bulk of the members were lawyers, physicians, academics, journalists, schoolteachers, and civil servants, the very demography dominating the political leadership of the Radical and Socialist parties. Among the sections, men from the lower classes were rare; within the governing Central Committee at Paris, they were nonexistent.

Any member could bring to the League's attention an instance of "injustice," and nationwide, the sections examined some 20,000 cases a year. Irvine estimates that perhaps five percent had merit. One Leaguer even protested having to purchase a license to fish. Yet the Central Committee did take up some cases where the fear of judicial error was strong. The best example was the 1924 conviction on slender evidence of Guillaume Seznec for murder in Brittany. Marie-Françoise Bosser, a schoolteacher and the local section secretary, made clearing him her cause. Although the League was never

able to meet the high standard set by French law to force a retrial, Seznec was eventually pardoned. In 1989, that standard was lowered in legislation referred to as the "Seznec Law."

Issues of justice and injustice were the official rationale for the League, but what really mattered was politics. Like the Jacobins it claimed as progenitors, the League continuously purged its right wing: first the few conservative Dreyfusards, then the moderate Radicals, until, by the mid-1920s, the Socialists and some leftwing Radicals alone dominated. Throughout this march to the political Left, the League argued that only a democracy could guarantee the rights of man and that, therefore, the Third Republic had to be defended, no matter what. Thus, women should be denied the right to vote for fear that they were susceptible to clerical influence, with Jean Zay, minister of education in Léon Blum's cabinet, declaring that women lacked sufficient reason. Thus, freedom of association for religious congregations should be denied for fear that the monks and nuns would spread anti-republican views, with the Central Committee arguing that by swearing special vows, they had rejected their "civil status" and the rights of ordinary citizens. Thus, freedom of the press should be abridged because "cheap newspapers on the Left furthered the cause of freedom whereas their counterparts on the Right had the opposite effect" (p. 99). Thus, the many League members caught up by the Stavisky scandal in 1934 should not be condemned because conservatives were using the issue to criticize republican government, but Edouard Herriot, a founding member, should be expelled for participating in the national unity government of Gaston Doumergue, himself a member, formed to clean up the mess.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the League and much of the French Left embraced antimilitarism and sometimes pacifism, demonstrated in bitter acrimony over the question of responsibility for World War I, in criticism of the Versailles Treaty for its harsh treatment of Germany, and in desire for some manner of reconciliation with Adolf Hitler even at the cost of French subservience. Some Leaguers went so far as to dismiss *Mein Kampf* as a "campaign tract" and concentration camps as "labor camps." Referring to the Munich Accord, Central Committee member René Gérin declared, "There is no shame in belonging to a second rate, or twentieth rate, military power" (p. 185). After France's defeat in 1940, a significant minority of the League even supported the Vichy government.

For long, the details of this hypocrisy were unavailable and largely forgotten. During World War II, the League's archives were seized, transported to Germany in 1941 and then to the Soviet Union in 1945. Repatriated to France in 2001, they were opened to research a year later at the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine. Irvine has supplemented his meticulous examination of these records with the extensive biographical dictionary of the League's Central Committee members prepared by Wendy E. Perry for her doctoral dissertation at the University of North

Carolina. His telling of this sorry story is a superb model of monographic history.

BENJAMIN F. MARTIN  
Louisiana State University

RICHARD VINEN. *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. 476. \$35.00.

Richard Vinen wishes particularly to highlight neglected aspects of the Vichy years in France, emphasizing social rather than political history and, to the extent possible, featuring the "lower end of the social scale" (p. 2). While I have some reservations about his work, in my opinion Vinen is generally successful in carrying out his design. He has a very good grasp of the substantial literature on Vichy France, and his own primary research often adds fascinating anecdotes to illustrate his main themes. Although the author, perhaps overly modestly, declines to claim credit for a new interpretation of the Vichy years, several of his chapters provide sensible and exceptionally well-written synthetic introductions to major themes of this era that will serve the general reader well.

The book's novelty and greatest value is found in those sections where the author describes the experiences of prisoners of war, voluntary and requisitioned male and female workers in Germany, and women who had working, emotional, or sexual relationships with German soldiers. An example of interesting information that may come as a surprise to most readers is the fact that more French prisoners of war worked and lived in farm houses or small enterprises than in POW camps per se, and that a higher proportion of French civilian workers in Germany lived in camps than did prisoners of war.

Vinen concludes with the significant observation that "life for most French people between 1940 and 1944 was miserable" (p. 367). Earlier, he warns against looking "too hard for winners and losers in occupied France" (p. 245). However, his study makes it clear that in a general context of misery, some suffered more than others. He argues that, in contrast to the poor, the rich more easily endured the Occupation or escaped retribution for collaboration after the war by hiring good lawyers. Thus, we learn that most of the women who had relations with the Germans, and in consequence later made up the majority of those who had their heads shaved by their neighbors at the Liberation, came from a working class of shop assistants, chambermaids, prostitutes, and waitresses. Similarly, those POWs most likely to return to France before the end of the war were the sons of the elite or the bourgeoisie, whose families had influence at home. The author mentions other factors that influenced one's experience of the Occupation, noting that those living in areas with the highest concentration of German occupation troops and in cities were more likely to suffer food shortages or be drafted for the Service du Travail Obligatoire (STO) than those in the originally "free" zone in southern



France, especially people living in rural agricultural areas and in the proximity of forested or mountainous terrain.

The great virtue of this book is to reveal significant amounts of information about those French people overlooked by most writers, but at times Vinen's interpretations are less convincing than others. The commendable attempt to highlight experiences of lower-class people occasionally flounders on questionable "class analysis." The reader will be convinced that many of the extreme collaborationists, and especially those in the French Milice or working directly for the German police, were recruited from the ranks of marginal criminals of lower-class background. Less compelling logic and scant evidence supports the allegedly contrasting attitudes toward the sexual fidelity of the wives of workers and prisoners in Germany from different social classes. Specialists will not be convinced that the "National Revolution" was as unimportant to Philippe Pétain or as unclear in its intentions as argued here. The curious emphasis on "some" in a Vichy regime for whom antisemitism was "not a defining feature" and the "many people who supported the Resistance" (p. 136) who were antisemitic parallels the questionable assertion about Vichy's persistence at the Liberation when "so many of its assumptions were taken for granted" (p. 366), a claim that seems to ignore the vast majority of its tenets that were categorically rejected.

I believe that the author's emphasis on the "previously omitted" perspective may have distorted his account of the Liberation. The only two references to Charles de Gaulle's famous speech at the liberation of Paris were jaundiced ones: that Parisians did not really liberate themselves and that Paris was not really as "broken and martyred" as were the coastal cities. The eventual disillusionment of many French people with the Liberation is emphasized here, but where is the euphoria and triumph of those heady days of August and September 1944? For a historian wishing to convey more of the experience of the mass of the population, why insist that Paris was not destroyed by the Germans only because of the German commander, Dietrich von Choltitz, and include the Parisian liberation memories of Ernst Jünger, a notorious Nazi, and Christian de la Mazière, a French fascist collaborator, while saying nothing of the spontaneous rising of thousands of Parisians, as captured in many contemporary photographs, erecting barricades in all parts of the city?

These few reservations aside, Vinen's book is an interesting and important contribution to the historiography of France under the German Occupation.

JOHN F. SWEETS  
University of Kansas

PAUL WARDE. *Ecology, Economy and State Formation in Early Modern Germany*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 41.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 392. \$99.00.

This dense book is the result of the author's studies on the Forest District (*Forstamt*) of Leonberg in Württemberg, between the early 1500s and mid-1700s. It is a well thought out piece of research based on the vast literature on the Black Forest and the Duchy of Württemberg, and on a thorough investigation of manuscript sources housed in Stuttgart and local record offices. Although the dukes were not the first in early modern times to provide their domain forests with regulations and a body of foresters to implement them (the kings of France having done so in 1291 and 1319), it is true that the formation of the modern state in Germany owes much to forest administration.

Paul Warde combines institutional history with an environmental analysis of Württemberg: in his view peasant owners, the vast majority of the population up to 1856, measured the utility of forest resources against grain production (spelt), pasture, and vineyards and winemaking. Although the book takes into consideration every sector of the village economy, forest ecology receives most of the author's attention. Forests, as elsewhere, were meant to provide firewood for heating, forges, saltmaking, glass works, poles for vineyards, and timber for buildings (pp. 316–320). The regional economy was not self-sufficient and needed to import salt, iron, and grain to support the population of about 200,000 inhabitants: the export of wood or wine provided the necessary income.

At the same time, the whole book is about the emergence of the state as a ruling body. In Warde's view, state organization did not spring from the court, princely councils, embassies, or the king's body but from the more modest duties connected with forest administration. How did this happen, given that the forests were privately owned by communes up to the end of the fifteenth century and most of them remained so up to the mid-nineteenth century? How did villagers agree to transfer local powers to ducal administration, although the regional Diet (*Landtag*), where clergy, nobility, and communities met, was fully functioning a generation before the whole movement toward state control over the forests began? According to the author there had been a general demand from the peasantry to enforce a "regulative drive" (pp. 163–164) since the communes were not able to enforce local bylaws to defend their forests. The duke, in line with the German nobility and following the Lutheran principle of "*guten Haushalter*," appealed to a shared view of "general welfare" (p. 176) to perform political duties. This is an odd statement to read next to the description of such events as Poor Conrad's rebellion (1514) and the Peasants' War (1524–1525) (pp. 175–176). In both events the appropriation by the nobility of ancient forest customs held by the communes was denounced. Warde discusses with competence the moral principles adopted by the villagers when defining ecological priorities according to private or public necessity: his unpublished sources suggest that the "moral economy" of the Leonberg crowd was trying to agree with the lord's tenet that he was acting in defence of the common wealth (*gemein*

Nutz) (pp. 335–341). However, it was the duke who was in a position to define his own private interest (*eigen Nutz*) as public interest (*gemein Nutz*) once he had established himself as a caring suzerain in the eyes of his loyal subjects. The double cleavage between personal interest (individual vs. the commune) and public interest (commune vs. the state) remained and was the cause of strife such as the “widespread . . . irresponsible woodcutting” (p. 356). It is remarkable that these underlying social tensions did not take the form of armed conflicts such as those in the neighboring region of Hauenstein, described by David Martin Luebke in *His Majesty's Rebels: Communities, Factions, and Rural Revolt in the Black Forest, 1725–1745* (1997).

The whole society relied on forest resources: the dukes and the communes dealt in timber. Incomes from timber sales provided most of the cash necessary for everyday use as well as the state revenues. The ancient custom of *Gaabholtz* permitted members of the local community to collect firewood. Warde reckons one cubic meter per person to have been the average (low) consumption in the mid-1600s: that was too much for the three cubic meters of stacked wood cut from one hectare of forest (pp. 264–268, 315). Given the low returns of grain cultivation and the rise of firewood consumption because of climate change, forest depletion was already an issue in the 1560s. It obviously worsened between 1618 and 1715. Under the supervision of the communes' herdsman, cattle, sheep, and pigs roamed the woods searching for fodder and acorns, keeping down the regrowth of the forest.

The author focuses his attention on village studies and the management of local forests in times when state power emerged out of dramatic events to mediate between neglected bylaws and local powers (pp. 161–223). Some crucial questions, such as who owned forests and land in the duchy, find an answer thanks to unpublished sources: the major owners were the communes, followed by the duke, the nobility, and private landowners. The religious, social, and political events from 1514 to 1618 placed a great strain on the finances of the communes. War broke out in 1618, 1622, 1634–1635, 1638–1648, 1675, 1693, and 1707, further depleting resources in money and timber: it remained the major cause of state expenditure throughout modern European history.

When considering the growth of the state as a regulatory administrative body, Warde records the brief but intense Habsburg domination of Württemberg (1520–1534) and emphasizes that forest administration came into force following the dukes' return to power. I would suggest also that the forestry ordinance of 1540 was probably very much due to the example of the Habsburgs, who kept their dominion over Outer Austria (just bordering Württemberg) until 1805. It was Maximilian I who practiced a deliberate policy of forest regulations (in Tyrol in the 1490s and in the County of Görz/Gorizia/Gorizia in 1501, where forests were taken away from the communes and held as domain).

Warde's book addresses a major subject: the corre-

lation between natural economy and state institutions facing the depletion of natural resources. His argument is well supported when he deals with the ecology and sustainability of the forest economy in a peasant region and yields new insight into an interesting and relevant regional case. The book provides excellent material for a discussion on the interaction between politics and society at a time when the ruling elite was developing new political categories. Its chief contribution is the wealth of newly collected data about the “two ecologies”: this book will be of great interest for anyone doing research on the history of Alpine regions.

MAURO AMBROSOLI  
Università di Udine

JEFFREY HERF, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 390. \$29.95.

Fascination with the Holocaust appears inexhaustible. A recent addition to the literature is Jeffrey Herf's book. Herf has written widely on Weimar and Nazi history. He claims in his preface that this is the first book to examine in depth the Nazi's paranoid antisemitic account of the world war. While this claim is somewhat exaggerated, Herf's book remains an important contribution to the growing literature on the Holocaust.

Adopting a modified intentionalist approach, the work analyzes the ideological intentions of key political figures in the period leading up to World War II. Herf rightly maintains that a long tradition of elite and popular antisemitism in Germany created a climate of indifference that allowed for an incremental persecution of Jews, but does not, in itself, sufficiently explain a policy of genocide. While Adolf Hitler and his fellow travelers had always maintained that antisemitism offered the explanatory framework for world history, it was only during the war that Hitler's obsessional and paranoid strand of German antisemitism, which he had adopted from the beginning of his political career, became the key to the regime's explanation of events and thus a causal factor in the evolution of the Holocaust.

Utilizing a rich assortment of historical sources, Herf sets out to trace the roots and antecedents of antisemitism and the manner in which propaganda helped build the antisemitic consensus by creating a mythic world. Within the “delirious discourse” (to use Michel Foucault's terminology) of radical antisemitism, “all riddles were solved, all historical contingency was eliminated, and everything became explicable” (p. 6). Unsurprisingly, Joseph Goebbels, minister of propaganda, and Otto Dietrich, his press chief, played important roles in translating fanatical visions into an accusatory narrative, which the Nazi propaganda machine relentlessly disseminated as war drew ever closer. Herf deftly explores the various themes that the Nazis adopted, including the global impact of “international Jewry,” which profitably could be traced to the dictated peace and Germany's humiliation following the World War I

and that culminated in Hitler's "prophecy" speech to the Reichstag of January 30, 1939. While the Ribbentrop-Molotov nonaggression pact of August 1939 refuted the notion of either an international Jewish conspiracy or Jewish domination of the Soviet Union and briefly exposed the depths of Hitler's cynicism and disdain for ideological principle, the collapse of collective security enabled Hitler to launch and quickly win victories against Poland, the Low Countries, and France in 1939 and 1940, while the Soviet Union looked on without intervening. Moreover the Nazi antisemitic campaign against England ("the Jews among the Aryans") constituted an important chapter in its wartime propaganda offensive.

In the weeks leading up to the invasion of the Soviet Union, Goebbels began to orchestrate a vast propaganda offensive that focused once again on a major plank of Nazi prewar propaganda: namely the "Jewish-Bolshevik" conspiracy. In his "Proclamation to the German People" announcing the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Hitler squarely placed the blame for his decision on the "Jewish Bolsheviks" who held power in Moscow and who had been involved in an "encirclement policy with England" (echoes of the origins of World War I). Herf reveals how, as the fortunes of war began to turn inexorably against Germany, Nazi propaganda lost all touch with reality and retreated into a world of mythology in which "the Jews Are Guilty of Everything."

The strength of this book lies in the cogent manner in which the author establishes that a major shift occurred in Nazi propaganda during the war. But what, for example, were the nuanced responses of different sections of the community to the cumulative radicalization of antisemitic propaganda? Did such propaganda, for example, specifically target certain groups, and if so, how did they respond? Herf largely focuses on the role of the press and radio broadcasts. He also provides a very useful appendix that charts the antisemitic campaigns waged between 1939 and 1945 in the front-page stories of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. However, the cinema was arguably the mass medium of the first half of the twentieth century and yet it is a medium largely ignored by the author. It is a pity, moreover, that a book devoted to antisemitic propaganda should contain so little visual material.

The radical antisemitism of Nazi Germany's wartime propaganda constituted an interpretive prism through which Nazi leaders viewed and misconstrued events as they unfolded. Herf has written a thoughtful and provocative account of aspects of the propaganda that constructed a mythical Jewish enemy that threatened Germans in their homeland and legitimized war and ultimately genocide. As such it offers a timely reminder of the unfettered paranoid ideology that underpinned the Third Reich.

DAVID WELCH  
University of Kent at Canterbury

WOLF GRUNER. *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße: Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Verfolgung der "Mischehen" 1943.* (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2005. Pp. 224. €12.95.

In Berlin, the Gestapo arrested and deported thousands of Jews during the "De-Judaization of the Reich" arrests, launched February 27, 1943, across Germany (*Fabrikaktion*). Also arrested and held separately at Rosenstrasse 2-4 in central Berlin were 2,000 intermarried Jews. Meeting outside, non-Jewish relatives began a protest that continued until March 6, when most intermarried Jews were released. Until recently, the widely accepted claims that protest by ordinary Germans rescued thousands of Jews co-existed silently with multitudinous commemorations of the July 20 conspiracy's lofty failure and common wisdom that Nazism crushed every public effort to protect Jews.

Wolf Gruner's account of the Rosenstrasse events and their postwar reception reverse previous conclusions. His promise to record history as it actually happened, on the basis of "newly available" documents (p. 10), illustrates characteristics of neo-Rankean history. He argues primarily from Gestapo directives at Reich and three subordinate levels outside of Berlin that authorities never intended to deport intermarried Jews incarcerated in Berlin. Rather, "very explicitly," the intention behind their arrest was removal from their jobs (p. 55). For two reasons the Gestapo held intermarried Jews at Rosenstrasse 2-4, "many" for more than nine days (p. 128): to verify their "racial status" (p. 110) and to select 225 replacements for newly deported "full Jews" working in Jewish institutions (pp. 128, 119). Notions that protests rescued intermarried Jews are postwar inventions, "legends based on reports from survivors and subjective impressions" (p. 202).

Gruner states that "certainly" public commemorations of the protest multiplied after unification because Germany needed to represent itself as a "new and better country" (p. 14). Gruner's dissertation adviser Wolfgang Benz did write during the year of unification that the protest was "a success in resistance (*Widerstand*) accomplished by a minority which in the society of the Nazi state existed on the boundary of those without rights!" This clashed, however, with less spectacular appraisals placing the protest in context of the regime's peculiar anxiety about social unrest, its efforts to conduct genocide secretly, its long struggle to quietly dissolve intermarried couples, and a related series of decisions to "temporarily" exempt them from deportations. In 1995 Gruner countered that "obviously" all interpretations that the protest deterred Gestapo plans "certainly do not hold up within the historical context." His incisive dissertation-based book of 1997 reiterates this and his reasoning and conclusions have changed little since.

Gruner draws important documents into this debate. Yet his interpretations rely on conjectures. Thus a considerable number of young children were "obviously" included among those incarcerated for the job selection

at Rosenstrasse 2–4 “so they would not be left alone at home when their parents were arrested” (p. 109). To the image of a Gestapo carefully arresting children is joined the claim that no harm was intended to intermarried Jews at a time officials struggled to complete “racial” purification. Gruner supposes that orders were carried out as written (p. 194) and reflected honest intentions of a regime well known for trickery, especially in genocide.

Good history not only has footnotes but makes sense. Rounding up 2,000 (from work, home, and streets) and interning them for up to twelve days was hardly “the easiest” way for the Gestapo to verify status and select eleven percent for promotion (p. 121). Why not do this in the four main collection centers other than Rosenstrasse 2–4, rather than facilitating collective protest by sorting out and interning intermarried Jews separately? The Gestapo continuously surveyed German Jews, so why was “racial status” verification (pp. 110, 118) necessary? Why check only 2,000 of Berlin’s 8,800 intermarried Jews (p. 195)?

Gruner’s thesis depends on dismissing, overlooking, or misconstruing sources. When he says the Gestapo checked “racial status” he presumably means marital status, since intermarried Jews were “full” Jews. Ignoring the distinction between “racial” and marital status leads to errors in understanding the persecution of intermarried Jews, notable here in Gruner’s treatment of men sent from Rosenstrasse to Auschwitz as cases of “protective custody,” not intermarriage (pp. 166–172). Gruner dismisses evidence in Hans Adler’s classic work as “very vague” (p. 25). Antonia Leugers’s vital refutation of the argued role of the churches falls on deaf ears, as does Joachim Neander’s thesis that Auschwitz commandants were pulling for more laborers. (Considering the critical importance Gruner attributes to the Jewish community’s documents on the selection from Rosenstrasse of replacement workers, it is peculiar that Berlin’s Centrum Judaica has denied Neander’s repeated requests to read them, despite an appeal from the German Studies Association on Neander’s behalf.) As evidence that the reviewer “advocates” a thesis that further protests would have “impeded” the Holocaust, Gruner cites a provocative question asking whether further similar protests might have “slowed or impeded” the annihilation (p. 28). Although this reviewer has always argued that the regime avoided using force for tactical reasons, Gruner says that he claims the regime could not have quelled the protest with force (p. 157). Gruner alternately cites or dismisses Joseph Goebbels’s diaries, suggesting perhaps that a real document bears Nazi insignia. His claim that interpreting the protest as influential was a postwar invention depends on dismissing an American intelligence report of April 1, 1943, based on a “trustworthy” source, that a Gestapo “action against Jewish wives and husbands . . . had to be discontinued some time ago because of the protest which such action aroused.” As for unification reviving interest in Rosenstrasse events, work that “decisively” in-

fluenced the “reception history” began in 1985 and resulted in “the first presentation of research results” by mid-1989. The first published debate on the Rosenstrasse protest occurred in 1995–1996, independently of any unification influence.

Given his work, Gruner concludes, any interpretations that protests interrupted a plan for deporting intermarried Jews are “hardly convincing” (p. 165). This may well be due in part to his lack of analysis, and indeed the dearth of study generally on collective protest as a form of opposition in Nazi Germany. Research on the Rosenstrasse events is just beginning, not ending.

NATHAN STOLTZFUS  
Florida State University

DAGMAR BARNOUW. *The War in the Empty Air: Victims, Perpetrators, and Postwar Germans*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 303. \$29.95.

In this intriguing but deeply flawed book, Dagmar Barnouw makes a passionate plea for normalizing the public memory of German suffering in World War II. According to Barnouw, “the nearly total exclusion from historical memory of German wartime experiences, among them large-scale air raids, mass deportations, and warfare involving millions of conscripts, has over the decades created a serious loss of historical reality” (p. xii). She adds that she is not interested in German suffering for its own sake, since “all populations caught in this particularly terrible war suffered,” but for the profoundly negative effects “an enduring hierarchy of suffering” has in the present. According to Barnouw, “The single most exploitable political commodity in the postwar era has been Nazi Evil” (p. 1). Memory, according to Barnouw, is power, and one who controls memory has the capacity to manipulate politics.

This has played out somewhat differently in the United States and Germany but, on Barnouw’s reading, politics in both countries are shaped by a heavily censored, hierarchical memory of World War II. In the United States, the tendency is to want to recollect only America’s “good war” (p. 102). Indeed, frequently citing President George W. Bush’s rhetoric (pp. 3–5, 9–10, 171–172), she blames the contemporary chaos in the Middle East and America’s strong support for Israel on the distorted memory of World War II (pp. 18, 99). If such memory of the war has been used to inflate and legitimate American power, in Germany it has been used to create a censorial climate, full of taboos, which has been “problematic for ordinary Germans’ perceptions of the domestic and foreign politics of their country” (p. 99). Indeed, if memory is for Barnouw a question of power, its corollary is forgetting and “impotence” (pp. xiv, 12–21) and for her, it is clear that it is the Germans who have become impotent in the face of the “still accumulating power of Jewish memory discourses” (p. 64).

There are at least three fundamental problems with this argument, aside from the often tendentious and polemical tone in which Barnouw makes it. First, her con-



tention that Germans were charged with "collective guilt" (p. 30) by the Allies and that this assumption has only increased in the ensuing decades is at best only partially accurate. Allied collective guilt accusations were short-lived and far from hegemonic even among the Allied leadership. Rather, as both Jeffrey K. Olick and Norbert Frei have recently shown, the alleged charge of "collective guilt" was a myth largely created by the Germans themselves, at least partially as a way of deflecting any serious discussion of the Nazi past.

Second, Barnouw's contention that there has been a "Manichean divide of German postwar memory . . . between memories of guilt that were to become public memory discourses of WW II and memories of painful losses that were to be excluded not only from public remembrance but also from historical memory" (p. 52) is simply untrue, as is her assertion that there have been few accounts "whether documentary or fictional" (p. 26) of German suffering in the war. In the first postwar decades, as Robert G. Moeller has persuasively demonstrated, German suffering, indeed victimization, was the dominant public memory of the war. The political influence of German expellees from the East in the 1950s is well known, as is the quasi-official multivolume documentation of their experience. Similarly, the iconic status of the ordinary *Landser* (roughly, grunts) and of the German POWs in Soviet captivity is widely documented. Yet Barnouw acknowledges neither. In this same vein, the book is replete with numerous factual errors, all of which tend to magnify German losses and suffering and minimize the harm done by Germans in the war. For instance, Barnouw reduces the number of German POWs who returned from Soviet captivity from two-thirds to five percent (actually the number of those captured at Stalingrad who survived), while reducing the number of self-admitted murders committed by Otto Ohlendorf, head of Einsatzgruppe D, from 90,000 to 9,000 (p. 236).

These mischaracterizations of both collective guilt and German memory can both be traced to the most fundamental problem with the book: its relentless presentism. For an author who calls repeatedly for "sober critical inquiry into . . . historical events" (p. 33), Barnouw evinces a surprising lack of historical understanding. Not only does she seem to be unaware of most of the vast historical literature on both German wartime experience and German memory, her own argument is—protestations to the contrary aside—deeply ahistorical. She projects aspects of the memory disputes of the 1990s back into the German past and homogenizes that past into a mirror image of the present, a precise inversion of the operation she accuses her opponents of making. In effect, Barnouw is shadowboxing, criticizing positions that never existed for most of the postwar period. And to the extent her characterizations of the most recent German memory wars are accurate, she cannot account for the particularity (and oddity) of their emergence in the last ten or fifteen years because

she sees them as simply the continuation of the always already distorted German relationship to the past.

DEVIN O. PENDAS  
Boston College

DEVIN O. PENDAS. *The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963–1965: Genocide, History, and the Limits of the Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 340. \$65.00.

The twenty-month Frankfurt trial (1963–1965) of twenty former functionaries at Auschwitz remains the longest trial in postwar German history and arguably the most famous. For decades, however, the only available account of the proceeding in English was the 1966 translation of Bernd Naumann's voluminous reportage on the trial for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. This regrettable state of affairs has changed in the last years with the appearance of not one but two excellent books generously dedicated to the trial: Rebecca Wittmann's *Beyond Justice: The Auschwitz Trial* (2005) and now Devin O. Pendas's study.

Wittmann and Pendas reach many of the same conclusions; indeed, their sharpest differences may be methodological. Wittmann was able to gain access to the audiotapes made of the trial, which were never released for public or even scholarly use. Pendas, by contrast, has exhaustively mined the archives of the various state organizations connected to the trial as well as the contemporaneous press accounts. As a matter of substance, both authors agree that the trial served as a watershed event in vexing West Germans toward a reckoning with Nazi crimes, yet failed to offer an entirely adequate representation of Nazi genocide.

That there were serious problems with the legal profile of the case is not, of course, a new claim; Hannah Arendt outlined these problems decades ago in her introduction to Naumann's book. In the mid-1950s, West Germany incorporated the crime of genocide into its domestic criminal code, but it could not use this incrimination to prosecute former Nazis without running afoul of ex post facto prohibitions—or so German jurists concluded. By the mid-1960s, the only crime that former members of the Nazi genocidal apparatus could be charged with was simple murder, as statutes of limitations barred prosecutions for other offenses. Yet as Arendt first suggested, and as Pendas makes clear in a richly detailed examination of doctrine, German law proved an unwieldy tool for prosecuting Auschwitz functionaries, as it defined murder in terms of the subjective motive of the perpetrator. Compounding this problem, the distinction between a perpetrator of murder and an accomplice likewise turned on the internal state of the criminal actor. According to Pendas, this subjectivist approach framed a "radically different understanding of . . . human agency than that revealed by the Holocaust" (p. 6). During the trial, the need to accommodate this subjectivist orientation meant that "genocide receded into the background, gore and sadism advanced to the fore" (p. 292).

Other problems resulted not from doctrine but from procedure. German trials are controlled by inquisitorial norms that look quite unorthodox to those familiar with Anglo-American adversarial justice: the presiding judge controls the flow of information in the courtroom, not the parties; and a mixed tribunal of lay jurors and professional judges passes judgment. Pendas offers a fine overview of German trial procedure, and his discussion of the role played in the trial by civil counsel—attorneys who represent victims' groups—represents one of his book's most original contributions. Here Pendas explores how the activities of Friedrich Karl Kaul, an attorney representing Auschwitz survivors from East Germany, ushered the politics of the Cold War into a trial ostensibly devoted to making sense of the crimes of the Nazi state. Civil counsel also prodded the court into undertaking a fraught fact-finding trip to Auschwitz; Pendas's account of this trip demonstrates in exemplary fashion how politics of the present inevitably filter into and shape trials staged to teach broad lessons about the traumatic past.

The book is not free, however, from some minor missteps. Pendas's claim, for example, that "no . . . sanctions are attached to perjury by defendants in German criminal trials" misses the point that defendants can never face perjury charges in German criminal courts as their testimony is never offered under oath. And oddly, in a book as thorough as this, the greatest shortcomings are its omissions. Given the problems posed by trying Auschwitz functionaries as common murderers, the book would have benefited from a deeper analysis of how German jurists reached the controversial conclusion that ex post facto norms barred genocide prosecutions. I also found myself wishing that Pendas had examined the influence of the Eichmann trial, which had concluded a year earlier, on the Frankfurt proceeding. Finally, the book would have benefited from more background material about both the perpetrators and the principal legal actors such as Fritz Bauer, who led the investigation, and Hermann Langbein, an Auschwitz survivor who both testified at, and exhaustively chronicled, the trial.

But these quibbles should not detract from Pendas's achievement. He has written an important, elegantly argued, and meticulously researched book that enriches our understanding of a crucial legal event. If the book describes the failure of the German trial ultimately to make sense of Auschwitz, it does not indict the law per se. Rather, it reminds historians and jurists alike of the need to shape, in ongoing fashion, legal concepts and processes capable of dealing with extraordinary crimes.

LAWRENCE DOUGLAS  
Amherst College

WOLFGANG HARDTWIG and ERHARD SCHÜTZ, editors. *Geschichte für Leser: Populäre Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert*. Assisted by ERNST WOLFGANG BECKER. (Stiftung Bundespräsident-Theodor-Heuss-Haus, number 7.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2005. Pp. 408. €34.00.

For several decades, German historians have afforded plenty of evidence that they are critically "coming to terms with the past" of their own (nationally defined) discipline in the twentieth century. Perhaps as a side effect, histories written by "amateurs" working largely or entirely outside the university system have suffered relative neglect. The fact that it goes a long way toward redressing the balance is not the only virtue of this stimulating collection of essays—but it is certainly not the least. Although academic historians overwhelmingly predominate among the contributors, and although they do make any number of critical points about the authors and works they explore, there is no hint of a collective sneer at the amateurs' expense. Wolfgang Hardtwig's opening essay sets out an ambitious agenda that the succeeding thirteen chapters follow faithfully. The cultural capital that authors brought to their ventures in historical writing, relationships with publishers, and the issue of reception are all highlighted. These preoccupations distinguish the essays from work on historiography as it is narrowly and perhaps conventionally understood. Historical *culture* is at issue here.

Part one of the volume discusses historical biography. Sebastian Ullrich sheds new light on the work of Emil Ludwig, a left-wing Liberal whose psychologising biographies—of Wilhelm II and Otto von Bismarck, for example—were publishing sensations of the 1920s but rapidly forgotten thereafter. Temporary as their success was, it does suggest that attempts at furnishing the Weimar Republic with a simultaneously emotional and historical legitimacy were not doomed from the outset. Ludwig had no formal university training and had begun by writing poems, plays, and journalistic pieces. Academic historians hated his "historical belletrism" from the outset, but the very fact that it enjoyed a mass readership made it highly suspect to them. Ernst Wolfgang Becker discusses a little-known aspect of Theodor Heuss's career: as an author of historical biographies researched and published in the Third Reich. Disconcertingly, not a few of his readers saw them as a means of bridging the divide between Nazism and the Liberal traditions they defended.

Histories of war and of violence are addressed in part two, which opens with Ute Daniel's elegant discussion of civilian war reporting and introduces welcome transnational perspectives. Meike Herrmann alerts us to the importance and problematic nature of concentration camp survivors' account as historical sources, and also to the fact that they appeared in, and had an impact on, the public domain before historical analyses of their subject matter had begun. Yet, as Erhard Schütz's and Habbo Knoch's contributions make plain, other memories of World War II and of the Third Reich predominated in the historical literature of the first post-1945 decades in West Germany. Schütz explores narratives of German victimhood in POW camps, and of (largely fictional) heroic escapes; Knoch notes continuities in personnel and approach between Third Reich propagandists and writers for the illustrated magazines of the Federal Republic.

Part three explores ways in which particular socio-moral milieux expressed and sought to satisfy a yearning for their own histories. Siegfried Weichlein's and Till Kössler's essays consider the cases respectively of the Roman Catholic and the proletarian/Marxist milieux. The former was weakly represented among academic historians; the latter was not represented at all. Weichlein's study is especially rich, tracing three distinct phases in Catholic historiography from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth. Uwe Puschner and Hans Dieter Kittsteiner round off this section with surveys of histories produced within a specifically *völkisch* social context and of the reception of Oswald Spengler's work, respectively.

The final part deals with histories poised "between scholarship and popularization": Michael Rutschky's entertaining discussion of Egon Friedell's "cultural critique of the modern period"; David Oels's revealing analysis of the causes of the popularity of archaeological pot-boilers in the 1950s; and Tillmann Lahme and Holger R. Sturz's examination of Golo Mann's route to becoming a bestselling author.

This book neither makes nor needs claims to being comprehensive. Hardtwig's second contribution, discussing the World War II diaries of six *literati*, lies a little outside its main currents. But, together with the chapter on Heuss, whose intensely scholarly biographies were far from being bestsellers in the Third Reich, it does hint at one real gap. None of these essays undertakes a direct encounter with the historical culture of Germany between 1933 and 1945. An unsurpassed outpouring of historical novels characterized the Third Reich, and a flourishing market for them was evident. It seems implausible that these served simply as a substitute for popular histories written and consumed in the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft*. We know more and more about how the Third Reich was remembered. But what was remembered, what popular histories were published, how and by whom were they read *within* the Third Reich?

PETER LAMBERT  
Aberystwyth University

BÉLA KAPOSSY. *Iselin contra Rousseau: Sociable Patriotism and the History of Mankind*. (Schwabe Philosophica, number 9.) Basel, Switzerland: Schwabe. 2006. Pp. 348. €43.50.

What student of eighteenth-century Europe has not longed for a Cambridge-style survey of Swiss political thought in this period, setting the texts of such titans as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Benjamin Constant in their proper context? Alas, *The Swiss Idea of Freedom*—for what else could it be called?—has yet to be written. Given the complexity of the intellectual terrain of the Old Confederation and its allied territories, such a work would be a daunting undertaking. But among its many merits, Béla Kapossy's fine study of Isaak Iselin (1728–1782), the leading intellectual figure of eighteenth-cen-

tury Basel, is a vivid reminder of how useful a wider survey would be.

Kapossy approaches his subject by recalling Reinhart Koselleck's famous attack on modern "philosophical history," which singled out Rousseau as a chief source for the "poison" that led to G. W. F. Hegel and Karl Marx. A fresh look at Iselin, Kapossy argues, is a good way to test such claims. For in addition to becoming the most influential philosophical historian in the German-speaking world before Johann Gottfried Herder, Iselin was also Rousseau's most acute Swiss critic. As Kapossy demonstrates, both of his major works were intended as rejoinders to the "citizen of Geneva." The first, *The Philosophical and Patriotic Dreams of a Friend of Mankind* (1755), was Iselin's youthful intervention in the debate that engaged all Swiss thinkers of the epoch. How and to what extent should the members of the Swiss Confederation adapt to the economic and political realities of the eighteenth century? Like so many of his contemporaries, Iselin deplored the combination of avarice and bellicosity that characterized the behavior of Europe's absolute monarchies. But he was also concerned to forestall the alternative that Rousseau seemed to advocate in his *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences* (1750): a return to a "Spartan" model of economic austerity and a hyperpoliticized civic life. For Iselin, Rousseau's prescriptions involved an unattractive and unnecessary retreat before modernity, prompted by his dependence on a theory of human nature borrowed from Thomas Hobbes.

At the time, Iselin's own solution was a set of strategic compromises, chiefly inspired by François Fénelon, designed to permit the Swiss to enjoy the advantages of modernity—economic prosperity and civic freedom—while minimizing its costs. Two developments in the later 1750s then deepened Iselin's sense of the dilemmas and the possibilities facing his compatriots. One was his extensive engagement with the cutting-edge economic thought of the epoch, fresh from France and Scotland, which owed not a little to Iselin's involvement with the lively intellectual life of contemporary Berne. The other was the striking evolution of Rousseau's own thought, as set forth in his masterpiece, the *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* (1755). The result of this double inspiration, Kapossy explains, can be seen in Iselin's own major work, the *History of Mankind*, published first in 1764 and in many revised editions afterward. Iselin's starting point was a full-scale refutation of the philosophical anthropology on which the *Discourse's* theory of historical regression was founded, focusing on Rousseau's famous denial of natural "sociability" and his appeal to "pity" as a basis for morality. From there, Iselin turned to an innovative stadial history of human sociability, organized around a contrast between an all too sociable East and an anti-sociable North. Western history was thus far marked by failed efforts to achieve a synthesis between these two social models, first Greco-Roman, then Germanic. Criticizing Montesquieu as searchingly as Rousseau—Kapossy might have called the last portion of the book *Iselin con-*

tra Montesquieu—Iselin looked forward, however, to a happy “end” to this history. The “republican monarchy” of England, he suggested, showed the way toward a successful compromise between liberty and order, wealth and virtue.

This book is not an intellectual biography in any conventional sense. Beyond an account of the spell cast on the young Iselin by the ideas of the Bernese Pietist Beat Ludwig von Muralt and a striking description of his first encounter with Rousseau in Paris in the early 1750s, there are few glimpses of Iselin the man. For that, readers will have to return to the older works of Ulrich im Hof. But what Kaposy's study lacks in breadth it more than makes up for in depth. The decision to focus on Iselin's intense struggle—surely the correct term for it—with the ideas of Rousseau has produced what is doubtless the most fine-grained and incisive analysis of his work that we possess. In addition to Kaposy's clear and crisp writing, we can be grateful for the extensive citations from Iselin's texts in the original German. Iselin emerges here not just as the chief Swiss critic of Rousseau but as a major thinker in his own right, his work full of fascinating anticipations of Herder, Immanuel Kant, and Condorcet. The larger problem—that of a full explanation for the peculiar centrality of Switzerland in the birth of modern political thought—remains. But when *The Swiss Idea of Freedom* is at last written, it will be all the richer for the crucial episode recounted here.

JOHNSON KENT WRIGHT  
Arizona State University

DAVID M. D'ANDREA. *Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy: The Hospital of Treviso, 1400–1530*. (Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 214. \$75.00.

David M. D'Andrea gives a sober, balanced, and scholarly account of a large charity in a middle-ranking provincial city of northern Italy, concentrating mainly on the fifteenth century. Treviso was the first dominion of the Venetian Republic on the mainland, acquired by treaty in 1339. The penitential fraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti (“St. Mary of the flagellants”) was, D'Andrea argues, Treviso's most independent civic institution, an inner city with its own clock tower. Engaged in practical Christianity mainly for the benefit of residents of the city and district, the fraternity also offered care and hospitality to pilgrims. The fraternity's governing body gave special weight to nobles, judges, and professional men but also included representatives of the artisans and shopkeepers who made up the bulk of the ordinary membership. Showing remarkable self-confidence, the fraternity succeeded in managing its own affairs and negotiating directly with the rulers in Venice at a time when the city councils had become mere advisers to the Venetian governor.

It is no longer easy to write a study of Italian or Spanish religious fraternities that contains any great sur-

prises. Associations of lay persons subscribing to a simple religious rule, generally administered by men but including some women and clerics, they existed at most social levels from beggars to nobles, and by the seventeenth century there were hundreds of them in most big cities and many more in the countryside. Most did broadly similar things. They performed works of corporal and spiritual mercy, palliating poverty but never cutting at its roots; they honored Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints; they performed ceremonies and placatory rituals to win religious merit and divine favor for their members and their communities, striving to attract good weather and ward off plague. Monographs, articles, and conference papers on the subject abound. But D'Andrea succeeds very well in bringing out the special characteristics of the Battuti of Treviso. He displays a sharp eye for detail, closely examines the social and political context of the institution, and writes the kind of satisfying history that springs from account and minute books rather than chronicles. The Battuti acted as a general almonry; they established themselves as a dependable body of public trustees, prepared to take on demanding charitable commissions; and they administered a general hospital, Renaissance style. Like many of its counterparts in other cities, the hospital concentrated on three activities: taking in travelers and pilgrims, caring for orphans and foundlings, and treating sick people. Unusually versatile, the fraternity jibbed only at taking on the administration of the local plague hospital, which the governors may well have regarded as an intrusive Venetian establishment. D'Andrea clearly conveys their interest in the more constructive forms of charity, such as those concerned with education, trade training, and child adoption, and those that sought to integrate orphans and foundlings (many of them illegitimate children abandoned at birth) with the rest of society. Particularly interesting and unusual is the account of university scholarships founded by Trevisan residents and supervised with evident care by the fraternity.

A few questions may occur to readers. To what extent did the fraternity provide an insurance for its own members who fell on hard times, or did it concentrate almost entirely on people outside its own ranks? Were the brothers who flagellated themselves in public processions also the brothers who administered the charities, or were there in practice separate groups of penitents and administrators? But it may be that the documents will not provide answers.

Historians of charity tend to divide into optimists and pessimists. Optimists are inclined to praise the aspirations of charities and sometimes to take the will for the deed, pessimists and cynics to look upon charity as a form of patronage, a means of self-aggrandizement for its practitioners, or a form of class self-defense (Italian solicitude for decayed gentry and fallen merchants or professional people is well known). D'Andrea belongs, on the whole, among the optimists. He presents his chosen organization as an enlightened extended family that worked smoothly and well, at least in the fifteenth cen-



ture. He disagrees profoundly with John Boswell's sweeping verdict on the disastrous effects of foundling hospitals (p. 73; see John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* [1988], p. 421). Not surprisingly, there are no infant mortality figures for Renaissance Treviso to prove the case either way—although there is one slightly ominous reference (p. 67) to a certain Dona Orsola, who in 1466 was entrusted with as many as six of the hospital's children. If this arrangement was typical, were they really being well looked after? Only when the story reaches the 1520s do we encounter a whiff of corruption, in the form of election fixing, sniffed out by suspicious Venetian patricians. Was the fraternity's customary immunity from outside inspection entirely a good thing?

BRIAN PULLAN  
University of Manchester

CAMILLA RUSSELL. *Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies of Sixteenth-Century Italy*. (Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, number 8.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2006. Pp. xi, 237. €60.00.

Camilla Russell has provided one of the first full-length studies in English informed by a set of sources revealed by the long awaited but anticlimactic opening of the Archive for the Congregation of the Faith. Her study of Giulia Gonzaga, as she warns us, is not a biography but rather a consideration of the events that led to Gonzaga's death, to the seizure of her correspondence with Pietro Carnesecchi, and to his execution for heresy in 1567. Readers who expect careful analysis of those letters will be disappointed. Instead what Russell offers is a trip down a fairly well-trodden path: a simplified account of a complex group into which Gonzaga fits (the famous *spirituali*), an even more simplified account of an equally complex group (the so-called *intransigenti*), and a description of their interaction that valorizes the former while demonizing the latter. The contemporary view of Gonzaga held by *intransigenti* like Michele Ghislieri (Pope Pius V) reinforces the noblewoman's own heroic status for Russell. She lets us know that if Gonzaga had not died about six months before, then she too would have been executed along with Carnesecchi, had Pius V known the content of their letters.

Russell begins and ends the book with the death of Gonzaga. Make no mistake: she presents a tragedy. For her, Gonzaga and Carnesecchi were radical opponents of the Holy Office—predecessor to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith—opponents with a “subversive agenda.” The heroes were opposed by an inquisition and church that responded to the theological ideas of *spirituali* with “reform” and “by suppressing internal dissent” (p. 3). In the pages that follow, Russell traces the development of Gonzaga's religious orientation, which emerged amid crisis. Born into a noble family and married at a young age into the Colonna family, she was widowed within a year and soon embroiled in an inheritance dispute with a stepdaughter of

roughly her own age. She chose life as laywoman within a Franciscan convent in Naples—albeit with a large staff attending her needs—rather than remarriage. There she became connected with Carnesecchi, Juan de Valdés, Marcantonio Flaminio, Giovanni Morone, Reginald Pole, and others often associated with the *spirituali* and their *sola fide*, pro-reform theology. While she became more religiously radical, she was also an operative in Gonzaga family politics, exercising a mediating role, although through indirect action. She chose to support her religious fellow travelers in the same way, eventually relying on correspondence to help hold the *spirituali* together in the 1550s, as their safety became more precarious.

The *spirituali* faced danger in the 1550s, according to the standard interpretation followed by Russell, because of the allegedly consistent repressive policy of church leaders, often called *intransigenti*, who sought to create doctrinal uniformity through the Council of Trent and the Roman Inquisition. As I and others have argued, these categories break down as soon as any individual on either side is examined in detail, with perhaps the exception of a couple like Carnesecchi and Valdés from the one group, and Ghislieri from the other. Russell not only omits careful analysis of the debate after about 1990, but she also fails to consider complexities that undermine the standard view. This failure leads to all sorts of problems when Russell characterizes sideline figures to Gonzaga's story, like Marcello Cervini, Ludovico Beccadelli, and Morone. They simply cannot be explained with reliance on the standard, oversimplified camps, and on the hero/anti-hero dichotomy Russell repeats.

All this being said, there is no doubt that Russell draws correct conclusions. Gonzaga was indeed a savvy, politically operative woman, and her actions challenge the feminist stereotype concerning the lack of a Renaissance for women espoused by Joan Kelly and others. Many of Russell's conclusions are on target. Gonzaga played a significant role in the development of religious heterodoxy in contemporary Italy. She and at least a few others persisted in their beliefs despite dangers that emerged later in the sixteenth century. Private letters were the tool that she used to maintain contact with those who shared her beliefs. There was a connection between personal correspondence and heresy in contemporary Italy that is worth exploring. But Russell's final, most important conclusion—that religious heterodoxy in that age, especially in Italy, was a complex puzzle—cannot be served by continued reliance on the heroic status of those perceived to be opponents of an institution, the Roman Inquisition, that so offends our modern sensibilities. Would that Russell had challenged that oversimplification as forcefully as Kelly's essay did assumptions about women in the Renaissance. Tell us what individuals did and try to explain why. That is the business of history. Leave the value judgments to moral philosophers.

WILLIAM V. HUDON  
Bloomsburg University

PIETER M. JUDSON. *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 313. \$49.95.

Ethnolinguistic maps have been widely used for over a hundred years in the study of Central European history. This practice of marking the territories of linguistically defined nations remains a staple feature of most introductory books about the Habsburg monarchy and its successor states. In the more lavishly produced versions of these maps, different ethnolinguistic groups are assigned different colors: Czech speakers (hence "Czechs") are solidly painted as occupying one region, while German speakers (hence "Germans") are painted as occupying a different one. Magyar, Romanian, Polish, and Ukrainian speakers are all allotted colors and areas. It is usually only along the edges of these ethnolinguistic areas that one sees some significant color clashing: diagonal orange and purple stripes vying for control, or pink and brown blots trying to outmaneuver each other for dominance. Linguistically mixed regions seem thus to be marginal, unstable anomalies defying the basic logic of spatial organization. The history of the region ostensibly can be explained as a clash of ethnolinguistic entities vying for spatial control along frontier regions.

This well-established nationalist convention has been effectively challenged by recent scholarship on late imperial Austria-Hungary. Yaroslav Hrytsak, Jeremy King, Dimitry Shumsky, and Tara Zahra have all demonstrated in different ways that the number of bi-, tri- and multilingual persons may have been greatly underestimated by previous research and suggested that contextual and everyday factors—rather than ethnolinguistic affiliation—may have played important roles in collective identification. Pieter M. Judson's cogent and meticulously argued monograph puts another dent—a big one—in the simplistic ethnolinguistic narrative of Central European history.

At the center of the book is a systematic examination of what fin-de-siècle nationalists conceptualized as the "language frontier" (*Sprachgrenze* in German or *Jazyková hranice* in Czech)—that is, "linguistically mixed regions . . . with a particular significance as premier sites of national conflict" (p. 4). Judson traces how Austrian liberal legislation of the 1860s and 1870s set the playing field for nationalist activists by requiring citizens to declare one—and only one—"language of daily use." This was done primarily to enable elementary schooling in a child's main language, but it also allowed nationalists to plot their demographic strengths and weaknesses on maps, and single out certain areas as "national borderlands." From the 1880s and onward, journalists, statisticians, and novelists projected visions of heroic sacrifice onto the language frontier and ascribed to "their" co-nationals a strong commitment to the national cause. As Judson notes, "in the more romantic version of the national narrative, the hardy peasant inhabitants of the language frontier embodied

national virtue far more than did their culturally degenerate urban counterparts . . . the peasants acted as guardians of the frontier, and by extension, of the nation" (p. 35).

To the chagrin of nationalist activists, however, the rural population living in these "frontier areas" seldom saw things the same way and did not feel particularly threatened by the presence of "others." The educational and matrimonial customs of rural areas continued to support interaction, while regional practices in some areas—such as child exchanges for a fixed period—worked to bridge gaps. From the perspective of nationalist activists this apparent weak commitment to national causes was the result of rural economic backwardness, peasant ignorance, and the sinister machinations of enemies. The remedy consisted of bringing education, commerce, and tourism to the countryside to strengthen the economic position of co-nationals and open their eyes to the dangers they faced from national enemies.

Judson focuses primarily on two regions: the southern Bohemian area known as the "Bohemian Woods" (*Böhmerwald* in German, *Šumava* in Czech) and the hilly land of southern Styria known in German as the *Windische Bühel* and in Slovene as the *Slovenske gorice*. By following the activities of nationalist organizations to establish monolingual schools, promote national tourism, and cast all actions in national terms, Judson shows how by the turn of the twentieth century the notion of the language frontier—"this powerful trope that anchored nationalist conflict in Habsburg Central Europe" (p. 20)—had been created. Yet, as much as journalists, writers, and activists were successful in spreading the notion of "embattled language borderlands" to the outside world, the local inhabitants of these two regions continued at the very least until the end of World War I to be nationally indifferent. The Viennese education reformer Robert Scheu, who visited southern Bohemia in the fall of 1918, reported that bilingual peasants send their children to different schools in alternating years in order that they might achieve fluency in both languages, that German-speaking farmers routinely trusted their savings to a Czech nationalist saving bank, and that "despite the clear disappointment of politicians on both sides, sons and daughters of Czech- and German-speaking families . . . continued to marry each other" (p. 230). In the long run, however, it was the nationalist vision that had its day, imposing during the 1930s and 1940s language homogeneity in these regions through forced nationalization and expulsion. But as Judson appropriately reminds readers, "it was not the intrinsic qualities of societies known as borderlands that produced this outcome in any way. The very frontier identities assigned to these regions were themselves inventions of nationalist activists intent on creating the objects for their policies of nationalization" (p. 257).

The book is particularly adept in reading nationalist accounts "against the grain," highlighting the contradictions between one-dimensional expectations of nationalist rhetoric and the complex social realities en-

countered in practice. The careful usage of Austrian governmental reports provides Judson with additional means to poke holes in simplistic nationalist narratives. Yet the perspective of the local population remains to a large degree unexplored. This important part of the story awaits future historical research. Nevertheless, Judson does a highly effective job in dismantling simplistic ethnolinguistic maps, and the very notion of the "language frontier" as a time-honored border between self-consciously defined cultures.

ALON RACHAMIMOV  
Tel Aviv University

GERGELY ROMSICS. *Myth and Remembrance: The Dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in the Memoir Literature of the Austro-Hungarian Political Elite*. Translated by THOMAS J. DEKORNFELD and HELEN D. HILTABIDLE. (East European Monographs, number 668; CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, number 8.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs, a joint publication with the Institute of Habsburg History, Budapest, and the Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications. 2006. Pp. x, 272. \$40.00.

Few subjects have proved as productive of great literature as the end of the Habsburg monarchy, in the shape of the evocative works by Joseph Roth, Stefan Zweig, and Robert Musil—to name only the most well-known authors examined by Claudio Magris in his classic study on the "Habsburg myth." In this new work, Gergely Romsics provides a different, less familiar view of the monarchy's dissolution by examining a corpus of memoirs written by former members of the Austro-Hungarian political elite. This book is a translated version of the Hungarian original, which appeared in 2004. The translators, Thomas J. DeKornfeld and Helen D. Hiltabidle, have done a useful service by making the work available to a wider audience (even if they and the author have been let down by some sloppy proofreading on the publisher's part; on average, there is a minor error on almost every other page). Although sometimes a dense read, the book covers interesting ground in comparing the reflections by former politicians, civil servants, army officers, high clergymen, financiers, and intellectuals on the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian state, and Romsics carries out his analysis with skill and precision.

Taking an overall sample of 100 memoirs written between 1918 and 1945, Romsics seeks to understand how the dissolution was inscribed into the collective memory of this generation. He treats the memoirs as "fictive texts" (p. 10) and traces the process of selection and omission on the part of historical actors who had a major "stake in the canonization of the past" (p. 11). Romsics divides the memoirists into three main categories, devoting separate parts of the book to each in turn. The first of these groups is the "Old Austrians," who, irrespective of their ethnic background, were firmly attached to the Habsburg state and viewed its demise as a major caesura in history. For this group, represented

by such men as former foreign minister Count Leopold Berchtold or ex-Chief of the General Staff, Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, the end of Austria-Hungary meant the sudden collapse of their world, resulting in a profound crisis of identity. Romsics shows how these people mythologized the immediate past, viewing it in elegiac, already distanced terms. Romsics effectively brings out the different nuances in the various memoirs, while establishing a general pattern: Emperor Franz Joseph (1848–1916) was "above all criticism" (p. 19); the war was not lost by the Habsburg army. Except for those involved in domestic policy, little attention is paid to the nationalities conflicts. Instead, the collapse is deduced from the events of 1918, with greatest weight being accorded to the pressures of external politics and the "chauvinistic, selfish and inconsistent behavior" of the monarchy's Hungarian part (p. 39).

Not surprisingly, a different view emerges from Romsics's second group, which is formed by "the Hungarians": members of the social, political, and economic elite within the Hungarian part of the monarchy, who felt a primary sense of attachment to the Hungarian state. Figures such as Count Miklós Bánffy, Count Mihály Károlyi (prime minister in 1918–1919), and the writer (and only woman in the entire sample) Cecile Tormay tended to concentrate on the demise of Greater Hungary. This was the main tragedy, for which the collapse of the monarchy served only as background. Compared to the "Old Austrians," therefore, the Hungarian memoirists are less concerned with the broader picture, and they also experienced the dissolution as less of a break between two historical epochs. Their national identity as Hungarians could still be maintained beyond the collapse, and their narratives were positioned in relation to contemporary political struggles, the events of 1918–1919, and the question of how to achieve the renewal of the Hungarian nation. For example, those opposed to the post-1920 authoritarian establishment in Hungary, like the liberal politician and sociologist Oszkár Jászi, viewed the collapse as stemming from the failure of the pre-1914 elite to undertake necessary political and national reforms.

Romsics's final group comprises twenty-two "Austro-Germans," former members of the Austro-Hungarian elite who, while loyal to the monarchy, had before 1914 shown a "striking awareness of being Germans" (p. 101). Among this heterogeneous group, ranging from former army commander and later National Socialist Edmund von Glaise-Horstenau to Christian Social Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg (1934–1938) or Social Democratic leader Karl Renner, what bound their memoirs together was a common identification with Austria as a "German" state, although the meanings of this varied and also changed over time. Their interpretation of the monarchy's end was seen as deriving to greater or less degrees from the failure to reform and from the abandonment of the German ethnic group within Austria. While sharing with the "Old Austrians" a propensity to place responsibility for collapse on the Hungarians, the "New Austrians" differed from them in

seeing a political and social role for themselves after 1918 in the Austrian Republic. In a sixth and final section of the book, the author then reviews the "poetics of memoirs," looking in more detail at rhetorical devices, having concentrated more on narrative strategies and emplotment in previous sections. Lastly, an extensive appendix (pp. 179–212) provides short biographical details on the memoirists under discussion.

Overall, Romsics concludes that these memoirs "can be approached as products of group-specific knowledge and works of remembrance," with the ultimate goal of the investigative enterprise having been "to contribute to the study of mentalities, more specifically to the study of ideological and value canons" (p. 167). This is hardly a controversial conclusion, and as such is hard to disagree with. If history generally tends to be written by the victors, then there is always intrinsic value in looking at the perspective of the losing side, and Romsics's study neatly accomplishes this task. Nevertheless, the general nature of his conclusions immediately makes clear the very real limits to this book, and indeed of the cultural-historical approach adopted here, which is much thicker on description than it is on explanatory power, establishing causal links, and interpreting historical change. Although Romsics states at the outset that "instead of writing about reality, I aimed to analyze fictional representations of reality" (p. viii), the price of this approach is an ultimate lack of purpose and direction. After all, it is not surprising that the memoirists' opinions differed in the way they did, and the deliberate underplaying of "strict historicity" (p. viii) leaves these memoirs in a form of limbo (closer attention to detail might also have avoided the error in stating that the Habsburg dynasty "originated in the Tyrol" [p. 13] rather than from the area of what is now eastern Switzerland).

No matter how carefully Romsics elaborates individual positions, we need to know far more about the memoirists' contemporary impact and long-term relevance. At one point, for example, Romsics maintains that "the discourse of the Old Austrians . . . had little effect on their immediate environment" although they "might well have planted the seeds of nostalgia" emerging in later decades, especially after 1945 (p. 49). Yet, we do not really learn, in the former instance, why this was so, nor whether the Old Austrian discourse influenced the Habsburg revivalism encouraged by the corporatist dictatorship in mid-1930s Austria. In this respect, a more substantial use of the secondary literature would have been fruitful. Just to take one example, Conrad von Hötzendorf is discussed without any reference to the recent biography by Lawrence Sondhaus (2000), one of several relevant titles missing from the bibliography. Without these memoirs being more firmly rooted in their social and political context and in the absence of a firmer sense of historical agency, the reader is left with too many open questions as to the practical significance of these memoirs. In short, while Romsics's book is ad-

equated as far as it goes, it surely does not go far enough.

LAURENCE COLE

University of East Anglia

ANDRÁS GERŐ. *Imagined History: Chapters from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Hungarian Symbolic Politics*. Translated by MARIO D. FENYO. (CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, number 9; East European Monographs, number 672.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs. Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, with the Institute of Habsburg History, Budapest. 2006. Pp. xvii, 403. \$50.00.

As a chair in history at Budapest University, a professor at the Central European University, the editor of the journal *Budapesti Negyed*, and now director of the Institute of Habsburg History, András Gerő has done much to shape the field of modern Hungarian history. His wide-ranging publications in nineteenth-century cultural and social history have been equally influential. Here Gerő brings together a number of innovative studies under the rubric of "symbolic politics," which together comprise a "parallel history" of Hungary from the 1848 revolution to the present. Gerő is an engaging writer, and individual chapters are sharply detailed and impressive in their chronological reach. Yet the book as a whole is somewhat uneven and, one fears, inaccessible to readers unfamiliar with Hungarian history.

In his pursuit of "symbolic politics," Gerő is less interested in symbols of the Hungarian state (the flag, anthem, and Holy Crown) than in popular, unofficial ones, many of them originating in the 1848 revolution. After a brief introduction and comparison of the Hungarian case with other European states, successive chapters examine the *Nachleben* of key individuals (such as Lajos Kossuth and Ferenc Deák), events (March 15), and public spaces (Heroes' Square in Budapest). The best chapters move easily from the mid-nineteenth century to the present and carefully analyze the aims and contradictions inherent in the use of these various symbols under different political regimes. In his absorbing chapter on Heroes' Square, for example, Gerő shows how this monument has been placed in the service of nineteenth-century Hungarian Manifest Destiny, interwar revisionism, postwar national communism, and, most recently, the cultural (and touristic) ambitions of postcommunist Hungary. In Gerő's telling, such political projects are almost always doomed to failure. This is not, as one might expect, primarily because of the polyvalent nature of all political symbols; rather, it lies in the particularly broad appeal—and hence democratic potential—of the 1848 revolution and the symbolic repertoire it made available. None of Hungary's rulers before 1989 (nineteenth-century liberals, interwar conservatives, and postwar communists) was particularly democratic, and none could reconcile his desire for political legitimacy with his wariness of mass politics. The result was that their appropriations of the symbols of 1848 usually failed to resonate with the majority of the population. More often than not,



Gerő suggests, the political opposition proved much more adept at “symbolic politics,” which helps explain the salience of national symbols at moments of political crisis in Hungary, including, most famously, during the revolutions of 1956 and 1989.

Gerő's account of Hungarian political culture is compelling, but often feels incomplete. Part of this has to do with the imbalanced structure of the book, which examines four individuals but considers only two holidays and just one public space; the remaining two chapters (one on Hungarian Jewry, the other on the political theorist István Bibó) are insightful but bear limited relation to the rest of the book. Gerő's attempts to bring the story up to the present are likewise salutary, but his treatment of the twentieth century often lacks the subtlety of his reading of the era before 1914. Perhaps the greatest obstacle for readers not versed in Hungarian history, however, is Gerő's somewhat casual handling of the social groups that engage in symbolic politics. The constituencies of different political movements are never made clear, and Gerő's frequent use of “the nation” and “national consciousness” as historical actors only muddies the water further. More attention to the wider reception of different symbolic programs would be useful, as would a more careful examination of popular (as opposed to elite) conceptions of politics and history. The fascinating discussion of peasants' songs and legends surrounding Kossuth and Francis Joseph (pp. 89–95), which stands alone in its consideration of popular mentalities, suggests how this might be done. This otherwise insightful study of the “nation-religion” (to use Gerő's term) thus tells us much about its liturgy, saints, and sacred spaces but little about the priesthood and even less about ordinary believers and the depth and endurance of their faith.

This is, in short, a rewarding if occasionally frustrating book. The production of the book itself reinforces this conclusion. Mario D. Fenyo has skillfully translated Gerő's lively Hungarian prose, yet the text suffers from too many typos: “reef” instead of “wreath” (p. 84), and, more amusingly, “bums” in place of “barons” (p. 129). There are long and chatty footnotes (which read like lectures to a graduate seminar), followed by a useful biographical register and some fascinating illustrations—yet neither the register nor the illustrations are ever mentioned in the body of the text. For the uninitiated, the book may be tough going. But specialists will welcome its fresh perspectives on modern Hungarian history.

ROBERT NEMES  
Colgate University

PAUL A. HANEBRINK. *In Defense of Christian Hungary: Religion, Nationalism, and Antisemitism, 1890–1944*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 255. \$39.95.

Paul A. Hanebrink's timely study seeks “to take seriously the Christianity within Christian nationalist ideology” (p. 3). The word “defense” in the title takes on

a double meaning: as the defensiveness of Hungarian national identity in the interwar era, and as defending or rather warding off communist, liberal, and Jewish criticism since 1945. After World War I Hungary was reeling from defeat, the revolutions of 1918–1919, and the loss of two-thirds of its territory in the Treaty of Trianon. The goal was a conservative national society in which the public sphere was defined as a Christian space. The definition of “Christian Hungary” was left vague, but it had a clear political value as an underpinning for the Horthy regency (1919–1944). “Christian Hungary” was meant to encompass Catholics and Protestants, but with Catholics as the prevailing group. Antisemitism and irredentism were its glue. The loss of Transylvania and Slovakia consolidated Catholic dominance (sixty-four percent) in rump Hungary while marginalizing Calvinists (twenty percent) and Lutherans (six percent).

Hanebrink's introductory chapter locates the “origins” of Catholic defensiveness in their marginalization in the 1890s. Origins, Edward Said observed, are tricky because they invariably dissolve the historical background into the “divine, mythical, and privileged.” Hanebrink unfortunately accepts the lament of the interwar years, setting up his study around a caricature of the liberal era. Hanebrink finds the histories of Gyula Szekfű persuasive, especially its narrative of Catholic martyrology in the Liberal era. Szekfű accused liberal secularism, Jewish cosmopolitanism, and Protestant individualism of diluting Hungarian identity and sapping the nation's resilience in the wartime crisis. He also reiterated the mission of Hungarian Catholicism as the frontier of European civilization. With the triumph of the counterrevolution over the Hungarian Bolsheviks, “neo-conservatives” felt vindicated, Hanebrink reports. “The menace that liberalism posed to society had proven all too prescient. The dissolution of social bonds, the questioning of all values, and above all, the rise of radically progressive politics . . . threatened to transform Hungary completely” (p. 55). The one concrete piece of legislation of the counterrevolution was the passage of the first anti-Jewish law in Europe (1920), restricting access to university education.

Hungary stabilized under the István Bethlen government (1921–1931), which brought greater competence, moderation, and a more polite antisemitism. Hanebrink tries to be empathetic to the Christian moral program of the Bethlen government and attempts to wall it off from the extremism and the horrors that followed. This proves an uphill struggle, since antisemitism was integral to the political program of “Christian Hungary” from the “redemptive violence” (p. 83) of the White Terror of 1919 to complicity in the Hungarian Holocaust of 1944–1945. Hanebrink advances through a wealth of sermons, pastoral letters, speeches, and articles by Hungary's religious hierarchy, scholars, and journalists. He unearthed copious antisemitic statements by Hungary's prelates. However, he proceeds so judiciously that his sentences become littered with qualifying and distancing adjectives; provocative paragraphs

often conclude with modifying sentences or reversals. The reader is not always sure who is doing the qualifying, the prelate or Hanebrink.

Hanebrink emphasizes the distinction between the earlier *numerus clausus* legislation, which the churches supported, and the anti-Jewish law of 1941, which they opposed. The 1941 law defined Jews as a race. This denied the possibility of conversion and usurped church authority over religious identity. This is where the churches drew the line. Church leaders attempted intervention on behalf of Jewish Christians. Hanebrink also presents the rare, unheard, unheeded voices of protest against the "mass official atrocities" of the 1941 deportations to the Ukraine (p. 221). Hanebrink pulls no punches in presenting the moral failure of Catholic and Protestant leaders after Nazi occupation. During the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, key religious leaders—both Catholic and Calvinists—had insider information. Hanebrink counterposes their private comments and internal debates to their tepid, inconsequential public responses. Hungary's Christian churches "held to a well-established vision of their Christian nation and called for the state to defend Christian Hungarians against harmful 'Jewish influence.' In the eyes of the Christian state, Hungarians and Jews were separate peoples . . . Hungary's churches, as institutions with public moral authority, never used that authority to question the central tenet of Christian national ideology: Hungary was to be a Christian nation, a nation in which Jews had no place" (p. 221).

In the concluding chapter, Hanebrink switches gears. Rather than reflecting on the conflicted history of Christian society in the interwar period, he moves on to the communist era. His parting paragraph begins, "Sixty-two years ago [1944], a humane society came apart," not to be healed until 1989. This seems to contradict his own discussion of the years 1941–1943. While Hanebrink does a good job of defining and parsing the differences between Christian and racial nationalism, much in the book was done in the name of Christian morality. Morality as a concept is not examined, leaving the reader to question the morality of it all.

ALICE FREIFELD  
University of Florida

PETER KENEZ. *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary, 1944–1948*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 312. \$75.00.

In this illuminating book, Peter Kenez reassesses Hungary's experience during the final year of World War II and the first few years of the postwar era—a topic that has been covered extensively by other scholars over the past five decades. Kenez covers some familiar ground but also presents valuable new evidence from the Hungarian and Russian archives. He deals with the period both chronologically and thematically, examining how and why a communist regime akin to the Stalinist dic-

tatorship in the Soviet Union came to power in Hungary in the late 1940s.

Kenez arrives at four major conclusions: first, that Soviet policy in Hungary was relatively fluid during the first year or two after World War II and that Hungary's emergence as a communist state was not preordained; second, that the eventual outcome in Hungary "was decided elsewhere, primarily in Moscow" by the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin (p. 1); third, that noncommunist politicians in Hungary tried, sincerely but unsuccessfully, to forestall the entrenchment of a Stalinist system; and fourth, that the imposition of a communist regime in Hungary led to a "social and political revolution" that was a "much-needed revolution," but one that "could have been accomplished at a lower cost in human suffering" (p. 2).

To support these conclusions, Kenez methodically reviews what happened in Hungary from 1944 through 1948. He describes the final months of World War II in Hungary, the effects of the war on Hungarian society, the political, social, economic, and cultural landscape in Hungary after the fighting ended, and the international context of the communist takeover in Hungary. Kenez devotes chapters (a few of which were previously published as journal articles) to the new political setting in Hungary, the tactics used by the Communist Party, the subordination of Hungary to Soviet power, the influence of other external powers, the process of land reform and its political implications, the political significance of the Catholic Church, the impact of virulent antisemitism in Hungary (where the large majority of Jews were killed in the Holocaust) and the role of Jews. In the new political order, the early postwar cultural scene (especially in cinema), the importance and manipulation of Hungarian nationalism, and the steady elimination of any vestiges of democratic pluralism as the country descended into Stalinist tyranny.

Most of the events discussed by Kenez are well known to those who have studied (or lived through) Hungary's early postwar history, but the archival materials he uncovered in Budapest and Moscow allow him to shed fresh and interesting light on this period. Kenez has focused mostly on Soviet history in his previous academic work. Although this book deals primarily with events in Hungary, Kenez also uses the Hungarian case to address the broader debate about Soviet policy in East-Central Europe during the first few years after World War II. Experts on this topic have long been divided in their assessments of Stalin's intentions. Some argue that Stalin from the outset was determined to establish subservient communist dictatorships in East-Central Europe, whereas others believe that the Soviet leader under some circumstances might have been willing to accept non-Communist governments in the region so long as they fully subordinated their foreign policies to Moscow's wishes, as was the case in Finland. In a recent book exploring this topic, *Magyarország a hidegháborúban: a Szovjetunió és az Egyesült Államok között, 1945–1956* (2004), the Hungarian historian László Borhi maintains that Stalin intended all along to set up a So-

viet-style communist regime in Hungary. Borhi bolsters his case with extensive documentation from the Hungarian and Russian archives, but Kenez disputes Borhi's interpretation and avers instead that "Stalin in 1944 did not foresee the emergence of two irreconcilably hostile blocs in Europe" (p. 3).

The difference between Kenez and Borhi may not be quite as great as it first appears. After all, Kenez claims that Stalin's "expectation of a fluid Europe" merely meant that the Soviet leader "would refrain, at least for the time being, from openly imposing satellite regimes on the occupied countries" (*ibid.*). Borhi would disagree with Kenez about Stalin's expectations, but the qualified nature of Kenez's description of Stalin's plans allows for the possibility that the Soviet leader was merely biding his time before proceeding with the communization of East-Central Europe—a scenario that is not fundamentally different from Borhi's analysis. Although Kenez subsequently contends that "the Soviet leadership and therefore their Hungarian inferiors expected a far longer transition period than in fact occurred" (p. 50)—an assertion that Borhi would reject—this seems to be mainly a disagreement about timing rather than about Stalin's fundamental goals.

Kenez's explanation of what caused the hardline shift in Soviet policy vis-à-vis East-Central Europe in 1946–1947 is intriguing. In the past, some scholars who believed that Stalin might have been willing to settle for noncommunist regimes in East-Central Europe insisted that Soviet policy changed solely in response to Western actions, specifically the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine in March 1947 and the announcement of the Marshall Plan three months later. Kenez eschews this simplistic line of reasoning and puts forth a much more convincing argument that "internal developments [in the USSR] determined Soviet foreign policy." He emphasizes that "by the fall of 1946, Stalin and his fellow leaders decided to reimpose the harshest controls on Soviet society after the relative liberalism of the war years." The reintroduction of these "rigid controls and merciless oppression," Kenez argues, "necessitated cutting ties with the outside world, especially the Western allies. . . . Imposing uniformity on the bloc of satellites was a corollary of the most deadly conformity at home" (p. 3). Kenez provides solid evidence to back up these assertions, and his book will likely help to recast discussions about Stalin's aims in East-Central Europe.

Even though Kenez at times underestimates the importance of steps taken by Stalin in the closing months and immediate aftermath of World War II that laid the groundwork for the imposition of Communist regimes in East-Central Europe, his book (along with Borhi's) will be crucial reading for specialists on Hungarian history. The chapters on internal developments, especially those dealing with mass mobilization, postwar retributions, violent antisemitic outbursts immediately after the war, the role of Jews in the new polity, communist propaganda, popular antipathy toward the Soviet Union, and postwar cinema, are rich with insights and fresh material. Kenez's book is by no means the final

word on Stalin's intentions in Hungary (and East-Central Europe more generally), but it is a valuable contribution to the ongoing debate.

MARK KRAMER  
Harvard University

MAGDA TETER. *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxxiii, 272. \$65.00.

A collection of sixteen eighteenth-century paintings in the Sandomierz cathedral marks the starting point for Magda Teter's new book. The best known of these paintings presents a Jewish ritual murder of a Catholic child, but—as the author indicates—it forms but one element of a series of "violent and evocative" images. The collection may well be a symbol of Teter's research concept. The paintings, forming an eighteenth-century *Biblia pauporum*, depict "threats to the Catholic Church in the time of the Counter Reformation's triumph." Teter insists that "threats" mean that the Counter-Reformation proved ineffective and its triumph debatable. It is precisely this statement that she sets out to investigate. The topic under research has been a no man's land in historical research until now. For various reasons, Polish historians took for granted the Counter Reformation's effectiveness and the Catholic Church's success. Teter's book is a study of the attitude of the Catholic Church toward nonbelievers between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment (roughly, because no starting and ending dates are defined precisely). What may surprise is the concept of treating the church's attitudes toward the Jews and various Protestant groups together. But Teter bases her research on a wide range of primary sources. Church ordinances, sermons, polemical pamphlets, decrees, and court records allow her to characterize the Polish church's efforts to battle Protestants, Judaism, and Judaizers.

In the book we find a reconstruction of the Catholic Church's antisemitism (beginning in the Middle Ages and contrasted with the Polish church's attitudes during the early modern period) and a comparison of Catholic approaches to Judaism and non-Catholic Christian groups. Teter presents a strong case. No one will be able to claim the easy triumph of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after reading this book. At the same time, the work has some drawbacks. First of all, the author does not differentiate the geographical or temporal frames of her research. Poland-Lithuania was one of the largest European states for the larger part of the period in question. Its regions differed economically, socially, ethnically, and religiously. This is true when you look at the social strata, the wealth of the nobility, and the dissemination of various Protestant groups; it is also true for the Jewish population. The strength, class structure, and numbers of Jews differed as one moved eastward within the Polish-Lithuanian state.

The Catholic Church was not as homogenous as the author seems to suggest. One does not see the difference between sixteenth-century Great Poland and mid-seventeenth-century Volhynia, or between seventeenth-century Masovia and eighteenth-century Pomerania. When quoting from church and court records, the author does not indicate clearly whether their contents represent exceptions or regular practice. Even the most evident and self-explanatory examples do not form a church or state policy. Was there such a policy?

When speaking of various phenomena shaking and structuring the Polish religious scene in the sixteenth century, the author does not discuss the attempt to form the Polish National Church, nor does she give evidence of the Union of Brest, which produced yet another religious problem: the Uniate or Greek Catholic Church. Thus it is not a surprise that the important work of Jan Dzięgielewski is not mentioned here, along with the works of Tomasz Kempa and Jacek Wołoszyn, scholars of Polish Protestantism. Several historians of the Catholic Church are also absent (e.g., Stanisław Litak, Bolesław Kumor, Wojciech Góralski).

Teter's background presentation of Polish-Lithuanian politics is not strong. Her use of textbooks as sources for political history may be the cause of this weakness. Nonetheless, Teter has touched on a very important problem and posed a challenging thesis. She provides a myriad of examples to illustrate her conclusions. Her arguments are clear and well balanced, even if provocative. They form a very good starting point for further discussion and research. This book should definitely find its way to libraries and seminars dealing with religious issues of the Commonwealth, as well as of Europe.

JAKUB BASISTA  
Jagiellonian University,  
Kraków

MARCI SHORE. *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918–1968*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 457. \$40.00.

Marci Shore has written an unusual book, a collective intellectual and political biography of leading members of the radical Polish avant garde who came of age in Dadaism and futurism at the end of World War I, gravitated toward revolutionary Marxism in the 1920s, and were devoured by Stalinism and their own disillusionment in the cruel middle decades of the last century. The author's main plot revolves around the poets Aleksander Wat, Władysław Broniewski, their spouses Ola Watowa and Janina Broniewska, and their closest aesthetic and ideological collaborators on the Left. Shore's "cast of characters," however, extends beyond the revolutionary poets and their immediate milieu to the "traditional wing of the avant-garde" (p. 23), particularly to the *Skamander* poets Julian Tuwim and Antoni Słonimski who were patronized by the "bourgeois" *Wiadomości Literackie* (Literary News) and who serve primar-

ily as foils for Wat and his friends until World War II and the Holocaust led to a redefinition (temporary in Słonimski's case) of their political loyalties. Also featured, as tutors in Marxism and shepherds of the cultural "fellow travelers" into the communist promised land, are the fascinating political figures Wanda Wasilewska and Jakub Berman. Most of Shore's subjects are "non-Jewish Jews" (in Isaac Deutscher's formulation), most of them are male, and most of their stories have tragic endings, several before a Soviet firing squad in the Great Terror of the late 1930s.

Shore's main purpose is to determine why the avant garde made the leap, not from futurism to Marxism per se, but "from art as representation to art as transformation" (p. 367). Despite nods to Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, Shore's analysis is not deeply grounded in theory, which will come as a relief to many of her readers. Of greater concern is a reluctance to engage the existing literature. What, for example, is one to make of a single oblique reference to Jaff Shatz, *The Generation: The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communists of Poland* (1991)? Nor is Shore's conclusion exceptionally grand, that "Wat and his friends' engagement was a desperate flight from their nihilism, a revolt against it, and yet at once a desperate attempt to sustain a state of dizzying liminality" (p. 368). Self-actualization by living on the edge and through self-negation, moreover, fails to explain the Skamandrites, the Trotskyites, the communists active in cultural policy, the left-wing Zionists, and other members of Shore's generational cast who together outnumber "Wat and his friends."

The few shortcomings of Shore's book are practically hidden, however, beneath its considerable strengths. The primary source base is deeply anchored in archival research—in five countries no less—something that many intellectual and cultural histories tend to avoid in favor of the relative ease of working with printed texts. The extensive personal correspondence cited by Shore, along with memoirs, personal accounts, and interviews with surviving kin, enable her to reveal the complexity of human identity and of human relationships, which ultimately holds more meaning than a "history of ideology and aesthetics" (p. 5). That Shore is able to recognize the humanity of individuals like Wasilewska and Berman, otherwise infamous villains of twentieth-century Polish history "who sold their homeland to the Soviets," speaks to her keen insight into the personalities of her characters. In fact, Shore's stories are so engrossing and so well told that one can easily forget he is reading the work of a historian rather than a novelist.

For these reasons—and I do not write these words lightly—the book is a genuine tour de force as intellectual and cultural history. In fact, I have read nothing quite like it in the field of modern European history more generally. Yet one wonders whether many will notice. The Polish disciples of Vladimir Mayakovsky are not particularly well known in their own country, and the current political climate in Poland of *lustracja*—of making transparent the deeds of "collaborators" of the former communist regime—is one more prone to mud-



slinging and the damaging of reputations than to correcting, understanding, and contextualizing the historical record. Even the *Skamander* poets Słonimski and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, independent and aloof toward politics in the interwar period, collaborated in their own way as succeeding presidents of the postwar Polish Writers' Union. And Adam Ważyk, whose "Poem for Adults" (1955) was an important event in the cultural thaw after Joseph Stalin's death, had only a few years before played the role of "terroretician" in implementing Stalinist cultural policy. All of Shore's characters are marked by their century's nightmares, and it is difficult to see how they could not have been. Shore wisely refuses to pass judgment on any of them. Whether she has been able to rescue them from impending obscurity is another matter.

ROBERT BLOBAUM  
West Virginia University

JOCHEN BÖHLER. *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg: Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2006. Pp. 278. €12.95.

Historians of World War II have typically seen the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 as marking the point at which a traditional war, such as that fought against France, became a war of extermination. In Jochen Böhlér's estimation this view perpetuates a basic mistake. In reality, the initial Nazi use of force, against Poland in 1939, exhibited all the characteristics of the later war of annihilation against the USSR: large-scale shootings of civilians, extensive burning of villages, unrestrained plundering, murderous activities on the part of the Einsatzgruppen, and, most significantly, participation in all of these actions by ordinary soldiers of the Wehrmacht. Unfortunately, Böhlér's book, based on his dissertation, suffers from two faults not uncommon to such works: tendentious and repetitive writing, and a thesis overtaken by events. The first problem could have been rectified; the second presents more of a challenge.

Rather awkwardly for Böhlér, his argument was largely preempted by Alexander Rossino in *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology, and Atrocity* (2003), which pointed to the stunning level of violence directed against Polish civilians as evidence of a deliberate Nazi policy of ethnic cleansing intended to prepare the way for the establishment of a German empire in Eastern Europe. Böhlér has thus been reduced to asserting, somewhat lamely, that ideology was not as important a motivating factor as Rossino claimed, while admitting that the mentality of both Wehrmacht leaders and German soldiers, to a large degree determined by nationalist, chauvinist, and racist predispositions reinforced by Nazi ideological conceptions, played a key role in the German willingness to use violence against people seen as of lesser value.

Böhlér does note that supplementary explanations for German barbarism in Russia (the brutalization of war, the harshness of conditions, the destruction of pri-

mary groups) are not relevant for Poland. Instead, he links the larger attitudinal elements with specific situational factors to explain German actions. Thus, expectations of treachery and malice from a people of low character stoked the fears of inadequately trained German troops, who were facing combat for the first time. The rapid German advance also proved unnerving, since it splintered many Polish army units. Instead of fighting an organized enemy, as they had expected, many *Landsers* found their first experience of combat to be a frustrating and frightening "little war," as isolated Polish detachments fought from woods and houses in a desperate attempt to delay the German advance. This style of fighting only confirmed pre-existing German notions and fed a *Freischärler* (guerrilla) psychosis that, as Böhlér notes, had roots extending from the Franco-Prussian War through World War I. Previous German experience with *Freischärlers* had produced an institutional response of hardness; only a tough and unremitting policy of brutality would stamp out this plague and prevent it from spreading. The ad hoc formation of citizen militias further fed the anxiety, as it seemed to substantiate German fears of an insidious people fighting a cowardly war. This lethal brew often resulted in panic, wild shootings of civilians, and wholesale burnings of villages. Indeed, contemporary German army reports noted this problem and blamed it on inexperience, poor training, and a lack of competent officers, but also justified the shootings with reference to *Freischärler* provocations among Polish civilians.

Böhlér details this process in often exhausting detail in the first half of his book, then shifts rather awkwardly to a discussion of Wehrmacht cooperation with the Einsatzgruppen, SS units, and other paramilitary formations. One suspects that this section was meant to play a larger role but was undercut by the publication of Rossino's book. What Böhlér says is valid, but it now has a rather anticlimactic, "tacked on" quality. In addition, in discussing Wehrmacht-SS cooperation Böhlér of necessity has to return to the central importance of ideology. Like Rossino, Böhlér stresses the centrality of antisemitism and views SS units as implementing a pre-conceived strategy of ethnic cleansing designed to aid the realization of the Nazi goal of *Lebensraum* in Eastern Europe. Building on the revelations of the past decade concerning the crimes of the Wehrmacht, Böhlér also demonstrates that army leaders not only knew what was going on in Poland but both tacitly and actively supported such actions. In the end, about the best one could say was that some army officers were initially ambivalent and sought to limit their troops' participation in such excesses. Even here, though, their main concern was not the murder of Polish Jews or civilians but rather the fear that such actions would harm the image of the German army and undermine discipline among the soldiery.

This is a solid work of scholarship that, while perhaps not as ground-breaking as Böhlér had hoped, nonetheless substantiates the growing importance of the Polish

campaign, and not the invasion of the Soviet Union, as the prelude to a war of annihilation.

STEPHEN G. FRITZ

East Tennessee State University

MARTA PETREU. *An Infamous Past: E. M. Cioran and the Rise of Fascism in Romania*. Foreword by NORMAN MANEA. Translated by BOGDAN ALDEA. Chicago: Ivan R. Dec. 2005. Pp. xiv, 332. \$30.00.

Since 1990 a small "Cioran industry" has grown in Romania, alongside the ones on Mircea Eliade and Eugène Ionesco. All three men belonged to the post-World War "new generation" and all published their most famous books in the West. All belonged to a very talented cohort of young literati who believed they could claim a dazzling place for Romanian culture, and most of whom (not Ionesco) became committed anti-democrats and then fascists in the 1930s. As Marta Petreu shows in her book, Emil Cioran was almost the first to do so, in November 1933.

Cioran's writings, banned for decades, were quickly reprinted in Bucharest after 1989. They, and he, became the subject of public debates: should intellectuals be held responsible for their political alignments? Were former fascists being prosecuted for their politics whereas former communists were not? Were those who had supported the Iron Guard, which was in power only briefly in 1940–1941, more or less guilty than those who had been communists for much longer? Was the Holocaust worse or better than the Gulag? Unlike Eliade, who died in 1986, before the *Wende*, Cioran was still alive, although in final decline from Alzheimer's, when the change came. Many Romanians, who hardly knew his work, proudly embraced the famous writer. He was claimed as native son and cultural hero.

Also published in the 1990s, along with translations of his French books, were Cioran's early works written and published in Romanian, among these *Schimbarea la față a României* (The Transfiguration of Romania) (1936). This book, known neither to most Romanians nor to those who had read only the later, abstract, aphoristic Cioran, was a fervent revolutionary tract, a call to fascist arms in the name of saving Romania from barbarism, backwardness, corruption, and the Jews, all of which young Cioran viewed as unbearable blights on his native land. *Schimbarea la față* was published, but in a shortened, modified form, with Cioran proclaiming that this 1991 censored edition was the final and only authorized one.

Petreu traces the origins of this book to intellectual influences and life experience, both embedded in Romania's history. While Cioran before the age of twenty-two had been mainly a cultural critic of social decadence in the Spenglerian mode, his study-abroad trip to Germany in 1933–1935 transformed him into a believer in disciplined, inspired, and radical action à la Adolf Hitler. Impressed by the social mobilization achieved by the Nazis, he eloquently fathomed a similar regimentation of Romanian society in newspaper articles and

then in this book. He loved Nazi Germany's "excessive and overwhelming passion," and the "irrational élan and disconcerting monumentality" of the regime (p. 9). Praising violence and dictatorship, he dreamed of bringing his own country out of the backwaters of Europe into modernity and geopolitical power. Sometime in the 1940s, after the war, Cioran decided to bury this past, become a French author, and write in a style that was witty, worldly wise, and abstract.

Petreu's analysis of Cioran's complicated intellectual and political influences is careful, and it brings surprises. First, unlike others of the new generation, Cioran despised the folkloric, Orthodox, and agrarian aspects of Romanian culture. Second, those who shaped his thinking included not only the rather predictable Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, Oswald Spengler, Hitler, and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, but also Europeanists and antitraditionalists who favored Romania's synchronization with Western Europe, among these Eugen Lovinescu and Ștefan Zeletin. This brings Cioran into the company of respectable modernizers. The question remains unanswered by Petreu whether Cioran dared to acknowledge his kinship with these thinkers.

Other, even more unexpected, influences on the young Cioran were Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and V. I. Lenin, the last especially for his insistence on a society's ability to leap out of backwardness rather than having to submit to the slow rhythms of organic economic development. It is perhaps not accidental that Cioran's article of January 1935 was entitled "What Is to Be Done in Romania" (p. 12). Here he called for a revolution in order to insert the Romanians, a people without history, into historical time, followed by a seven-year plan to transform Romania into an industrial nation. He also admired Lenin for his attention to social problems, and prophesied that the proletariat would replace Romania's "hideous starving peasants" (p. 154). Petreu thus argues for a "valuable core" (p. 119) of progressive and constructive ideas behind the smokescreen of violent xenophobic discourse even during Cioran's fascist phase.

She explains Cioran's receptivity to these progressives and modernizers by his Transylvanian background. On both sides of his family were generations of bankers, doctors, teachers, and engineers, and Cioran's father was an educated Orthodox priest who favored the development of an ethnic Romanian middle class. She portrays Cioran's revolutionary messianism as descending from Transylvanian Romanian militants like Simeon Bărnuțiu or Octavian Goga (Goga's politics were no less extreme than Cioran's, a fact that remains obscure in this account). This last contextualization of Cioran in the tradition of Transylvanian patriotism is less persuasively argued than the effect of his family background. That is not to say that the Transylvanian experience had no bearing, but I would argue of a different kind. In his 1941 article "Transylvania—a Romanian Prussia," which Petreu cites, Cioran urged "Ilegionary Romania to Transylvanize all Romanians. . . .

Now it is Transylvania's turn" (pp. 193–194). This is evidence less of patriotism than of regionalism which could only come about after the province's inclusion in Greater Romania.

Petreu, who comes to her subject from the side of literature, has written a courageous and valuable intellectual biography, departing from the quasi-hagiographic style often reserved for Cioran. She deals with the most sensitive aspects of her topic rather than going around them. On several subjects, however, she wades into historical waters without the right gear. In chapter two, "The Legionnaires and Their Doctrine," for example, she provides some context to Cioran's ideological evolution, but her account is so schematic that she resorts to lists.

The thorniest problem for this reviewer is the way Petreu understands the burden of demography on politics. She locates Cioran's fascist politics in Romania's victimology, its unfair history and sociology. She revisits several times the large proportion of ethnic minorities in Greater Romania and looks into that "thorniest problem" (p. 30), the Jews, without resorting to the established historiography on the topic. She cites instead perspectives from the turn of the century and the interwar period, which are themselves tainted by anti-semitism. She deals similarly with Cioran's anti-Hungarian references. This has the effect of naturalizing Cioran's xenophobia as practically inevitable given the history of foreign incursions and the high proportion and relative wealth of Romania's ethnic minorities.

But Petreu also pleads for Cioran's intellectual independence, even at his most fanatical moment, and especially when compared to Eliade, and here she seems on more solid ground: "The most appealing of the Legionary ideas—the new man, the spiritual character of the movement, Orthodoxy, the Legionnaire's death—failed to stir Cioran's interest" (p. 75), she points out. This, together with his modernism, makes the young Cioran unusual among Romania's fascists.

Finally, a word about the edition: while a vast amount of research has gone into this book, source documentation is inconsistent and sometimes missing altogether.

IRINA LIVEZEANU

*University of Pittsburgh*

ELISABETH KONTOGIORGI. *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees 1922–1930*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 380. \$110.00.

In 1923 the Convention of Lausanne outlined the first compulsory exchange of populations, signaling the arrival of almost a million and a half refugees in Greece, a country with a population of approximately five million at the time. Elisabeth Kontogiorgi's book aims to explore the settlement of those refugees in the rural parts of Macedonia and to answer questions as to why they were sent there. How orderly and untroubled was their settlement? How successful was it in the long term?

Much of the settlement of the refugees was accomplished through the work of the Refugee Settlement Commission, under the auspices of the League of Nations, which was granted significant powers both in financial and in political terms. These powers, at times, infringed upon Greece's self-determination. Still, the decision to Hellenize and populate the borders of the Greek state was a political decision taken by the Greek government. The plan was sanitized by the League of Nations since the Great Powers also wanted peace in the area. It was accomplished even though refugees had to be settled in areas lacking in infrastructure, and relief was immediately curtailed for those who chose to abandon the villages for towns in search of a livelihood. Hellenizing the borders and much of Macedonia was a success story, Kontogiorgi suggests, since Greece did not see the internal upheavals experienced by other Balkan countries in the 1940s.

But why Macedonia? Partly because much land became available after the departure of Muslim owners who left for Turkey and Bulgaria as a consequence of the exchange of populations. Partly because the ethnic minorities that resided there were not considered "safe" populations for Greece in the event of future disputes over borders. And partly because the refugees were considered "a genuine Greek population" (p. 285).

The social and ethnological consequences of such a settlement were immense. The settlers faced immediately the strong antipathy of the native populations whether Greek or otherwise, and there were many reasons for that. The high morbidity and mortality of the refugee population immediate upon their arrival and for the first few years caused a "frenzied social panic" (p. 268). The main disease was malaria, endemic in Macedonia but one to which the refugee population had little resistance. Land was distributed to both the native population and to refugees. But while the former became owners of their allocated land, the latter were only temporary occupiers until the day they paid off the relevant loans. That did not happen until 1944 when the loans were scrapped. Until then, and in some cases up to the present, refugees were unable to pass on the land to their children as inheritance or to sell the land and move elsewhere. Moreover, at times the redistribution of lands was discussed again, creating further insecurity for the refugees. The preferential establishment of refugees in communities where non-Greek speakers/non-Greek ethnic groups were present ensured the long-term preponderance of ethnic Greeks and the eventual driving away of many of the non-Greeks (for example, the Slavophones in Kilikis).

Kontogiorgi argues that the antipathy between native Greeks and refugees did not ease off until the end of the 1940s, when mixed marriages started taking place and the second generation of refugees was "fully assimilated and integrated to Greek society" (p. 335). This last statement seems more an assumption than a conclusion to a thorough investigation. It would have

been fascinating had the author actually investigated to what degree this statement corresponds to reality.

A minor source of confusion is the use of the term "resettlement" throughout most of the book, except for the title. Considering that the refugees were only settled once, the extensive use of the former term is rather unfortunate.

This is a well-researched, informative, rich account of a significant period in the history of Greek Macedonia. The book could be classed as "history from above," since the voice of the refugees is heard only rarely. The book is embedded in the existing Greek historiography and its interests. It is well worth reading.

VIOLETTA HIONIDOU

University of Newcastle upon Tyne

VALERIE KIVELSON. *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 263. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

In this ambitious book Valerie Kivelson continues to examine the give-and-take relationship between the tsarist government and provincial servitors that she began in *Autocracy in the Provinces: The Muscovite Gentry and Political Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (1996). This time Kivelson's focus is on maps drawn by Russians during the late seventeenth century. To supplement these neglected sources, the author read extensively in historical geography, cartography, imperialism, semiotics, and comparative studies. The results are compelling. Kivelson demonstrates that maps produced by literate but relatively low-ranking provincial servitors in connection with property disputes can be mined for insights into "how geographic and environmental perceptions shaped and were shaped by the social experiences of the population" (p. 2). She makes a strong case for the importance of the sometimes crude, often beautiful maps drawn and painted by amateur cartographers, and she offers stimulating ideas about the nature of early Romanov autocracy and imperialism and how ordinary Russians perceived the land they inhabited.

The book's central argument is "that a geographical perspective opens new vistas on the way Muscovites constructed a political society out of the far-flung pieces of an autocratic empire" (p. 7). By reading Russian maps "as expressive metaphors of the culture that produced them," Kivelson detects that Muscovites "conceived of their role in the world to a significant degree in spatial terms" (p. 8). She sets out to unlock the secrets of this "spatial mode of conceiving of society and the realm" which "allowed Muscovites of all stripes access to membership in the great Russian political community at the same time that it slammed shut doors to geographic and social mobility" (p. 9). The first half of the book focuses on maps produced to resolve property disputes in Russia's central provinces, sources that offer insights into how provincial elites and peasants viewed the land and serfdom. The second half examines

regional maps commissioned in conjunction with expansion into Siberia, sources that corroborate several of Kivelson's conclusions derived from property dispute maps and yield useful information about the religious vision underpinning Russian imperialism.

Kivelson discovered that property litigation maps occasionally provoked violent resistance on the part of serfs because of significant local political and economic issues at stake. Peasants as well as landlords had strong opinions about the boundaries being drawn on maps they recognized as powerful legal documents directly affecting their lives. Of course the gentry cared about where their property ended and another's began, but it is intriguing to see how worked up some serfs got protecting their master's property from his neighbors. Upon reflection, it seems clear that peasants recognized the impact on their own material condition (and survival) of property disputes among their social superiors. But Kivelson goes further, claiming that Russian serfs had a sense of property ownership and that "their status as serfs gave them solid claims to the land" (p. 84). She may be right. There is no denying the important legal role played by peasants serving as expert witnesses in resolving property disputes. After the promulgation of the *Ulozhenie* (Code of Laws) in 1649, Russians of all classes became increasingly legalistic and willing to go to court to protect "their rights to proper procedures and impartial judgment" (p. 51). According to Kivelson, the confidence the tsar's subjects felt about their ability to obtain justice is a sign that Muscovy was "a successful early modern state" (p. 55).

Kivelson claims that Russian mapmakers "painted a world in which peasants participated in the social order as taxpayers, as witnesses, and as active litigants" and whose condition was "more akin to that of English tenancy than New World slavery" (p. 95). I am skeptical because the author does not attempt to reconcile that image with the reality of Russian serfs becoming chattel by the eighteenth century. Kivelson admits that conclusions drawn from maps that did not circulate widely have limitations: "Symbolic reading is one thing; lived experience is another" (p. 98). She also acknowledges that serfs continued to flee their masters and that the "impulse to map the . . . landscape of Russia may have derived as much from the urgent effort to enclose and confine an unstable peasant population as to delineate one plot from another" (p. 98). Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that serfs in the seventeenth century regarded themselves as property owners even as their legal status declined, and that self-perception may have contributed significantly to the rising tide of violence against serf owners in the decades preceding the Pugachev rebellion.

Turning to maps of Siberia, Kivelson focuses on a brilliant cartographer, Semyon Remezov. She calls his work "a fairly uncontaminated expression of a pre-Petrine cartographic style and aesthetic" (p. 137); others may disagree. Either way, Kivelson makes a strong case for continuity between the litigation maps and Siberian maps of a distinctly Orthodox Christian symbolization



of the land. She detects in them "a supremely sanguine, self-righteous, and even arrogant sense of Russia as paradise and Russians as the Chosen People, whose very presence could convert ordinary land into edenic gardens" (p. 11). I am not convinced by Kivelson's portrayal of the "Muscovite theory of empire" (p. 190) as less harsh in practice than Western imperialism, but her comparative approach to the subject is original and provocative. This is a delightful and important book.

CHESTER DUNNING  
Texas A&M University

MURRAY FRAME. *School for Citizens: Theatre and Civil Society in Imperial Russia*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. 262. \$50.00.

Could it be that theater had a greater importance in some national histories than others? Murray Frame begins his book with a sampling of Russian writers' claims that theater played an exceptionally—even uniquely—important role in their country, and he goes on to argue that its main contribution was to advance civil society by imparting organizational experience and professional consciousness, transforming some subjects (at least) into citizens. His theme is the "theatre industry" and the development of "the public sphere" or "public space" in Russia. There can be no doubt of the latter's steady expansion, from voluntary associations like the Freemasons to the multiplying eleemosynary institutions, learned societies, and (from 1862) local self-government boards. Forces like urbanization, mechanized transport, print communication, and educated society's endless curiosity about national identity contributed new dynamics to the empire's growth.

Against this background Frame examines the performance of the state, which monopolized drama production in Moscow and St. Petersburg until 1882, and the intelligentsia, which endlessly discussed the medium's progressive, educational potential. For a theory of civil society he resorts to Ernest Gellner's *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rivals* (1994). In this view, the (modern) self appears within the public space, where associational activity is separate not only from the state but also from community pressures to conform. The self thus constructs its identity by moving freely into and out of associations in an arena of institutional and ideological pluralism.

The tsarist state's effectiveness in establishing its theater monopoly, building grandiose structures, and according prestige to the pastime is well documented here. Nicholas I, who attended the theater almost daily, relished his role as patron and arbiter. After the Crimean War an investigation revealed that the Russian government was spending six times as much on theater as its Prussian counterpart and that the St. Petersburg drama and ballet companies employed nearly 500 more actors than the Comédie Française and the Paris Opera. Alexander III was probably influenced by playwright Alexander Ostrovsky's call for the creation of a

national theater when he terminated the theater monopoly.

Once the theater industry was unleashed in the capitals, competing private theaters emerged that innovated in production and marketing as they catered to the paying public. The fortunes of entrepreneurs Anna Brenko, Savva Mamentov, Alexei Suvorin, Fyodor Korsh, and Mikhail Lentovsky are examined in some detail. What Frame finds is failure, absent "an intrinsically healthy market for legitimate theatre" (p. 7). Lentovsky went bankrupt. The others kept going only thanks to deep-pocketed patronage that tapped into fortunes made by industrialists and lawyers empowered by the Great Reforms.

For Frame, "The turn to subsidized people's theatres constituted a tacit admission that civil society in the sense of self-supporting, non-state public associational activity was largely unable or unwilling to create the type of theatre envisaged by the intelligentsia" (p. 142). Having disposed of intellectuals' chatter about theater as a school for morals, he is ready to show just how Russian theater did advance civil society.

The book's pivotal chapter tells the story of the Russian Theater Society (RTO), which Frame characterizes as "one of the earliest successful actors' associations in the world" (p. 159). He underlines its contributions to professionalization, through regular congresses, a model standard contract (1903), and 650 agents employed across Russia to place actors. He observes that the RTO leadership's loyalty to the tsarist state in the 1905 revolution appears to have been exceptional. But it should be noted that other Russian professions were not receiving government subsidies, as the RTO had from 1900.

If "Civil society ... is the public sphere of organized and mainly self-supporting associational activity that is separate from the state" (p. 2), then a state-subsidized professional society may not be the best example of civil society coming into its own. Frame's anti-intelligentsia bias keeps him from making good use of even Gellner's theory. He seems unaware that one reason Russia's chattering classes were so attracted to theater in the first place was their fear that the traditional culture effectively locked the majority into unproductive, compulsive community values that prohibited modern self-consciousness. The larger problem here is that the public sphere cannot be discussed without comparable attention to the private sphere, where Russia also lagged behind Western Europe.

Frame's assertion that the industry's value was not the result "of any moral or political instruction offered by the repertoire" (p. 7) is suspect. Had he considered scholarship like Iurii Lotman's that precisely situates the masterpieces of Russian drama in their historical context, his readers could have decided for themselves. Given the constraints imposed by the market-compromising state, the inspired playwrights constructed universalizing textual contrivances of vital interest to modern selves. As long as adolescents continue to be intoxicated by truth telling in any and all circumstances,

Alexander Griboyedov's *Woe from Wit* will be illuminating. As long as people choose to interpret their lives to themselves as melodrama and make themselves ridiculous in the process, Anton Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* will be instructive. As long as status-obsessed persons suck others into their vortex by lying habitually, compulsively, recklessly, Nikolai Gogol's *The Government Inspector* will continue to dazzle.

GARY THURSTON  
University of Rhode Island

WILLIAM C. FULLER, JR. *The Foe Within: Fantasies of Treason and the End of Imperial Russia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 286. \$39.95.

On March 18, 1915, in the Warsaw citadel, a military court found Russian Lieutenant Colonel Sergei Miasoedov, an interpreter and intelligence officer, guilty of espionage. Except for a suspicious fingering by a German agent whose testimony should have been suspect, the prime "evidence" against him was that he spoke fluent German and had once lunched and hunted with Kaiser Wilhelm II. Not allowed to defend himself, Miasoedov was convicted and condemned to death. Permitted no appeal, he was hanged in the early morning hours of March 19. Four months later, his former mentor and promoter, Minister of War General V. A. Sukhomlinov, was removed from office as the front crumbled in the Great Retreat; in April of the following year, the general was also arrested for treason, based largely on his lapsed association with Miasoedov, and because of the famous shell shortage for which no minister of war in any country was prepared. Sukhomlinov was likewise convicted in a sham trial conducted by the Provisional Government in 1917. This "Miasoedov-Sukhomlinov" affair, William C. Fuller, Jr., contends, "is intrinsically important in the political and military history of Russia" and "helped lay the groundwork for the February Revolution" (p. 7), since both men were linked to Tsar Nicholas II. These two arrests catalyzed a burst of "spy mania" in Russia that eventually helped topple the rotten tsarist autocracy. The main victims of this craze, the author correctly states, were Russian citizens of German and Jewish origin.

In his telling of this story, Fuller beautifully writes a most thoroughly researched soap opera *noir* of political intrigue, back-stabbing, bribe-taking, graft, corruption, deceit, adultery, incompetence, and the trampling of civil rights, clearly demonstrating that Miasoedov, Sukhomlinov, and even their enemies, were all guilty of some of these things. At the same time, however, the author paints a picture of a gross miscarriage of justice and completely proves that of whatever sleaze each man was guilty, neither had committed the crime of treason for which he was convicted. He is not the first to claim the pair's innocence; historians K. F. Shatsillo and George Katkov took the same position forty years ago, but Shatsillo's work was buried in a Soviet serial publication, and Katkov's *Russia 1917, the Kornilov Affair: Kerensky and the Break-up of the Russian Army*

(1980) was so tainted with unsupportable conspiracy theories that they rendered much of his work dismissible.

Fuller's solid book-length study leaves no doubt. He presents the affair's evidence with the precision of F. Lee Bailey and makes a clear case that both men had simply become scapegoats for the military failures of 1915. All the more amazing is the author's revelation that a number of Russian Duma "constitutionalists" (e.g., Alexander Kerensky, Alexander Guchkov, and even Paul Miliukov) who prided themselves in their belief in civil rights either actively participated or passively acquiesced for political reasons in the unjust proceedings.

Yet Fuller's contention that suspicions of treason in high places "satisfied some deep psychological needs" for the Russian nation invites caution, because such concerns are not a peculiarly Russian psychosis, and minorities within borders are easily suspected of infidelity. Moreover, military defeats in any country demand scapegoats. Admiral Kimmel and General Short of Pearl Harbor fame are still being pilloried for inadequacies despite mounting evidence that much of what happened on December 7, 1941, was not their fault. The Reign of Terror in the French Revolution directly resulted from an assumption of treason because of military defeats. The trial of Alfred Dreyfus in France would never have happened had he not been Jewish. Americans thought that only treason could explain how the most powerful nation on earth in 1945 could have "lost" China and Eastern Europe within five years or did not "win" the Korean War. The result was the McCarthy nightmare. The execution of the Rosenbergs for their crude diagram of an atomic weapon on the back of a Jell-O box was all the easier because they were Jewish. Moreover, Americans incarcerated thousands of their fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry during World War II. The Russian reaction that Fuller describes is a common one.

The author's contention, furthermore, that the affair created a chain of events that led from Miasoedov to Sukhomlinov to Nicholas II, thus bringing down the tsarist system, reaches a bit too far. After all, it was the tsarist regime itself that hanged Miasoedov and arrested Sukhomlinov. Moreover, by the time of the February Revolution, there were so many more recent phony examples of "treason" (the mentally unstable empress, whose only crime was being German; incompetent Boris Stürmer, whose only guilt lay in that he had a German name; and Alexander Protopopov, who had been contacted while in Stockholm by a German agent) that the Miasoedov and Sukhomlinov affairs had long since dropped off the revolutionaries' radar. Fuller is correct in stating that the belief of treason in high places helped to bring down the tsarist regime, but with all the fresh "evidence" of treason by 1917, it is highly unlikely that many of the revolutionaries were giving Miasoedov and Sukhomlinov much thought. As the author himself writes, when the latter's trial finally occurred in August 1917, "The public was not all that in-

terested in the Sukhomlinov case. By this point in 1917, there was simply too much else to worry about" (p. 250). The same could have been said of the accused pair four months earlier.

Fuller also contends that, in the minds of millions of Russians, to support the monarchy in 1917 was to support treason. It would perhaps be more accurate to state that to support the incumbent tsar was tantamount to treason. The numerous coup plotters, from the Duma liberals to those in the imperial family itself, embraced the same belief of treason in high places, yet it is unlikely that many people were by then tying Nicholas II to Miasoedov, and none of them, Kerensky being the sole exception, favored the removal of the tsarist structure itself.

Like all works, this book contains some minor errors. The battle of Tsushima took place in May, not March, of 1905. Also, the author refers to the Duma as "the Russian parliament" (p. 4), when in reality it was only the lower house of the tsarist legislature, the upper house being the State Council. Moreover, the Progressive Bloc's call for a "ministry of confidence" in 1915 was not a call for a ministry responsible to the Duma, as Fuller seems to suggest (p. 197). It was merely asking the tsar to use his appointive powers to create a government of men of his own choosing whom the people could nonetheless trust. However, the author correctly calls the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaevich the tsar's "cousin," not the tsar's "uncle," which one sees incorrectly in so many works. Moreover, in a few words he effectively refutes Niall Ferguson's revisionist theories on the origins of the Great War.

On the mechanics of the work, there are several pluses. The bibliography, containing as it does many obscure titles, is in itself a major contribution to the research on the army during the war. Moreover, for those of us who are avid note readers, the publisher has refreshingly put them at the bottom of the page where they belong and are easily read, not at the end of the chapter or in the back of the book.

Its thesis aside, the work is a solid contribution to Russian war historiography, and it would be of interest to a wide range of readers. The professional Russian historian and the military historian will take great delight in the thoroughness of the research and the beautiful mosaic-like quality of the study's organization. Yet its jaunty writing style and the spy-novel quality of the subject recommends it to the armchair generals and history buffs as well. The book should find a place in both university and public libraries.

JAMIE H. COCKFIELD  
Mercer University

SARAH DAVIES and JAMES HARRIS, editors. *Stalin: A New History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 295. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$32.99.

Not surprisingly, the standard portrait of Joseph Stalin has been characterized by excesses and extremes. Official Soviet texts presented a mythological figure of re-

markable wisdom and talent, while his political opponents, people like Nikita Khrushchev and Leon Trotsky, described a third-rate intellectual, a man obsessed with his own cult, and a bungling military leader. Between hagiography and belittlement there has not been much, but the opening of the Soviet archives in recent years (and Stalin's personal archive, in particular) has generated a more credible portrait of the man who built the Soviet system. Sarah Davies and James Harris have edited a collection of first-rate scholarship and the result, they argue, is that "Stalin emerges as a far more contradictory and complex figure" (p. 17).

I cannot pretend to do justice to fourteen excellent essays that cover everything from Stalin's early years in Georgia to his passionate engagement with the details of cinematic production and scientific knowledge, his management of foreign policy, agriculture, and ideological questions, and his relationship with other party leaders in the Politburo. But a few general themes do stand out. Many contributors take direct aim at the conventional wisdom, such as Ethan Pollock, who writes that in Stalin's final years, "He was not simply a reclusive old man. The evidence suggests that he was more concerned about ideology and science than was previously known" (p. 286). Erik van Ree challenges the notion that Stalin modified and distorted Marxist tenets, and argues instead that "[t]he real originality of the Stalinist ideology lay in its particular synthesis" of Marxism and the radical patriotism of Western revolutionary tradition (p. 180). Jeremy Smith shows that Stalin was no timid party theorist, nor did his Russian chauvinism emerge in the postwar years. Rather, Stalin demonstrated early on a "readiness to subordinate the major non-Russian nationalities to an explicitly Russian centre, a position that was directly at odds with Lenin's" (p. 53). Harris offers a revision of the long-standing assumption that Stalin rose to power by using his position as party general secretary to build a loyal following. He argues instead that Stalin benefited from a shared interest with regional party secretaries who, like him, were eager to put an end to "factionalism" and intraparty democracy (p. 80).

A number of essays highlight the informal exercise of power under Stalin, the dictator's personal interests and priorities, and the limits of his authority. While some describe various checks on Stalin's absolute power, Oleg Khlevniuk underscores his personal dictatorship: "On Stalin's orders, the organs of state security could, at any moment, arrest any Soviet leader, their deputies, or their relatives and fabricate any charges he wished. These methods were sufficient to ensure Stalin's dominance over the political system" (p. 112). This threat intensified the fear and uncertainty of those operating in a political environment that so often lacked explicit rules. Several authors describe the importance of private meetings, patronage, personal relationships, and non-institutional procedures. In particular, J. Arch Getty asserts that the Politburo was more a symbol than an institution, a mask for a team

that made its important decisions informally and in small groups (p. 86).

A few articles shed light on Stalin's priorities and style of leadership. R. W. Davies shows how the leader "concentrated on a small number of issues which he regarded as essential for the success of his policy as a whole," which in the case of agriculture involved a keen focus on the state procurement of grain but little attention to livestock (p. 138). We also see a figure obsessed with how best to educate and inspire a citizenry of workers and peasants. Sarah Davies examines Stalin's extraordinary influence over cinema and how he used film as a way of mobilizing the masses. Stalin believed that films had to be more than simply ideologically correct; to reach and move people, they had to be joyous, funny, and entertaining, too (p. 208). William Chase explains Stalin's keen interest in the Moscow show trials when he writes that "[a] successful trial provides a mobilization narrative for society" (p. 230). David Priestland describes Stalin's "quasi-romantic Bolshevism" with its strong emphasis on heroism, socialist commitment, and struggle; Stalin stressed the importance of producing "ideologically inspired people, who could both be mobilised and be effective mobilisers" (p. 195). David Brandenberger asserts that although Stalin often objected to the excesses of the Stalin cult, the party leadership appreciated the cult's usefulness as "a mechanism for political mobilisation" (p. 250). The degree to which Stalin was preoccupied with the vexing problem of mass mobilization is striking.

Finally, the articles draw attention to certain aspects of Stalin's personality and disposition. Alfred J. Rieber writes that "[t]here was always a strong element of opportunism in Stalin's self-presentation. His Georgian, proletarian, and Russian identities remained separate rather than integrated" and he shifted "from one to the other to fit the changing circumstances" (p. 44). In another essay on Stalin's security policy, Rieber describes a leader with irregular beats and shifting rhythms whose policies could be at once contradictory and ideologically consistent (p. 158).

With this outstanding collection, Davies and Harris not only present a more compelling and comprehensible individual but greatly advance our understanding of the Soviet state under Stalin.

GOLFO ALEXOPOULOS  
University of South Florida

LISA A. KIRSCHENBAUM. *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1995: Myth, Memories, and Monuments*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 309. \$75.00.

The circumspection that has characterized the pre- and postmillennial climate in the West, along with the "openness" promised, and in some spheres delivered, in late Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, have proven particularly fertile for the reconsidering and rewriting of Russian history. Lisa A. Kirschenbaum chronicles and com-

plements the current dialogue on the interrelationships of memory, history (monuments), and myth. In this richly researched and elegantly written book, Kirschenbaum first articulates the argument from various theoretical perspectives. She then analyzes ways in which the history and myth of the siege of Leningrad began to be "written" even from the very first days of this emblematic tragedy.

In three parts, the author considers the nascent history of the siege (1941–1945), the "canonical" version of the history in the postwar Soviet Union, and the remembering and rewriting that has occurred in the post-Soviet period. Kirschenbaum approaches these chronological divisions along such parameters as the building, or not building, of monuments and the opposition, if not antagonism, between the grand narratives of official, national history and the local and personal small stories of the city and its inhabitants. The latter she positions within the myth or cult that has arisen over the last two centuries, at least, of St. Petersburg/Petrograd/Leningrad/St. Petersburg as "intentional city," imperial capital, "City-Hero" (*Gorod-geroi*), and hub of high culture—the imagined city "Piter." Kirschenbaum's study ranges as well beyond questions of theory and Russian history. She offers comparisons with in some ways comparable events of World War II and its aftermath, such as the London Blitz and the rebuilding and commemoration of the war in Warsaw and Rotterdam.

This study of the legacy of the Leningrad siege both engages and informs. In her introduction, the author cites research by psychologists and humanists on the functioning and documenting (autobiography) of memory, and, in particular, of traumatic memories. There is plenty to ponder here, and questions arise in response to the pronouncements of some. For instance, this reviewer's reply to Derek Summerfield's claim that "war-affected populations are largely directing their attention not inwards, to 'trauma,' but outwards, to their devastated social world" ("The Social Experience of War and Some Issues for the Humanitarian Field," in Patrick J. Bracken and Celia Petty, eds., *Rethinking the Trauma of War* [1998], pp. 23, 34) would be that that all depends to a great extent on the "population" and the "trauma." The relevance for this study is that Leningrad siege survivors often did not report experiencing "post-traumatic stress" (PTS) in the sense that we understand war trauma today. But female victims of rape during the Bosnian war (1992–1995) do experience PTS—it is difficult to conceptualize war trauma that is by definition personal as a social experience that is meliorated by the shared experience of the group. Leningraders experienced the "front line" of the siege within their own bodies, which became ageless and sexless, but they were still able, for the most part, to perceive this as a shared experience. Rape, as war trauma, is something else. Clearly much remains to be said and written on the experience and recollection of trauma and war, and the author surveys a number of provocative theories.

Kirschenbaum includes excerpts from diaries, news-



papers, archives, and other Russian sources that appear in English for the first time. She considers the social significance of literature of the period as well. Her retelling of Vera Ketlinskaia's story "Nastia" serves to represent the moral liminality of wartime. First published in 1945, Ketlinskaia depicts the "illicit" affair between the male protagonist Pavel and Nastia in besieged Leningrad as, in Pavel's words, "lofty" and "beautiful" (p. 109). Although he initially returns to his wife and children, when they return from evacuation after the war, Pavel now sees his wife as cloying and bourgeois. In an ending that would soon become intolerable in the postwar effort to encourage a return to "normal" behavior, Pavel leaves his wife for an uncertain future with his mistress. Kirschenbaum details this shift from the freedom of societal constraints to a refocusing on the communal and familial in subsequent literature, propaganda, and memorials to the siege. This is just one of the shifts that the author describes in the interplay of public and private perceptions, of the interfacing of the verifiable, the perceived, and the imagined in the ongoing process of "writing" the history.

With this book Kirschenbaum has created yet another monument to the epic siege of Leningrad.

CYNTHIA SIMMONS  
Boston College

KIRIL TOMOFF. *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939–1953*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Pp. xiv, 321. \$57.50.

Kiril Tomoff's book is a level-headed yet provocative examination of the creation, structure, and workings of the Composers' Union in the USSR at the end of the Stalin period. Tomoff provides the most detailed discussion thus far of the official organization that allowed Soviet composers and musicologists to practice their trades, and the sobriety with which he evaluates his rich archival materials is much appreciated (although given this, his reliance on the thoroughly discredited *Testimony* astounds; pp. 5–7). In his narrative, Tomoff traces the Union's "coming of age" (p. 153) by examining its central moments, including World War II, the postwar *Zhdanovshchina* (cultural official Andrei Zhdanov's clampdown on the arts), the 1948 Resolution on Music, and the late Stalin-era antic cosmopolitanism campaign. The value and limitations of his study both stem from Tomoff's assertion that "in a society so deeply imbedded in bureaucracy, we must understand the bureaucracy to understand the society" (p. 12), for at times the precision with which Tomoff dissects the Union unduly "normalizes" the exceptional episodes in its history.

Tomoff's primary argument is well founded: by the late 1940s the Union of Composers had become an established professional organization—similar to those in the West—that helped facilitate the creation and discussion of new music, both "popular" and "highbrow," in the USSR. This achievement was due to its expertise, authority, agency, and "socially valuable work" (pp. 2,

64). It was especially the "agency" of the Union that allowed it to gain control over its own affairs, thereby protecting its members from external political attacks. According to Tomoff, "agency" "captures the vast gray area between the two poles of autonomy and subjugation" (p. 3) that are "central to traditional writing about the Soviet arts world" (p. 95). Yet Tomoff often overstates his case, repeatedly emphasizing that the Union was a "juridically distinct entity" (pp. 36, 58, 99) from the Central Committee. Rather, as his exhaustive research makes clear, I would suggest that the interplay between party and Union was dynamic, even dialectical, especially in the late 1940s. The Central Committee frequently intervened, and the Union was forced to make concessions, most visibly in the 1948 attacks (which Tomoff idiosyncratically refers to as a "brouhaha"). Nonetheless, often the Union was able to assert its "agency" by shielding (and policing) its own membership. This was something that the Union's chair, Tikhon Khrennikov, always claimed, but which Tomoff's evidence now supports, at least in part.

Where Tomoff's sometimes overly literal interpretation of his evidence falters is when he misses the larger issues for the bureaucratic minutiae. (Tomoff's passion for the detailed intricacies of institutional machinations shines throughout, but it is most successfully presented in chapters four, five, and ten, the study's highlights). In his discussion of the events surrounding the 1948 Resolution on Music, the most thorough, informed treatment in English of that awful episode, Tomoff emphasizes the bureaucratic uncertainty on all levels throughout, coupled with the discontent felt (and expressed) by many Union members about what happened. It seems that it was not as bad as we thought: "The musical implications of the brouhaha were temporarily extreme, though they faded with time" (p. 124). Yet this is not true. Yes, they faded with time, but it took a long time: the often severe implications were felt until the 1958 Declaration "Amending and Canceling" the 1948 Resolution, and, in fact, many of the prohibitions that the Resolution instigated lasted into the 1960s. Moreover, Tomoff's clinical discussion makes one forget that after his 1948 denunciation Dmitri Shostakovich reportedly considered suicide.

More troubling is Tomoff's investigation of the antic cosmopolitanism campaign's effect on the Union. While Tomoff's nuanced reading of the broader implications of "cosmopolitanism" for the Union is salutary (pp. 153, 184), it causes him to downplay the antisemitism of the campaign, as in the following: "Though they attacked some individual Jewish administrators, it is clear that administrative efficiency, not nationality, was their primary concern" (p. 168). Furthermore, Tomoff relegates to a footnote the case of composer Moisei Vainberg, imprisoned in early 1953 for his connection to one of the suspects (his wife's uncle) in the Doctor's Plot (p. 166, note 41). Vainberg's arrest, though exceptional for the Union as Tomoff makes clear, demonstrates that even within the Union individual Jews were explicitly targeted at the time. Given the extreme

lengths to which antisemitism, whether implicit or explicit (p. 165), was taken in Stalin's USSR, it is difficult to believe that in some cases "administrative efficiency" was not a pretense used to mask darker purposes. Despite these reservations, Tomoff's book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of musical production in the USSR; it will undoubtedly help foster productive debate about the politics and practices of the Composers' Union and Soviet music in general.

PETER SCHMELZ

Washington University in St. Louis

#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

ANTHONY GRAFTON and MEGAN WILLIAMS. *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 367. \$29.95.

In this engaging and accessible contribution to the history of the book, Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams present a chapter in the history of scholarly production little known to those outside the field of late ancient Christianity. They seek to provide an interdisciplinary model, common in scholarship on the history of the book, that looks to both cultural and material history. Their subjects (each of whom is allotted two chapters) are Origen (third-century Biblical scholar and speculative theologian) and Eusebius (fourth-century bishop and compiler of ecclesiastical history, an "impresario of manuscript publication" [p. 230]). Both Origen and Eusebius worked in the hellenized Palestinian city of Caesarea. In the libraries developed in that city they devised new forms of collaborative scholarship and from it derived new kinds of intellectual authority, new "cultural capital." In the end, the new forms of infrastructural and institutional support for scholarly production broke the necessity of private patronage. (Eusebius, in his career, moved from the private patronage of Pamphilus, a devotee and collector of Origen's works, to the imperial patronage of Constantine.) Williams is chiefly responsible for the chapters on Origen and his *Hexapla* and Grafton for chapters on Eusebius and his *Chronicle*.

The *Hexapla*, "the first serious product of the application to Christian culture of the tools of Greek philology and criticism" (p. 131), contained versions of the Old Testament laid out in six parallel columns. Its innovation was to display information in tabular form, allowing for easy comparison. Eusebius's *Chronicle*, produced with the help of a staff of scribes in his scriptorium, was a history of the world in parallel columns.

Williams compares Origen's modes of writing and book production to that of philosophers such as Plotinus, various Stoics, and the "bookish" Epicureans. Like the philosophers, Origen, who began his career as a teacher of Greek language and literature, collected the works of his own "school tradition" (i.e., earlier Chris-

tianity and Judaism) and enjoyed personal patronage (of the wealthy Ambrose, who supplied him with scribes and copyists). Yet Origen's attention to "barbarian" (i.e., non-Greek) literature distinguishes him from the philosophers: the *Hexapla* made, available to Greek readers an originally Hebrew text. Williams rightly discards various aspects of Eusebius's embroidered depiction of Origen in his *Ecclesiastical History* that scholars now deem dubious at best.

Williams reconstructs the steps by which Origen must have prepared his six-column *Hexapla*, of which only fragments remain. Since the work would have cost more than twice Origen's annual income as a teacher to produce, the patronage of the wealthy was a necessity—although understandably more meager than what Constantine could provide for Eusebius.

Grafton details the production of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, "a polyglot collection of research materials" and synthesis of ancient history (p. 166) that applied innovations in book design and production. The *Chronicle* (covering the history of the ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome, and providing chronological information in tables) used Origen's Bible as a prototype, Grafton argues. Surveying late ancient chronography as background, Grafton stresses Eusebius's "Bakhtinian openness, . . . his willingness to turn his early books into so odd a conversation among priests of several nations and to accept that their Pinteresque dialogue necessarily ended in uncertainty" (p. 166). Eusebius's relinquishing the Old Testament as the sole source of the world's history changed chronology from "a fixed, perfect armature for the history of the world into an open, hotly debated discipline" (pp. 169–170). Taking a cue from Origen, Eusebius also drew up parallel "canon tables" for the Gospels with a system (based on layout, different ink colors, and other visual clues) that allowed the reader to move from any passage to its parallel. These techniques of research and presentation Eusebius later put to use in his *Ecclesiastical History* and *Onomasticon*, "a detailed gazetteer of Palestine" (p. 221). Eusebius's tables, edited and translated into Latin by Jerome, provided the model for Latin world chronicles in later centuries.

Some students of antiquity will deem Grafton's view of Eusebius overly generous, especially as pertains to the *Life of Constantine*. Grafton blames the faulty and contradictory aspects (long recognized by scholars) of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* on the fact that he was dependent on a "flock of secretaries and notaries" (p. 214). And many New Testament scholars will lack Grafton's confidence that the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus codices were produced in Eusebius's scriptorium.

Just as Origen and Eusebius experimented with collaboration in book production, so Grafton and Williams urge their readers to experiment, as they themselves have done, with a team approach to scholarship. Indeed, the authors present an excellent model in this in-

teresting and informative contribution to the history of the book.

ELIZABETH A. CLARK  
Duke University

MEGAN HALE WILLIAMS. *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. x, 315. \$45.00.

As a young Franciscan at the Sorbonne, Paulo Evaristo Arns, future Cardinal Archbishop of São Paulo, wrote a thesis on *La technique du livre d'après saint Jérôme* (1953). Although visible to nonspecialists only as a citation in Michel Foucault's famous article on the author-function, Arns's work remains a precious resource for anyone interested in what can now be called "late antique book history." As that formula indicates, the disciplinary ground has shifted since the 1950s. Megan Hale Williams writes from within a paradigm of late antique religious and historical studies associated particularly with the work of Peter Brown, who was an advisor for the Princeton dissertation behind this book. She also stands somewhere on the Paris-Princeton-Philadelphia axis of book-cultural studies. With Anthony Grafton, another of her dissertation advisors, she has co-written *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (2006); Grafton's scholarship has evidently helped shape the present work, too. These are very favorable auspices. Moreover the timing is good. There has been no wide-ranging historical monograph on Jerome, in English, since J. N. D. Kelly's 1975 biography. Meanwhile, specialized studies of Jerome's social milieu, ascetic theory, exegetical practice, and literary-historical moment have proliferated.

Williams offers a series of essays on aspects of Jerome's "professional" performance, marshaled by a main thesis. She begins with a fairly traditional account of his life and career as a publishing Christian writer, emphasizing as others have the importance of Origen as a model of Scripture-centered intellectual activity and the stakes of his own bizarre appeal to the "Hebrew truth" as a norm for biblical interpretation. These concerns come to a practical focus in a chapter on Jerome's exposition of the Minor Prophets, considered with respect to ancient habits of commentary. Attention then shifts to the broader technics of late antique book culture. Williams's "catalogue" of Jerome's library relies heavily on classic studies by Pierre Courcelle and Harald Hagendahl. More original is her attempt to discern what she calls, with a nod to Roger Chartier, a monastic "order of books" specific to late antiquity, although she may go too far in her claims for the papyrus codex as distinctive of the period; rather than proving her point, Jerome's mention of *chartacei codices* in one text (p. 185 n. 30) could be taken to favor Arns's assumption that codices (i.e., spine-hinged books) were more commonly made of parchment even then. The last two chapters transpose Arns's antiquarian treatment of Jerome's compositional and publishing practice into a

sociological key, stressing the collaborative nature of his work, especially the role of shorthand-writers and copyists (and Jewish consultants) in the mechanics of authorship, and that of wealthy patrons in bearing its costs. It is, above all, the expense of Jerome's operation that Williams wants us to notice. How in good conscience could a *monk* carry on like this? That dilemma, more than any supposed conflict between Ciceronian and Christian literary values, supplies the controlling "tension" of this study, one that we are invited to see Jerome resolving by an ingenious redefinition of aristocratic authorship as a species of asceticism.

The dialectical structure of Williams's argument, in which holiness collides with worldliness to produce Christian scholarship, is intriguingly similar to that of another recent dissertation with Princeton connections, cited by her, namely Eva Elm's *Die Macht der Weisheit* (2003), which also starts by positing a clash between (Christian) ascetic and Roman aristocratic ideals of life (and life-writing) in Latin late antiquity. We may now be seeing a belated outworking for western, Latin culture of a view of the Christian "holy man" as cultural brinksman set forth thirty-five years ago by Brown, principally on the basis of hagiographic texts from the eastern Roman Empire. But Jerome was always more of a stylist than a stylite, and Williams's interpretation of his work in terms of a conflict between an ideal type of "the monk" and the luxuries of elite Roman book culture runs counter to an impressive body of recent work demonstrating the malleability of early ideals of ascetic/monastic profession and the rapid assimilation of those ideals to the *mores* of Roman upper-class society. Not only Jerome but Ambrose and Augustine, too, along with such eastern counterparts as Basil, the Gregories, and John Chrysostom, were early adepts of asceticism and at the same time prolific authors. In Jerome's case, it may be easier to regard his ascetic profession as a *moyen de parvenir* than as an obstacle to social and literary success. This is one of several areas in which one could wish that Williams had engaged with existing scholarship rather than merely selecting from it. Hers is a far livelier book than Arns's, but it is marred overall by her erratic way with secondary materials and occasionally slipshod renderings of primary texts.

MARK VESSEY  
University of British Columbia

ARTHUR GOLDSCHMIDT, AMY J. JOHNSON, and BARAK A. SALMONI, editors. *Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*. New York: American University in Cairo Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 510.

This edited collection consists of seventeen essays on an array of topics by senior and younger scholars from various disciplines and backgrounds. The inspiration for the volume is based on the premise, in the words of editors Amy J. Johnson and Barak A. Salmoni, that the 1919–1952 period, an era of "cultural vibrancy" and "societal dynamism," "perhaps more significant for Egypt's post-1952 century than any other," remains in-

adequately studied and misrepresented as a time of "creeping decay" (pp. 2–3, 6). A broad revisionist aspiration informs a number of the chapters: James Whidden argues that an initially radical Wafd Party was co-opted to elite politics because of party rivalries and ideological contests and not because of colonial interference or elite structures; Tewfiq Aclimandos contends that the radicalization of officers after 1936 stemmed from increased civilian support and opportunities provided by World War II and the rise of the Axis, and not by democratization and Egyptianization; Johnson maintains that the women's activism of Aziza Hussein, an example of the cooperation between private and public sectors, anticipated the self-help work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs); and Carolyn Williams argues that the artists of the period freed Egyptian art from Western themes and techniques, pioneering the search for Arab roots and the Islamic abstract art and calligraphy of the succeeding era.

The insights and information of these and other contributors, to say nothing of Arthur Goldschmidt's rich bibliography of French, English, and Arab works, make this volume required reading for those interested in modern Egyptian history. Even required reading, however, is bound to be found variously inadequate or problematic. Have the editors and some of the authors exaggerated the need for revisionism in respect to individual topics or the period as a whole? Have they exaggerated the era's distinct identity, and have they exaggerated the novelty of their methods (surely deconstructive strategies are now widespread in Middle Eastern studies)?

Although these questions deserve lengthy consideration, I will use my limited space to address another important concern. As Anne-Claire Kerboeuf's essay on the Cairo fire of 1952 makes clear (she speaks of the contemporary Egyptian liberal elite's unwillingness to acknowledge the failures of the old regime), this book is not, as such, a celebration of the 1919–1952 period. The volume nevertheless reflects significant strains of idealization, particularly in respect to the allegedly inherent emancipatory features of "civil society." In their introduction Johnson and Salmoni praise the period's "flourishing associational life," which "approximated quite well what scholars in the 1990s referred to as 'civil society,' so often lacking in the contemporary Middle East" (p. 6). Although Egypt was perhaps "overburdened" by the 1950s, "it is equally likely," barring the "external" stresses of World War II and the Palestine War, that "it would have moved much more gradually toward the kind of political inclusion, economic development, and social progress to which the coup makers of 1952 aspired but which they could not effect" (pp. 6–7). Roger Owen, who provides a concluding essay, shares their admiration. The "nature of civil society" between 1919 and 1952 is a "key issue." It provided for freedom of speech, respect for private property, the maintenance of the rule of law, and the relative freedom of universities, the press, and many professional associations. Matters were not perfect, but ef-

forts to limit associational freedoms did not equal the "systematic attack" of the post-1952 "authoritarian regime" (p. 499).

The weakness of this emphasis on "civil society" as a heuristic tool, and more particularly as a gauge of freedom, stems from the difficulty of establishing clear theoretical distinctions between society and economy or between society and the political state. Historian Ellen Meiksins Wood argues that capitalist societies locate certain coercive and restrictive functions within the private sphere—in private property, class exploitation, and the market—rather than within the state. To the extent that a socialist state abolishes or limits such functions, it can be regarded as in fact extending the realm of freedom. The extraordinary expansion of public education in the Nasserist era, which was simply not feasible within the context of the political economy of the old regime, is a powerful example.

The tendency to accept the concept of civil society as a given derives, to a significant degree, from the fact that it is a "strong discourse" promoted simultaneously by an international capitalism that seeks to destroy all collectivities resistant to the market and by some progressives who have embraced a kind of neo-libertarianism suspicious of the state and mass movements as vehicles for change. In her chapter on women medical workers, Nancy Gallagher reviews the positivist, political economist, feminist, postmodernist, postcolonialist, and now again positivist interpretations of her topic and observes that scholars "need to reflect more carefully on the contexts in which they write, their analytical frameworks, their choices of terms, and their purposes" (p. 367). This work would have profited immensely if it contained a systematic consideration of the underlying theoretical assumptions that have shaped scholarship on the period as a whole.

RALPH M. COURY  
Fairfield University

JENS HANSSEN. *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Capital*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 307. \$95.00.

"To Beirut, peace from my heart." Thus begins Fairuz's hauntingly beautiful lament to a city that has repeatedly risen from the ashes of foreign intervention and civil war. While these words resonate with its inhabitants, they may seem incongruous to foreigners: the city more readily conjures up images of strife rather than of tranquility, an orphan torn between East and West, Muslim and Christian, Israel and Syria. Jens Hanssen introduces readers to another chapter in Beirut's history, disassociating the city's contemporary realities from a late nineteenth-century period of intense economic development, peaceful multireligious rule, and vibrant cultural exchange.

In clearing a new site within an already impressive historiography on Ottoman Lebanon in Arabic, French, and English, Hanssen enlists theoretical frameworks



from geographers and philosophers “to restore the heterogeneous *spatial* dimensions of Beirut’s modern history” (p. 10). His narrative plots these developments around three interrelated geographical matrices: city and empire, local society and foreign capitalists and educators, and debates among Arab intellectuals concerning urban planning. Although the intersecting structure of his history effectively conveys the Beirut elite’s perspective on key aspects of urban transformation, it is does not accommodate the city’s other social strata nearly so well.

For Hanssen, Beirut’s modern history began when the town fathers petitioned the Hamidian (Abdulhamid II [r. 1878–1908]) court to elevate the city’s administrative status within the greater Syrian region. The significance of their gesture lies not only in demonstrating the city’s growing economic and political clout with respect to Damascus. It was also an unequivocal expression of the elite’s conviction that they were provincial partners in the Ottoman project. Reconstructing the multireligious urban elite and the succession of governors on the basis of the Istanbul archives, the author chides modern historians of Syria who overlook continuities in the city’s political structure from the Ottoman period (p. 76). Their persistence notwithstanding, the urban elites’ efforts to direct the urban plan were often derailed by European capitalists whose influence over the Arab elite’s future encompassed not only their international trade linkages but also the education curriculum of their children.

Indeed, it is the conflict between the Beirut elite’s ideas of modernity and the solutions imposed by Europeans that forms the leitmotif of this study. Part three, which explores this duel of ideas and policies furnishes an important counterpoint to Selim Deringil’s perceptive take on the modern mythmaking of the Hamidian regime (*The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* [1998]). In addition to highlighting debates concerning the city plan, urban renewal/gentrification, and class politics, Hanssen documents the continuous and at times competing intellectual connections forged within the Arab world, particularly between Beirutis and the Muslim intellectuals exiled from Egypt after the ‘Urabi revolt, relations that were sustained in print as well as through intermarriage.

Despite an interlocking narrative aimed at capturing urban transformations, certain events key to understanding Beirut’s nineteenth-century development are nearly lost from view. We only learn about the conflicts that rocked Mount Lebanon in the 1860s late in the narrative, from Buṭrus al-Bustānī, the educator who drafted the entry for “Beyrut” in the encyclopedia *Dā’ira al-ma’ārif*. The impact of the civil war between Druse and Maronites, triggered when Maronite peasants defied their feudal Christian lords, was profound: the peasants who were driven off their land ended up in cities, the economy of sericulture that had quickened Beirut’s export economy was upended, and international intervention resulted in a unique form of admin-

istration under Anglo-French and Ottoman condominium.

Dependence on memoirs, essays, opinions, and belles lettres to supplement Ottoman administrative records may account for these gaps as well as for the marked imbalance in perspective in favor of the men of the upper classes. Occasionally, the urban working classes intrude on bourgeois decorum: in the dockworkers’ strike or in the interconfessional riots of 1903. Women, too, are fleeting figures, despite the fact that an exploration of the serialized romances found in the same turn-of-the-century journals the author uses so profitably to document elite male experience might have yielded other gendered, if imagined, urban spaces.

Despite these lapses, the book delivers on its primary goal: to restore the port city to its rightful place among the great Mediterranean metropolises of the late nineteenth century. Well-chosen anecdotes vividly convey the life and times of the city’s Sunni, Maronite, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Druse citizens and long-time foreign residents. In documenting their century-long involvement in government, civil society, and capitalist enterprise, Hanssen’s study serves as a tribute to today’s Beirutis, who rebuild a shattered city “with peace in their hearts” and a rebuke to a U.S. administration that prolonged their anguish under the Israeli bombardments of the city in 2006.

ARIEL SALZMANN  
Queen’s University

RAZMIK PANOSSIAN. *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 442. \$40.00.

Israel’s first astronaut, Ilan Ramon, took into space a reproduction of a picture by a young Czech Jewish artist, Petr Ginz, of the earth seen from the surface of the Moon. Shortly after the explosion of Space Shuttle Columbia, in which Ramon perished with the rest of the crew, a woman saw the picture on her television screen in Prague and let the world know she had Ginz’s diaries. Ginz had been deported at fourteen to Terezin and was gassed immediately upon his arrival at Auschwitz two years later: many of his pictures, including the moon-scape, are in the art collection of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. His parents were a mixed Jewish-Christian middle-class couple who felt at home in the new republic of Czechoslovakia and shared the liberal ideals of internationalism; they met at an Esperanto convention.

Had Petr’s parents embraced Zionism, not Czechoslovak patriotism, and studied Hebrew, not Esperanto, they might have escaped to the Land of Israel before the war. Language, homeland, and nation are not atavistic embarrassments for small, embattled peoples. They are the difference between life and death.

Razmik Panossian’s book is the most meticulously researched and scholarly study of the development of Armenian national identity ever written in any language; and it is also the best general study of the Armenians I have read. The author draws upon a vast array of pri-

mary and secondary sources, mainly in Armenian and English, from general works to periodicals of eighteenth-century Madras and nineteenth-century Constantinople, balancing theories of identity and nationalism and indigenous expressions of the same in genres as diverse as theology, romantic poetry, advertisement, and even band lyrics. Panossian's style is lucid, sometimes humorous, rarely passionate, always precise and humane. This is not only a relief from the barbarous jargon of theorists; it ensures that the work will be the standard textbook of Armenian history at the university level for years to come.

The book begins with a survey of ideas and methods in studying the phenomenon of nationalism and then considers the factors that early contributed to the formation of an Armenian ethnoreligious identity: the paradigm of resistance to foreign oppression, the early adoption of Christianity as the national faith, and the creation of an alphabet enabling the Bible and then the entire corpus of classical and Christian learning to be translated into Armenian. Panossian discusses the iconic figures associated with these events: the patron saint Gregory the Illuminator; St. Mesrop Mashtots, inventor of the alphabet; St. Vardan Mamikonian, hero-martyr of the Battle of Avarayr against the Sasanian Persians. Panossian negotiates a middle way between the dogma that any nationalism is an "imagined community" and modern and the "essentialist" view that in its extreme form would trace the roots of Armenian nationalism to the mooring of Noah's Ark on Mt. Ararat, just above the Erevan skyline. This is reasonable: 1789 might have been a new beginning for France, but it would be folly to ignore such events as Carnival at Romans, or the construction of the legend of Gargantua, in tracing the construction of French ethnic or national identity. Armenia is older and the archaeological spadework has to go deeper; the national symbols are correspondingly hoary and powerful.

Panossian rightly emphasizes the perennial importance of the partition of the country between West (Rome, Byzantium, the Ottoman Turks) and East (Parthia, the Sasanians, the Arabs, and the Russian Empire). This geopolitical fault line led to the development of two distinct literary vernacular dialects and to different political movements: at the Eastern Armenian center, Tiflis, closer to the historical Armenian lands, the ideology of *hayrenasirut'iun*, "love of the fatherland" predominated, while *azgasirut'iun*, "love of the people" (p. 175), with negotiated minority rights instead of sovereignty, characterized the thinking of more distant Constantinople. Foreign invasion led also to the collapse of the traditional social structure of the regional clan-dynastic houses of the *nakharars* and to expulsions and migrations. The Armenian Church came to define ethnic identity. It presided over the Armenian *millet* in Ottoman Turkey and was sustained by a powerful mercantile class there and in the diaspora. The latter grew with successive migrations: from eastern Armenia to Cappadocia to Cilicia to the Middle East; from central Armenia to the Crimea to Ukraine and to

Rostov-on-Don; and, with the expulsions of Shah Abbas, from the Ararat region to Isfahan (New Julfa), and from there to India and Southeast Asia.

Armenian traders, clerics, and literary men traveled, studied politics, fought in foreign armies, and learned new ideas that they grafted onto existing traditions of ethnoreligious identity. In Madras in the 1770s, Shahamir Shahamirian wrote a book in which he exhorted Armenians to gain independence; he also provided a draft constitution, plans for an army, a budget, and a republican government based on the rule of law (p. 92). Panossian considers the impact of such intellectual visionaries as milestones in his story; so he considers in detail also the Catholic Mekhit'ar Abbas, who compiled the first Armenian dictionary (p. 103). The Mekhit'arist order canonized spoken Western Armenian and thereby enabled a secular literature to develop, bringing to Armenians new kinds of books and the liberal ideas that accompanied them. Panossian charts the missions of Joseph Emin and Israel Ori to seek Russian help in liberating Armenia from Muslim rule (p. 110). With the Russian conquest of Eastern Armenia in 1828, the Armenians indeed became the majority population in the region through migration of Armenians from Turkey under a kind of "Law of Return" and the transfer of Muslims to Turkey and Iran. The Erevan region thus became, under Russian protection, the embryo of an independent Armenian state. But by *erkir*, "the land," Armenians meant the ninety percent of historical Armenia ruled by the Ottoman Turks and inhabited by most Armenians; and it was here that repression and demands for reform—and for Western intervention—intensified through the nineteenth century, culminating in the massacres of 1896 (p. 163) and the 1915 genocide.

In the aftermath of World War I, Russian Armenia became Soviet Armenia (1922–1991), then the Republic of Armenia of today. The East-West divide endured: the survivors of the genocide in Turkish Armenia settled in the existing diaspora communities of the Near East, America, and Europe, although some, especially immediately after World War II, became "repatriates" (*hayrenadardz*) to the Soviet republic (p. 361). One of these, Dr. Levon Ter Petrosian, became the first president of the newly independent republic after the collapse of the USSR. Frictions between East and West endure: the diaspora-based Armenian Revolutionary Federation bitterly criticized Ter Petrosian's policies for insufficient militancy toward Turkey, which still denies the genocide. And there are deeper, uglier strains: Armenian ultranationalism has always had a racist, antisemitic aspect (p. 363, n. 109). Part of this may stem from early rivalry: the Maccabean theme is strong in classical Armenian tradition; and in the eighteenth century, the first modern historian in Armenian tradition, Michael Ch'amch'ian, "proved" the Armenians were the true Chosen People (p. 105). With the advance of modernity, Jews and Armenians more and more uneasily see themselves and their fates shadowed in each other. For both, an embrace of national identity in territorial and even linguistic terms may be more a con-

dition for survival and dignity than it is an arbitrary construct of the imagination, although formidable powers of imaginative creativity have refined that identity, from Shahamirian's *Nor Tetrak* to the *Judenstaat* of Theodor Herzl, from the Armenian dictionary of Mekhit'ar to the Hebrew one of Eliezer Ben Yehuda. Panossian's work negotiates beautifully the tension between these realities of imagination and of contingency, between the demand of commitment to an ancient, honorable, and martyred people and the equally powerful imperative of scholarly dispassion, without which that people is in any event ill served (see p. 17). It is a masterpiece that belongs, in its way, to both the great tradition of Khorenats'i and the finest scholarship of the twenty-first century.

JAMES R. RUSSELL  
Harvard University

### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JEAN ALLMAN and JOHN PARKER. *Tongnaab: The History of a West African God*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Pp. xi, 300. Cloth 65.00, paper \$24.95.

Part of a shrine complex in the Upper East Region of Ghana, Tongnaab reverberates mostly as a destination of supplicants from southern Ghana and neighboring territories. It also forms the epicenter of a ritual traffic and knowledge that spawned derivatives as far as Yoruba country, bringing in counterpart monetary wealth and consumer goods to the north. Jean Allman and John Parker have written an engaging study that reconstructs these peregrinations and mutations as components of the vibrant religious repertoire of Ghana from 1900 to the present, a prism through which to refract and reflect on a transregional ritual dialogue, a means to explore African actions and perceptions in the shaping of colonialism and to insert the Tong Hills into Ghanaian national social history.

The Tong Hills contain a number of shrines that are the foci of earth and ancestor cults, garnering congregations in a complex network of overlapping rights, responsibilities, and collaboration. The pilgrim trade turned around one particular ancestor shrine among these, for reasons that are not entirely clear; so did the ire of the British, who thought it a base of resistance in this truculent region that frustrated pacification attempts. Colonial history starts with a small, well-armed British force shooting its way through the Tong Hills at the turn of the twentieth century, followed by an effort to destroy the gigantic granite slabs and caves harboring the shrines; when this proved impossible, the population was relocated in the hopes of extinguishing the offending social practices. One result is a particularly rich colonial documentation on ritual practices in the earliest, otherwise obscure, period of the twentieth century, albeit reflected by the confused understanding of British authorities. Restrictions were gradually lifted in 1925, people were allowed to move back in, and rela-

tions between administration and locals got on a better footing in the 1930s.

A central chapter describes how visitors from Asante and the Gold Coast carried the "shadow" of Tongnaab to establish satellite shrines in their towns and villages, goaded by a logic that placed the strongest ritual resources outside of human culture, to which the netherworld of the new colonial frontier was the closest thing. Growing mobility and greater access to colonial money and goods in the south facilitated the movement, but the transition shifted the agrarian ancestors' central concern with fertility and abundance to the identification of witches, which was tangential in the north. Born was Nana Tongo, which continues to sway the national imagination.

Tongnaab and its transmogrification into Nana Tongo fascinate the anthropologist because the Tong Hills were Meyer Fortes's first and most substantial fieldwork site, one of the most accomplished ethnographic projects that laid the foundation for modern anthropology. Fortes's painstaking findings add considerable depth to the historical analysis, and a chapter in the book, well illustrated with Fortes's own unpublished photographs, explores his legacy in the political becoming of the area. Fortes was—very much like today's anthropologists—weary of the inroads that southern colonial capitalism made into the north, and especially disturbed by the monetary rivalry that the Tongnaab pilgrimage trade was provoking. For this the chief commissioner, with the peculiar inversion of political valence that colonial liberalism wanted, branded him "reactionary." By the end of Fortes's three plus years of involvement in the area, the suspicion of the authorities somewhat abated. The anthropologist, on his side, realizing the onset of major administrative initiatives to renew the structures of indirect rule, dropped his reluctance to provide advice. The outcome was limited collaboration, through which, according to Allman and Parker, the anthropologist "wrote himself" into the political future of the area. Fortes influenced the emerging constitution in directions that can be retrospectively understood in light of his anthropological analysis and political commitments: preserve Tale land away from Mamprusi hierarchies in the face of kingdom creating and zeal for indirect rule, and prevent the sclerosis of monetary power achieved through ritual entrepreneurship into pseudo-traditional political office. All the same, the authors offer a salutary warning not to exaggerate Fortes's role in a complex development in which local struggles remained determining.

The intersection of local and global flows had a further ironic twist. By the time of Fortes's ethnographic trip, the Northern Territories were reeling from the effects of the world economic crisis, which eliminated salaried jobs in the south and had serious repercussions on the north by forcing migrant laborers to return and convincing others not to depart. It appears, therefore, that Fortes was observing retrenchment and withdrawal from the colonial money economy after a period of expansion, although how this affected the trickle of south-

ern supplicants to Tongnaab and the fortunes of its principal entrepreneur, Tengol, is not clear.

Allman and Parker also carry out a dialogue with the rich historical commentary on the dissemination of Tongnaab that Richard Werbner developed in *Ritual Passage, Sacred Journey* (1989), weaving together theoretical ideas developed in the preceding decade and intimate familiarity with Ghanaian history. They end the book with a reflexive acknowledgment of their own participation in recent Tallensi history: involvement in the successful project to designate the Tong Hills a UNESCO World Heritage site, promoting international tourism to the area, and fighting a foreign company quarrying pink granite for export.

The book is a pleasure to read and supremely suitable for students.

MAHIR SAUL  
University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

GREGORY MANN. *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 333. \$23.95.

Thousands of African colonial subjects fought and died in Europe, Southeast Asia, and North Africa for the French Empire in both the world wars. Several accounts already exist of the familiar and often highly celebratory story of valiant West African soldiers fighting to defend France in World War I, and to liberate France and protect its overseas empire, especially in North Africa and Asia, in World War II. Yet previous historians have often reduced the fascinating story of the *tirailleurs sénégalais* to the soldiers' unquestionable bravery or focused on the leading and crucial role that West African veterans played in francophone Africa's successful post-World War II struggles for independence. In this exhaustively researched, meticulously documented, and elegantly written study, Gregory Mann offers a much more nuanced and richly textured history of the numerous, complex, and fluid relationships between West African soldiers and the French, both military and civilian, throughout the twentieth century. Drawing on abundant archival materials, personal correspondence, oral histories, interviews, and published accounts, the book makes a major contribution to our understanding of West African and French colonial history as well as providing valuable insight into the often ambiguous and troubled interactions between contemporary France and its former colonial subjects. In addition, the author masterfully weaves local, regional, colonial, and post-colonial histories into a cohesive unit, simultaneously raising questions about many seemingly well-defined concepts, including colony, colonialism, postcolonialism, nation, state, and empire.

Focusing on a prominent military family in the town of San in modern-day Mali, Mann delineates and analyzes the intricate social relations between former household slaves and their ex-masters, which involved

an array of established but also dynamic mutual obligations, rights, debts, and expectations. The author offers a detailed case study of the military and civilian careers of two brothers from San, Keretigi Traore and Nianson Coulibaly, who skillfully manipulated their traditional and colonial ties to advance their political and economic interests. The early twentieth century was a period of critical and diverse renegotiation of long-held bonds. With the outbreak of World War I in Europe, France drew on its colonial subjects, both as volunteers and draftees. Many were ex-slaves eager to escape former client-patronage ties or forced by village elders to fill conscription quotas.

The book's introduction and first chapter set the groundwork for future developments in interpersonal relations between ex-slaves and former masters, veterans and traditional leaders, veterans and colonial administrators, and finally West Africans and the French in the middle and late twentieth century. In chapter two, the author deftly demonstrates how historical links based on slavery were transformed into new relations of dependency and reciprocity within the colonial army from 1914 to 1940. Chapter three proceeds to a discussion of the highly influential roles of World War I and World War II veterans in the independence movements of the 1940s and 1950s, especially in the French Soudan (Senegal and Mali). Contrary to the popular perception that veterans were uniformly in the forefront of the liberation struggle, Mann argues that ex-soldiers overwhelmingly considered their own self-interest and future status before deciding whether to support or oppose independence. Many veterans had substantial financial, political, and social prestige to lose if France retreated from its colonies. Others who felt betrayed by the colonial regime vigorously opposed French domination. In either case, the renegotiation of ties between the French and West Africans mirrored to some degree the earlier evolution of ties of dependency and reciprocity between ex-slaves and ex-masters. This chapter provides a necessary corrective to the prevalent and reductionist view that military service inevitably radicalized West Africans.

In chapter four, Mann chronicles the emergence of a distinctive military culture in Africa, Europe, and Asia, involving personal and professional relationships between the *tirailleurs sénégalais* and Europeans, including women and civilians as well as military personnel. Drawing on personal correspondence, remittance records, and personal recollections, the author also relates the universal hardship story of soldiers separated from family, the need to retain traditional familial and societal bonds, and the difficulties of returning home to an uncertain future. Many eventually relied more heavily on military rather than traditional connections. Once again, various relationships at different levels had to be renegotiated and redefined, a process that is still ongoing, most visibly with West African immigrants overseas, their families in West Africa, and Europeans. In the final chapter and the conclusion, Mann raises questions—such as what rights West African immi-



grants have in France and what obligations France still has toward its West African veterans—and provides direct answers.

The book certainly sets a high standard for future research, which might usefully include comparative studies of African and Asian soldiers and veterans in the British and Dutch empires in the twentieth century as well as current ties of dependency and reciprocity between Western nations and their former colonial subjects.

ANDREW F. CLARK  
University of North Carolina,  
Wilmington

ANDREW APTER. *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. x, 334. \$24.00.

Oil's importance to Nigeria's postcolonial political economy is enormous and undisputed. While Andrew Apter is by no means the first scholar to examine the oil economy's impact on politics and culture, the literature is actually surprisingly small. Apter starts from the observation that the wealth generated in Nigeria's oil boom was not based on the accumulation of surplus value, as in the "full-fledged" capitalist systems of Western Europe or North America (p. 14), but on an apparently magical circulation of excess derived from the sale of a single prized commodity in the midst of a good run. Both economic development and political culture were thus exceptionally vulnerable to the changing fortunes of oil.

Apter's account revolves around an international festival of African culture, FESTAC, that took place in Lagos in 1977, at the height of the oil boom. Using assiduous historical research, Apter locates key exhibits, symbols, and events of FESTAC in the history of colonialism, nationalism, and neocolonialism, chronicling in detail the politics of FESTAC's production. The analysis yields rich insights into struggles among states and regions over the meaning of terms such as "African" and "Nigerian." Apter uses "the invention of tradition" as a starting point rather than an end point for analysis. He seeks to go beyond consideration of FESTAC's cultural authenticity to a more probing exploration of the festival's relation to political economy, arguing that FESTAC constituted a national spectacle suited to a burgeoning economy built on largely illusory value.

After the chapters on FESTAC, Apter turns to developments following the decline in oil revenues, starting in the 1980s and continuing into the 1990s. The discussion ranges from the persecution of the Ogoni people and the brazen hanging of famed writer and advocate Ken Saro-Wiwo, to the historical background of the infamous Nigerian e-mail scams. The achievement of these chapters is to provide a deep contextualization for corruption and tyranny, but one that avoids descent into apologetics.

This book deserves a wide readership, and I expect

that it will get it. Apter has provided us with an account of a postcolonial African political culture that is both theoretically and empirically compelling. There is, though, one point on which I wish Apter had dwelled at greater length. He frequently describes FESTAC and other cultural activity in terms of their ideological masking functions. Elaborating on Karl Marx's famous discussion of commodity fetishism, whereby the relations of production are obscured by the commodity in complex capitalist societies, Apter depicts features of modern Nigeria—such as the contradictions of the oil economy (p. 120) and ethnic divisiveness (p. 51)—as obscured by the cultural spectacle of FESTAC. But much evidence in the book suggests that the contradictions of the oil economy, and ethnic divisiveness even more, have been readily apparent to Nigerians. In this sense, much of the activity depicted here consists of exercises in *failed* mystification.

JONATHAN SADOWSKY  
Case Western Reserve University

JEREMIAH I. DIBUA. *Modernization and the Crisis of Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience*. (Interdisciplinary Research Series in Ethnic, Gender and Class Relations.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2006. Pp. xvi, 372. \$114.95.

In this timely book, Jeremiah I. Dibia adds his voice to the ongoing debate regarding the crisis of development in Africa. Applying an interdisciplinary, radical political economic approach and using Nigeria as a case study, Dibia attempts an examination of the roles of the state, class, culture, and gender in understanding the complexities and dynamics of African development. His basic argument, elaborated over eight substantive chapters, is that both the diagnosis and resolution of Africa's developmental problems should be rooted in African realities rather than based, as they have been, on "preconceived theories, models and paradigms" that replicate "Western institutions and experiences" (pp. 3, 5).

To provide the reader with a better understanding of the complexities and dynamics of Africa's development crisis, the author traces the relationship between colonial Nigeria and the British imperial power, finding the genesis of Nigeria's development crisis in that lopsided and exploitative relationship. The colonial/international division of trade that turned the different nationalities that constituted colonial Nigeria into primary producers of raw materials and consumers of the products of European industries undermined indigenous industrial activities and technological capacities. The author further argues that the promotion of foreign enterprises underdeveloped indigenous entrepreneurship and turned Nigeria into a dependent economy. The British colonial administration, he continues, transplanted Western institutions into Nigeria and engendered the entrenchment of authoritarianism, flawed federalism, regional and ethnic politics as well as pa-

triarchal features that grossly undermined indigenous gender relations.

Different democratic experiments and economic development policies that successive governments in Nigeria have pursued since independence are also discussed in the book. While Dibua recognizes such internal problems as the authoritarian state, military interventions in politics, religious conflict between Christians and Muslims, ethnic conflicts, corruption, and intra-elite competition for state offices and resources, he condemns the alien nature of the modernization paradigm that informed the transplantation of different models of liberal democracy and economic development policies to Nigeria. The basic problem, he argues, is the fundamental contradiction between the transplanted Western modernization models and the Nigerian indigenous social realities. The author cites the failure of the British parliamentary and American-style presidential models as examples but does not propose any new model. He postulates that the American presidential system works in that country because it was in tune with the sociocultural institutions of people with an advanced capitalist foundation to absorb the high level of capital and corruption inherent in such a model, but its transplantation in Nigeria has failed due to the latter's peripheral capitalist status and weak special-interest groups. The author also blames the inability of the elite to use the constitutional processes established since independence to transform the country. One major problem with this type of argument is that Dibua fails to provide any new political model or paradigm. Similarly, he does not suggest concrete measures to address the problem of political and bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria.

The book presents a detailed analysis of the factors that have contributed to Nigeria's crisis of industrialization and economic development. Through his empirical and systematic examination of the adoption and implementation of the policies of technology transfer, farm settlements, integrated rural development, World Bank-sponsored agricultural development projects, large-scale capital-intensive farms, and irrigation schemes pursued by successive governments in Nigeria, Dibua is able to connect the continuing crisis of development in Nigeria with problematic modernization paradigms. He attempts to show that these paradigms were unsuited to a Nigerian environment by being capital-intensive and male-oriented, which characteristics alienate women and the peasantry, who constitute vital forces for development. These are the groups, as the book points out, that have for centuries sustained the

economic and agricultural foundations of their society through experimentation with their environment and its ecological features, accumulation of indigenous knowledge, and complex adaptive and innovation skills suitable for local systems and practices.

Major strengths of the book are the author's heavy reliance on primary sources and his demonstrated knowledge of recent scholarship on the subject. The many tables and statistical figures in the book underscore its empirical richness. This is evident in Dibua's analysis of Nigeria's monoculture economy, which was based on oil exportation, the massive state expenditure following the 1970s oil boom, reckless importation of goods, and reliance on foreign "experts" and mounting debt burden, problems which were compounded by the World Bank/International Monetary Fund-imposed structural adjustment program (SAP) adopted between the mid-1980s and late 1990s. As the author states, SAP "became the new agency through which the exploitation and peripheralization of Nigeria by international finance capital was perpetuated" (p. 255). Dibua also demonstrates that SAP and other development policies in the country created enormous hardships, hopelessness, and despair among many Nigerians and even threatened the country's economic and political stability. He connects the various populist policies, including state-sponsored feminist programs, pursued since the 1990s by Nigeria's successive governments with their attempts to delegitimize increased popular opposition and deflate its impact.

There are some problems with the book. One is the author's overemphasis on theories, paradigms, and concepts, some of which he fails to explain adequately. The book is also flawed by a number of repetitions that could have been avoided. In spite of their detrimental effects, I think that SAP and some other modernization programs did engender certain innovative skills in Nigerians as they struggled to survive. This positive outcome of the modernization programs is not noted in the book. Presentation of a balanced analysis should help in ascertaining strategies to be abandoned and those to be promoted.

Overall, the book is well written and informative. It is an important contribution to the long list of development literature on Africa. The author's emphasis on people-oriented development processes strongly rooted in Nigerian cultural institutions makes his an authentic approach to addressing Africa's development crisis.

GLORIA CHUKU  
*Millersville University of Pennsylvania*

---

## Collected Essays

---

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT and DIOGO RAMADA CURTO, editors. *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 536. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$34.95.

STUART B. SCHWARTZ, The Economy of the Portuguese Empire. JORGE M. PEDREIRA, Costs and Financial Trends in the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1822. MICHAEL N. PEARSON, Markets and Merchant Communities in the Indian Ocean: Locating the Portuguese. LUIS FELIPE DE ALENCASTRO, translated by MARGUERITE ITAMAR HARRISON, The Economic Network of Portugal's Atlantic World. JOHN K. THORNTON, The Portuguese in Africa. A. J. R. RUSSEL-WOOD, Patterns of Settlement in the Portuguese Empire, 1400–1800. FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT, Political Configurations and Local Powers. ISABEL DOS GUIMARÃES SÁ, Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action. ANTHONY DISNEY, Portuguese Expansion, 1400–1800: Encounters, Negotiations, and Interactions. DIOGO RAMADA CURTO, Portuguese Imperial and Colonial Culture. LUIS DE SOUSA REBELO, Language and Literature in the Portuguese Empire. LUIS DE MOURA SOBRAL, The Expansion and the Arts: Transfers, Contaminations, Innovations. FRANCISCO CONTENTE DOMINGUES, translated by NEIL SAFIER, Science and Technology in Portuguese Navigation: The Idea of Experience in the Sixteenth Century. FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARRESTO, Portuguese Expansion in a Global Context.

ONDINA E. GONZÁLEZ and BIANCA PREMO, editors. *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 258. \$24.95.

ONDINA E. GONZÁLEZ, Children of the Empire. ISABEL DOS GUIMARÃES SÁ, Up and Out: Children in Portugal and the Empire (1500–1800). VALENTINA TIKOFF, "Not All the Orphans Really Are": The Diversity of Seville's Juvenile Charity Wards during the Long Eighteenth Century. TERESA C. VERGARA, Growing Up Indian: Migration, Labor, and Life in Lima (1570–1640). JORGE ROJAS FLORES, Ursula: The Life and Times of an Aristocratic Girl in Santiago, Chile (1666–1678). ONDINA E. GONZÁLEZ, Consuming Interests: The Response to Abandoned Children in Colonial Havana. ANN TWINAM, The

Church, the State, and the Abandoned: *Expósitos* in Late Eighteenth-Century Havana. ELIZABETH ANNE KUZNESOF, Slavery and Childhood in Brazil (1550–1888). LAURA SHELTON, Like a Servant or Like a Son? Circulating Children in Northwestern Mexico (1790–1850). BIANCA PREMO, "The Little Hiders" and Other Reflections on the History of Children in Imperial Iberoamerica.

SANDHYA SHUKLA and HEIDI TINSMAN, editors. *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame*. (Radical Perspectives.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 413. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

HEIDI TINSMAN and SANDHYA SHUKLA, Across the Americas. HARILAOS STECOPOULOS, Up from Empire: James Weldon Johnson, Latin America, and the Jim Crow South. JOHN D. BLANCO, Bastards of the Unfinished Revolution: Bolívar's Ismael and Rizal's Martí at the End of the Nineteenth Century. CAROLINE LEVANDER, Confederate Cuba. SUSAN Y. NAJITA, Pleasure and Colonial Resistance: Translating the Politics of Pidgin in Milton Murayama's *All I Asking for Is My Body*. NICHOLAS TURSE, Experimental Dreams, Ethical Nightmares: Leprosy, Isolation, and Human Experimentation in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii. ROB WILSON, Tracking the "China Peril" along the U.S. Pacific Rim: Carpetbaggers, Yacht People, 1.2 Billion Cyborg Consumers, and the Bamboo Gang, Coming Soon to a Neighborhood Near You! MICHELLE STEPHENS, Uprooted Bodies: Indigenous Subjects and Colonial Discourses in Atlantic American Studies. RACHEL ADAMS, Blackness Goes South: Race and Mestizaje in Our America. IAN LEKUS, Queer Harvests: Homosexuality, the U.S. New Left, and the Venceremos Brigades to Cuba. REBECCA M. SCHREIBER, Dislocations of Cold War Cultures: Exile, Transnationalism, and the Politics of Form. ALYOSHA GOLDSTEIN, The Attributes of Sovereignty: The Cold War, Colonialism, and Community Education in Puerto Rico. HÉCTOR FERNÁNDEZ L'HOESTE, All Cumbias, the Cumbia: The Latin Americanization of a Tropical Genre. VICTOR BASCARA, "Panama Money": Reading the Transition to U.S. Imperialism.

PHILLIP BUCKNER and R. DOUGLAS FRANCIS, editors. *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 356. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$34.95.

ELIZABETH JANE ERRINGTON, "Information Wanted": Women Emigrants in a Transatlantic World. SARAH KATHERINE GIBSON, Self-Reflection in the Consolidation of Scottish Identity:

A Case Study in Family Correspondence, 1805–50. ANDY A. DEN OTTER, *Entering the Christian World: Indigenous Missionaries in Rupert's Land*. DAVID MURRAY, *Law and British Culture in the Creation of British North America*. GAIL G. CAMPBELL, *New Brunswick Women Travellers and the British Connection, 1845–1905*. PAULA HASTINGS, "Our Glorious Anglo-Saxon Race Shall Ever Fill Earth's Highest Place": *The Anglo-Saxon and the Construction of Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Canada*. PATRICIA DIRKS, *Canada's Boys—An Imperial or National Asset? Response to Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Movement in Pre-War Canada*. SERGE COURVILLE, *Part of the British Empire, Too: French Canada and Colonization Propaganda*. WESLEY C. GUSTAVSON, *Competing Visions: Canada, Britain, and the Writing of the First World War*. KATIE PICKLES, *Claiming Cavell: Britishness and Memorialization*. MYRA RUTHERDALE, *Scrutinizing the "Submerged Tenth": Salvation Army Immigrants and Their Reception in Canada*. MARJORY HARPER, *Enigmas in Hebridean Emigration: Crofter Colonists in Western Canada*. MARILYN BARBER, *Nation-Building in Saskatchewan: Teachers from the British Isles in Saskatchewan Rural Schools in the 1920s*. CHRISTOPHER TAIT, *Brushes, Budgets, and Butter: Canadian Culture and Identity at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924–25*. DAVID E. TORRANCE, *Instructor to Empire: Canada and the Rhodes Scholarship, 1902–39*. MARY VIPOND, *The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission in the 1930s: How Canada's First Public Broadcaster Negotiated "Britishness."* JAMES NAYLOR, *Canadian Labour Politics and the British Model, 1920–50*. R. DOUGLAS FRANCIS, *Historical Perspective on Britain: The Ideas of Canadian Historians Frank H. Underhill and Arthur R. M. Lower*. FRANCES SWYRIPA, *The Monarchy, the Mounties, and Ye Olde English Fayre: Identity at All Saints' Anglican, Edmonton, 1875–1990s*.

KEVIN GRANT, PHILIPPA LEVINE, and FRANK TRENTMANN, editors. *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. viii, 250. \$69.95.

PHILIPPA LEVINE, *Sovereignty and Sexuality: Transnational Perspectives on Colonial Age of Consent Legislation*. FRANK TRENTMANN, *After the Nation-State: Citizenship, Empire and Global Coordination in the New Internationalism, 1914–1930*. BARBARA METZGER, *Towards an International Human Rights Regime during the Inter-war Years: The League of Nations' Combat of Traffic in Women and Children*. KEVIN GRANT, *Human Rights and Sovereign Abolitions of Slavery, c. 1885–1956*. JOHN STUART, *Beyond Sovereignty? Protestant Missions, Empire and Transnationalism, 1890–1950*. FAISAL DEVJI, *A Shadow Nation: The Making of Muslim India*. THOMAS R. METCALF, "A Well Selected Body of Men": *Sikh Recruitment for Colonial Police and Military*. ROBERT GREGG, *Valleys of Fear: Policing Terror in an Imperial Age, 1865–1925*. MADHAVI KALE, *Screening Empire from Itself: Imperial Preference, Represented Communities, and the Decent Burial of the Indian Cinematograph Committee Report (1927–28)*. DOUGLAS M. HAYNES, *The Persistence of Privilege: British Medical Qualifications and the Practice of Medicine in the Empire*.

MARC S. RODRIGUEZ and ANTHONY T. GRAFTON, editors. *Migration in History: Human Migration in Comparative Perspective*. (Studies in Comparative History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 262. \$75.00.

MARC S. RODRIGUEZ, *Placing Human Migration in Comparative Perspective*. ELSPEETH CARRUTHERS, *Making Territories in the High Middle Ages: The Role of Foundation Charters in the German Colonization of the Vistula River*. CARL IPSEN, *La Più Grande Italia: The Italianization of Argentina*. GAUTAM GHOSH, *The (Un)Braiding of Time in the 1947 Partition of British India*. JOSHUA A. FOGEL, *Prostitutes and Painters: Early Japanese Migrants to Shanghai*. HASIA R. DINER, *The Accidental Irish*. LUCA EINAUDI, *Policies and Politics of Immigration Flows in Twentieth-Century Italy and France*. DAVID ABRAHAM, *The Boundaries and Bonds of Citizenship: Recognition and Redistribution in the United States, Germany, and Israel*.

NANCY L. GREEN and FRANÇOIS WEIL, editors. *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*. (Studies of World Migrations.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. x, 318. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

JOHN TORPEY, *Leaving: A Comparative View*. ARISTIDE R. ZOLBERG, *The Exit Revolution*. DONNA R. GABACCIA, DIRK HOERDER, and ADAM WALASZEK, *Emigration and Nation-Building during the Mass Migrations from Europe*. CAROLINE DOUKI, *The Liberal Italian State and Mass Emigration, 1860–1914*. FRANÇOIS WEIL, *The French State and Transoceanic Emigration*. DAVID FELDMAN and M. PAGE BALDWIN, *Emigration and the British State, c. 1815–1925*. CORRIE VAN EIJL and LEO LUCASSEN, *Holland beyond the Borders: Emigration and the Dutch State, 1850–1940*. ANDREAS FAHRMEIR, *From Economics to Ethnicity and Back: Reflections on Emigration Control in Germany, 1800–2000*. DOROTHEE SCHNEIDER, *The United States Government and the Investigation of European Emigration in the Open Door Era*. BRUNO RAMIREZ, *Migration and National Consciousness: The Canadian Case*. JORGE DURAND, *Migration Policy and the Asymmetry of Power: The Mexican Case, 1900–2000*. CARINE PINA-GUERASSIMOFF and ERIC GUERASSIMOFF, *The "Overseas Chinese": The State and Emigration from the 1890s through the 1990s*. BINOD KHADRIA, *Tracing the Genesis of Brain Drain in India through State Policy and Civil Society*. STEVEN J. GOLD, *Israeli Emigration Policy*.

BRUCE S. ELLIOTT, DAVID A. GERBER, and SUZANNE M. SINKE, editors. *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, with the Carleton Centre for the History of Migration, Ottawa. 2006. Pp. x, 315. \$69.95.

WOLFGANG HELBICH and WALTER D. KAMPHOEFFNER, *How Representative Are Emigrant Letters? An Exploration of the German Case*. ERIC RICHARDS, *The Limits of the Australian Emigrant Letter*. SUZANNE M. SINKE, *Marriage through the Mail: North American Correspondence Marriage from Early Print to the Web*. DAVID FITZPATRICK, *Irish Emigration and the Art of Letter-Writing*. DAIVA MARKELIS, "Every Person Like a Letter": *The Importance of Correspondence in Lithuanian Immigrant Life*. MIGUEL ANGEL VARGAS, *Epistolary Communication between Migrant Workers and Their Families*. DAVID A. GERBER, *Epistolary Masquerades: Acts of Deceiving and Withholding in Immigrant Letters*. ANN GOLDBERG, *Reading and Writing across the Borders of Dictatorship: Self-Censorship and Emigrant Experience in Nazi and Stalinist Europe*. WIL-



LIAM D. JONES, "Going into Print": Published Immigrant Letters, Webs of Personal Relations, and the Emergence of the Welsh Public Sphere. ANNA D. JAROSZYŃSKA-KIRCHMANN, "As if at a Public Meeting": Polish-American Readers, Writers, and Editors of *Ameryka-Echo*, 1922–1969. HELEN BROWN, Negotiating Space, Time, and Identity: The Hutton-Pellett Letters and a British Child's Wartime Evacuation to Canada. KAREN LEMISKI, The Ukrainian Government-in-Exile's Postal Network and the Construction of National Identity. ALEXANDER SCHUNKA, Immigrant Petition Letters in Early Modern Saxony. VADIM KUKUSHKIN, "To His Excellency the Sovereign of all Russian Subjects in Canada": Emigrant Correspondence with Russian Consulates in Montreal, Vancouver, and Halifax, 1899–1922.

RENÉE WORRINGER, editor. *The Islamic Middle East and Japan: Perceptions, Aspirations, and the Birth of Intra-Asian Modernity*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener. 2007. Pp. 163. Cloth \$68.95, paper \$24.95.

HIDEAKI SUGITA, The First Contact between Japanese and Iranians as Seen through Travel Diaries. MICHAEL PENN, East Meets East: An Ottoman Mission in Meiji Japan. HANDAN NEZIR-AKMESE, The Japanese Nation in Arms: A Role Model for Militarist Nationalism in the Ottoman Army, 1905–1914. RENEE WORRINGER, Japan's Progress Reified: Modernity and Arab Dissent in the Ottoman Empire. THOMAS EICH, Pan-Islam and "Yellow Peril": Geo-strategic Concepts in *Salafi* Writings prior to World War I. CEMIL AYDIN, Beyond Eurocentrism? Japan's Islamic Studies during the Era of the Greater East Asia War (1937–1945).

## ASIA

BOB TADASHI WAKABAYASHI, editor. *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937–38: Complicating the Picture*. (Asia-Pacific Studies, number 2.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2007. Pp. xx, 433. \$95.00.

BOB TADASHI WAKABAYASHI, The Messiness of Historical Reality. FUJIWARA AKIRA, The Nanking Atrocity: An Interpretive Overview. KASAHARA TOKUSHI, Massacres outside Nanking City. ONO KENJI, Massacres near Mufushan. DAVID ASKEW, Part of the Numbers Issue: Demography and Civilian Victims. BOB TADASHI WAKABAYASHI, The Nanking 100-Man Killing Contest Debate, 1971–75. TIMOTHY BROOK, Radhabinod Pal on the Rape of Nanking: The Tokyo Judgment and the Guilt of History. AMANO SABURŌ, Letters from a Reserve Officer Conscripted to Nanking. TIMOTHY BROOK, Chinese Collaboration in Nanking. DAVID ASKEW, Westerners in Occupied Nanking: December 1937 to February 1938. TAKASHI YOSHIDA, Wartime Accounts of the Nanking Atrocity. JOSHUA A. FOGEL, The Nanking Atrocity and Chinese Historical Memory. MASAHIRO YAMAMOTO, A Tale of Two Atrocities: Critical Appraisal of American Historiography. KASAHARA TOKUSHI, Higashinakano Osamichi: The Last Word in Denial. KIMURA TAKUJI, Nanking: Denial and Atonement in Contemporary Japan. BOB TADASHI WAKABAYASHI, Leftover Problems.

S. IRFAN HABIB and DHURUV RAINA, editors. *Social History of Science in Colonial India*. (Oxford in India Readings, Themes in Indian History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xl, 395. \$50.00.

K. N. PANIKKAR, Cultural Trends in Precolonial India: An Overview. MATTHEW H. EDNEY, The Ideologies and Practices of Mapping and Imperialism. S. N. SEN, The Character of the Introduction of Western Science in India during the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries. KAPIL RAJ, Colonial Encounters and the Forging of New Knowledge and National Identities: Great Britain and India, 1760–1850. ZAHEER BABER, Science, Technology, and Colonial Power. RUSSELL DIONNE and ROY MACLEOD, Science and Policy in British India, 1858–1914: Perspectives on a Persisting Belief. IAN INKSTER, Science, Technology, and Imperialism in India. S. IRFAN HABIB and DHURUV RAINA, Copernicus, Columbus, Colonialism, and the Role of Science in Nineteenth-century India. GYAN PRAKASH, The Image of the Archaic. SHIV VISVANATHAN, The Rise of Industrial Research. SUBRATA DASGUPTA, Response to Western Science: Failures and Successes. DEEPAK KUMAR, Reconstructing India: Disunity in the Science and Technology for Development Discourse, 1900–47.

## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

THOMAS AUGST and KENNETH CARPENTER, editors. *Institutions of Reading: The Social Life of Libraries in the United States*. (Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Boston: University of Massachusetts Press. 2007. Pp. x, 368. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$28.95.

JAMES RAVEN, Social Libraries and Library Societies in Eighteenth-Century North America. JAMES GREEN, Subscription Libraries and Commercial Circulating Libraries in Colonial Philadelphia and New York. MICHAEL A. BAENEN, A Great and Natural Enemy of Democracy? Politics and Culture in the Antebellum Portsmouth Athenæum. ELIZABETH MCHENRY, "An Association of Kindred Spirits": Black Readers and Their Reading Rooms. BARBARA A. MITCHELL, Boston Library Catalogues, 1850–1875: Female Labor and Technological Change. THOMAS AUGST, Faith in Reading: Public Libraries, Liberalism, and the Civil Religion. ELIZABETH AMANN, Domesticating Spain: 1898 and the Hispanic Society of America. KARIN ROFFMAN, Women Writers and Their Libraries in the 1920s. JANICE RADWAY, The Library as Place, Collection, or Service: Promoting Book Circulation in Durham, North Carolina, and at the Book-of-the-Month Club, 1925–1945. CHRISTINE PAWLEY, Blood and Thunder on the Bookmobile: American Public Libraries and the Construction of "the Reader," 1950–1995. KENNETH CARPENTER, Toward a New Cultural Design: The American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and Libraries in the 1930s. ROY ROSENZWEIG, Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era.

MANISHA SINHA and PENNY VON ESCHEN, editors. *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 335. \$34.50.

MANISHA SINHA, An Alternative Tradition of Radicalism: African American Abolitionists and the Metaphor of Revolution. TYLER ANBINDER, Isaiah Rynders and the Ironies of Popular Democracy in Antebellum New York. MARTHA S. JONES, Leave of Court: African American Claims-Making in the Era of *Dred Scott v. Sanford*. MARTHA SAXTON, City Women: Slavery and Resistance in Antebellum St. Louis. MICHAEL ZAKIM, Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Markets: Antebellum Merchant Clerks, Industrial Statistics, and the Tautologies of Profit.

WANG XI, Make "Every Slave Free, and Every Freeman a Voter": The African American Construction of Suffrage Discourse in the Age of Emancipation. MELINDA LAWSON, Making It Fit: The Federal Government, Liberal Individualism, and the American West. SVEN BECKERT, Reconstructing the Empire of Cotton: A Global Story. ALESSANDRA LORINI, Cuba Libre and American Imperial Nationalism: Conflicting Views of Racial Democracy in the Post-Reconstruction United States. LISA MCGIRR, Transnational Solidarities: The Sacco and Vanzetti Case in Global Perspective. MAE M. NGAI, "An Ironic Testimony to the Value of American Democracy": Assimilationism and the World War II Internment of Japanese Americans. MARTHA BIONDI, Student Protest, "Law and Order," and the Origins of African American Studies in California. PENNY VON ESCHEN, Duke Ellington Plays Baghdad: Rethinking Hard and Soft Power from the Outside In. ERIC FONER, The Story of American Freedom—Before and After 9/11. DAVID W. BLIGHT, "From the Archives and From the Heart."

MARCIE COHEN FERRIS and MARK I. GREENBERG, editors. *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History*. Foreword by ELI N. EVANS. (Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 368. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

MARCIE COHEN FERRIS and MARK I. GREENBERG, *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil*. MARK I. GREENBERG, One Religion, Different Worlds: Sephardic and Ashkenazic Immigrants in Eighteenth-Century Savannah. EMILY BINGHAM, American, Jewish, Southern, Mordecai: Constructing Identities to 1865. JENNIFER A. STOLLMAN, "The Pen Is Mightier than the Sword": Southern Jewish Women Writers, Antisemitism, and the Promotion of Domestic Judaism. HASIA DINER, Entering the Mainstream of Modern Jewish History: Peddlers and the American Jewish South. ROBERT N. ROSEN, Jewish Confederates. ERIC L. GOLDSTEIN, "Now Is the Time to Show Your True Colors": Southern Jews, Whiteness, and the Rise of Jim Crow. GARY PHILLIP ZOLA, The Ascendancy of Reform Judaism in the American South during the Nineteenth Century. CLIVE WEBB, A Tangled Web: Black-Jewish Relations in the Twentieth-Century South. ELIZA R. L. MCGRAW, An "Intense Heritage": Southern Jewishness in Literature and Film. MARCIE COHEN FERRIS, Dining in the Dixie Diaspora: A Meeting of Region and Religion. DALE ROSENGARTEN, Jewish Antiques Roadshow: Religion and Domestic Culture in the American South. STUART ROCKOFF, The Fall and Rise of the Jewish South. STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD, Jewish Fates, Altered States.

## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

SUSAN SCHROEDER and STAFFORD POOLE, editors. *Religion in New Spain*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 358. \$39.95.

KEVIN TERRACIANO, The People of Two Hearts and the One God from Castile: Ambivalent Responses to Christianity in Early Colonial Oaxaca. LISA SOUSA, Tying the Knot: Nahua Nuptials in Colonial Central Mexico. DAVID TAVÁREZ, Communal Defiance, Divided Allegiances: Zapotec Responses to Idolatry Extirpation Campaigns in Oaxaca. SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA, Language of Body and Body as Language: Religious Thought and Cultural Syncretism. JOHN CHUCHIAK, Secrets Behind the Screen: Solicitantes in the Colonial Diocese of Yu-

catan and the Yucatec Maya, 1570–1785. MARTHA FEW, "Our Lord Entered His Body": Miraculous Healing and Children's Bodies in New Spain. JEANETTE FAVROT PETERSON, Canonizing a Cult: A Wonder-Working Guadalupe in the Seventeenth Century. ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN, Female Visionaries and Spirituality. MÓNICA DÍAZ, The Indigenous Nuns of Corpus Christi: Race and Spirituality. MARÍA ELENA MARTÍNEZ, Interrogating Blood Lines: "Purity of Blood," the Inquisition, and *Casta* Categories. STANLEY M. HORDES, Between Toleration and Persecution: The Relationship of the Inquisition and Crypto-Jews on the Northern Frontier. JAVIER VILLA-FLORES, On Divine Persecution: Blasphemy and Gambling. KRISTIN DUTCHER MANN, *Opus Dei*—"The Work of God": Franciscan and Jesuit Music. MAUREEN AHERN, Martyrs and Idols: Performing Ritual Warfare on Early Missionary Frontiers in the Northwest. JAMES D. RILEY, Priests and the Provincial Social Order in Tlaxcala, 1650–1792. MICHAEL A. POLUSHIN, Apostles of Reform: Local Elites and *Patronato Real* in Late Colonial Chiapas.

WILL FOWLER and PETER LAMBERT, editors. *Political Violence and the Construction of National Identity in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xii, 244. \$69.95.

WILL FOWLER, The Children of the *Chingada*. PETER LAMBERT, Myth, Manipulation, and Violence: Relationships between National Identity and Political Violence. MARCO ANTONIO LANDAVAZO, Languages of Nationalist Violence: Notes on Mexican Hispanophobia. ANTONI KAPCIA, *Lucha* and *Cubanía*: The (Re)Construction of a Cuban Historical Identity through the Idea of (Revolutionary) Struggle. MO HUME, Contesting Imagined Communities: Gender, Nation, and Violence in El Salvador. MARISOL DENNIS, National Identity and Violence: The Case of Colombia. JULIA BUXTON, National Identity and Political Violence: The Case of Venezuela. SARAH BARROW, Political Violence, Cinematic Representation, and Peruvian National Identity: *La Boca del Lobo* (Francisco Lombardi, 1988) and *La Vida es una Sola* (Marianne Eyde, 1993). FRANCISCO DOMÍNGUEZ, Violence, the Left, and the Creation of *Un Nuevo Chile*. MARTIN MULLINS, The Effects of State Violence on National Identity: The Fate of Chilean Historical Narratives Post 1973. PETER LAMBERT, "¡Muero con mi patria!" Myth, Political Violence, and the Construction of National Identity in Paraguay. MICHAEL GOEBEL, Some Historical Observations on the Relationship between Nationalism and Political Violence in Argentina.

A. KIM CLARK and MARC BECKER, editors. *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2007. Pp. x, 348. \$39.95.

A. KIM CLARK and MARC BECKER, Indigenous Peoples and State Formation in Modern Ecuador. ALEEZÉ SATTAR, *¿Indígena o Ciudadano?* Republican Laws and Highland Indian Communities in Ecuador, 1820–1857. DEREK WILLIAMS, Administering the Otavalan Indian and Centralizing Governance in Ecuador, 1851–1875. ERIN O'CONNOR, Helpless Children or Undeserving Patriarchs? Gender Ideologies, the State, and Indian Men in Late Nineteenth-Century Ecuador. MICHIEL BAUD, Liberalism, *Indigenismo*, and Social Mobilization in Late Nineteenth-Century Ecuador. A. KIM CLARK, Shifting Patronalisms in Indian-State Relations, 1895–1950. MARC

BECKER, State Building and Ethnic Discourse in Ecuador's 1944–1945 Asamblea Constituyente. WILLIAM F. WATERS, Indigenous Communities, Landlords, and the State: Land and Labor in Highland Ecuador, 1950–1975. AMALIA PALLARES, Contesting Membership: Citizenship, Pluriculturalism(s), and the Contemporary Indigenous Movement. BRIAN R. SELMESKI, Sons of Indians and Indian Sons: Military Service, Familial Metaphors, and Multicultural Nationalism. JULIET R. ERAZO, Same State, Different Histories, Diverse Strategies: The Ecuadorian Amazon. SHANNAN L. MATTIACE, From *Indigenismo* to Indigenous Movements in Ecuador and Mexico. JOSÉ ANTONIO LUCERO, Barricades and Articulations: Comparing Ecuadorian and Bolivian Indigenous Politics. JOSÉ ANTONIO LUCERO and MARÍA ELENA GARCÍA, In the Shadows of Success: Indigenous Politics in Peru and Ecuador.

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PATRICK LITTLE, editor. *The Cromwellian Protectorate*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 218. \$85.00.

DAVID L. SMITH, Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate Parliaments. JASON PEACEY, The Protector Humbled: Richard Cromwell and the Constitution. PAUL HUNNEYBALL, Cromwellian Style: The Architectural Trappings of the Protectorate Regime. BLAIR WORDEN, Oliver Cromwell and the Council. PETER GAUNT, "To Create a Little World out of Chaos": The Protectoral Ordinances of 1653–1654 Reconsidered. PATRICK LITTLE, The Irish and Scottish Councils and the Dislocation of the Protectoral Union. LLOYD BOWEN, "This Murmuring and Unthankful Peevish Land": Wales and the Protectorate. STEPHEN K. ROBERTS, Cromwellian Towns in the Severn Basin: a Contribution to Cis-Atlantic History? CHRISTOPHER DURSTON, Policing the Cromwellian Church: The Activities of the County Ejection Committees, 1654–1659.

HAMISH SCOTT and BRENDAN SIMMS, editors. *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 382. \$99.00.

JAMES J. SHEEHAN, Culture and Power during the Long Eighteenth Century. CHRISTOPHER CLARK, When Culture Meets Power: The Prussian Coronation of 1701. PETER H. WILSON, Military Culture in the Reich, c. 1680–1806. HAMISH SCOTT, Diplomatic Culture in Old Regime Europe. ANDREW C. THOMPSON, Early Eighteenth-century Britain as a Confessional State. BRENDAN SIMMS, "Ministers of Europe": British Strategic Culture, 1714–1760. JAMES VAN HORN MELTON, Confessional Power and the Power of Confession: Concealing and Revealing the Faith in Alpine Salzburg, 1730–1734. JOACHIM WHALEY, The Transformation of the *Aufklärung*: From the Idea of Power to the Power of Ideas. MAIKEN UMBACH, Culture and *Bürgerlichkeit* in Eighteenth-century Germany. R. J. W. EVANS, The Politics of Language and the Languages of Politics: Latin and the Vernaculars in Eighteenth-century Hungary. JULIAN SWANN, "Silence, Respect Obedience": Political Culture in Louis XV's France. DEREK BEALES, Joseph II, Petitions and the Public Sphere. MUNRO PRICE, The Court Nobility and the Origins of the French Revolution. WILLIAM DOYLE, The French Revolution and the Abolition of Nobility. GARY SAVAGE, Foreign Policy and Political Culture in Later Eighteenth-century France. MARK BERRY, Power and Patronage in

Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* and *Die Zauberflöte*. EMMA L. WINTER, Between Louis and Ludwig: From the Culture of French Power to the Power of German Culture, c. 1789–1848.

NATALIE SCHOLZ and CHRISTINA SCHRÖER, editors. *Représentation et pouvoir: La politique symbolique en France (1789–1830)*. Foreword by JEAN-CLÉMENT MARTIN. (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2007. Pp. 300. €20.00.

JEAN-CLÉMENT MARTIN, Représentation et pouvoir à l'époque révolutionnaire (1789–1830). PHILIPPE BOURDIN, Les factions sur les tréteaux patriotiques (1789–1799): Combats pour une représentation. CHRISTINA SCHRÖER, La représentation du Nouveau Régime: Les élites politiques et sociales dans les gravures du Directoire. RÜDIGER SCHMIDT, "Le théâtre se militarise": Le soldat-citoyen dans le théâtre de la Révolution française. BERNARD GAINOT, Rites et contexte dans les cérémonies funèbres: En l'honneur des généraux de la République (1796–1800). HANS-ULRICH THAMER, Entre unanimité et conflit: La politisation des banquets publics, 1789–1799. ROLF REICHARDT, L'imaginaire de la Constitution de 1789 à 1830: Symbolique d'union ou de division politique? ARMIN OWZAR, "Par la grâce de Dieu et les constitutions, Empereur des Français": La représentation anachronique de l'Empire napoléonien dans les régions occupées de l'Allemagne. ÉRIC BARRAULT, Un historien face à la politique symbolique de l'Empire: Charles Lacretelle, historien de la Révolution française. ANNIE DUPRAT, Symboles et allégories dans la caricature napoléonienne: La caricature comme auxiliaire de la politique symbolique? NATALIE PETITEAU, Portée de la politique symbolique: À l'égard des armées napoléoniennes (1800–1830). SHERYL KROEN, La théâtralité festive: La Restauration et l'héritage démocratique de la Révolution française. ELISABETH A. FRASER, La politique de la famille sous la Restauration: Les *Massacres de Scio* d'Eugène Delacroix. NATALIE SCHOLZ, La monarchie sentimentale: Un remède aux crises politiques de la Restauration? JO BURR MARGADANT, La Restauration du duc d'Orléans, 1814–1817: Façonnement d'une figure cohérente. BETTINA FREDERKING, "Les funérailles de la monarchie" ou "l'impossible oubli."

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

VIRGINIA H. AKSAN and DANIEL GOFFMAN, editors. *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 363. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$27.99.

VIRGINIA H. AKSAN and DANIEL GOFFMAN, Situating the Early Modern Ottoman World. PALMIRA BRUMMETT, Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space, from World History to Piri Reis. DANIEL GOFFMAN, Negotiating with the Renaissance State: The Ottoman Empire and the New Diplomacy. GÁBOR ÁGOSTON, Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry. MOLLY GREENE, The Ottomans in the Mediterranean. VIRGINIA H. AKSAN, Military Reform and its Limits in a Shrinking Ottoman World, 1800–1840. DOUGLAS A. HOWARD, Genre and Myth in the Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature. BAKI TEZCAN, The Politics of Early Modern Ottoman Historiography. NAJWA AL-QATTAN, Inside the Ottoman Courthouse: Territorial Law at the Intersection of State and Religion. LESLIE PEIRCE, The Material World: Ideologies and Ordinary Things.

EDHEM ELDEM, *Urban Voices From Beyond: Identity, Status and Social Strategies in Ottoman Muslim Funerary Epitaphs of Istanbul (1700–1850)*. DINA RIZK KHOURY, *Who Is a True Muslim? Exclusion and Inclusion among Polemicists of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Baghdad*. SHIRINE HAMADEH, *Public Spaces and the Garden Culture of Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*.

H. E. CHEHABI, editor. *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2007. Pp. xiv, 322. \$59.50.

H. E. CHEHABI and HASSAN I. MNEIMNEH, *Five Centuries of Lebanese-Iranian Encounters*. ALBERT HOURANI, *From Jabal 'Amil to Persia*. RULA JURDI ABISAAB, *History and Self-Image: The 'Amili Ulema in Syria and Iran (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)*. RICHARD HOLLINGER, *An Iranian Enclave in Beirut: Baha'i Students at the American University of Beirut, 1906–1948*. H. E. CHEHABI, *An Iranian in First World War Beirut: Qasem Ghani's Reminiscences*. H. E. CHEHABI and MAJID TAFRESHI, *Musa Sadr and Iran*. W. A. SAMII, *The Security Relationship between Lebanon and Pre-Revolutionary Iran*. H. E. CHEHABI, *The Anti-Shah Opposition and Lebanon*. H. E. CHEHABI, *Iran and Lebanon in the Revolutionary Decade*. RULA JURDI ABISAAB, *The Cleric as Organic Intellectual: Revolutionary Shi'ism in the Lebanese Hawzas*. JUDITH HARIK,

*Hizballah's Public and Social Services and Iran*. H. E. CHEHABI, *Iran and Lebanon after Khomeini*.

TOURAJ ATABAKI, editor. *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2007. Pp. xvi, 256. \$79.95.

TOURAJ ATABAKI, *Time, Labour-Discipline and Modernization in Turkey and Iran: Some Comparative Remarks*. DONALD QUATAERT, *Workers and the State during the Late Ottoman Empire*. TOURAJ ATABAKI, *Disgruntled Guests: Iranian Subalterns on the Margins of the Tsarist Empire*. VANGELIS KECHRIOTIS, *The Modernization of the Empire and the Community "Privileges": Greek Orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies*. STEPHANIE CRONIN, *Reform from Above, Resistance from Below: The New Order and its Opponents in Iran, 1927–29*. ERIK-JAN ZÜRCHER, *The Ottoman Legacy of the Kemalist Republic*. KAVEH BAYAT, *With or Without Workers in Reza Shah's Iran: Abadan, May 1929*. HÜLYA KÜÇÜK, *Sufi Reactions Against the Reforms after Turkey's National Struggle: How a Nightingale Turned into a Crow*. UMUT AZAK, *A Reaction to Authoritarian Modernization in Turkey: The Menemen Incident and the Creation and Contestation of a Myth, 1930–31*. AFSANEH NAJMABADI, *Authority and Agency: Revisiting Women's Activism during Reza Shah's Period*. NICOLE A. N. M. VAN OS, *Polygamy before and after the Introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in Turkey*.



---

# Documents and Bibliographies

---

Books listed were recently received in the AHR office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the AHR.

## COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- ISHAY, MICHELINE R., editor. *The Human Rights Reader: Major Political Essays, Speeches, and Documents from Ancient Times to the Present*. 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 559. Cloth \$135.00, paper \$38.95.
- KENNEDY, DAVID M., editor. *The Library of Congress World War II Companion*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2007. Pp. xxv, 982. \$45.00.
- McKENDRICK, SCOTT, and KATHLEEN DOYLE. *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture*. London: The British Library. 2007. Pp. 160. £20.00.
- MILLETT, ALLAN R. *The Korean War*. (The Essential Bibliography Series.) Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2007. Pp. xi, 235. \$14.95.

## ASIA

- APPARAO, GURAJADA. *Girls for Sale: Kanyasulkam, A Play from Colonial India*. Translated by VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 226. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- ADAMS, ABIGAIL, and JOHN ADAMS. *My Dearest Friend: Letters of Abigail and John Adams*. Edited by MARGARET A. HOGAN and C. JAMES TAYLOR. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 508. \$35.00.
- BLOOMFIELD, SUSANNE GEORGE, and ERIC MELVIN REED. *Adventures in the West: Stories for Young Readers*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 280. \$19.95.
- DEWITT, LARRY W., DANIEL BÉLAND, and EDWARD D. BERKOWITZ. *Social Security: A Documentary History*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 557. \$115.00.
- EDISON, THOMAS A. *The Papers of Thomas A. Edison*. Volume 6: *Electrifying New York and Abroad, April 1881–March 1883*. Edited by PAUL B. ISRAEL et al. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xlvii, 893. \$90.00.
- ELIASON, ERIC A., editor. *The J. Golden Kimball Stories*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 186. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.
- FLAMM, MICHAEL W., and DAVID STEIGERWALD, editors. *Debating the 1960s: Liberal, Conservative, and Radical Perspectives*. (Debating Twentieth-Century America.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. vi, 213. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

- HALDEMAN, BONNIE. *Memories of the Branch Davidians: The Autobiography of David Koresh's Mother*. Edited by CATHERINE WESSINGER. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 199. \$24.95.
- HALL, RANDAL L. *Lum and Abner: Rural America and the Golden Age of Radio*. (New Directions in Southern History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. ix, 255. \$40.00.
- HENRY, JOSEPH. *The Papers of Joseph Henry*. Volume 11: *January 1866–May 1878, The Smithsonian Years*. Edited by MARC ROTHENBERG. Assisted by KATHLEEN W. DORMAN et al. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution in association with Science History Publications/USA. 2007. Pp. lxxvi, 726. \$110.00.
- KRICK, ROBERT K. *Civil War Weather in Virginia*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. 178. \$39.95.
- LEWIS, CATHERINE M., and J. RICHARD LEWIS, editors. *Race, Politics, and Memory: A Documentary History of the Little Rock School Crisis*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2007. Pp. xxxiv, 242. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.
- LYMAN, THEODORE. *Meade's Army: The Private Notebooks of Lt. Col. Theodore Lyman*. Edited by DAVID W. LOWE. (Civil War in the North.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 518. \$45.00.
- MCINTOSH, AL. *Selected Chaff: The Wartime Columns of Al McIntosh, 1941–1945*. St. Paul, Minn.: Zenith Press. 2007. Pp. 272. \$14.95.
- MERSMAN, JOSEPH J. *The Whiskey Merchant's Diary: An Urban Life in the Emerging Midwest*. Edited by LINDA A. FISHER. Athens: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. xxx, 278. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.
- MORGAN, DALE L. *Shoshonean Peoples and the Overland Trails: Frontiers of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1849–1869*. Edited and introduction by RICHARD L. SAUNDERS. Logan: Utah State University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 424. \$39.95.
- STONE, JON R., and CARLOS R. PIAR, editors. *Readings in American Religious Diversity*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt. 2007. Pp. vii, 580. \$85.00.
- TELFAIR, MARY. *Mary Telfair to Mary Few: Selected Letters, 1802–1844*. Edited by BETTY WOOD. (Publications of the Southern Texts Society.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2007. Pp. xxxix, 317. \$44.95.
- VARE, ROBERT, editor. *The American Idea: The Best of The Atlantic Monthly: 150 Years of Writers and Thinkers Who Shaped Our History*. Assisted by DANIEL B. SMITH. New York: Doubleday. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 647. \$35.00.
- WILLARD, FRANCES E. *Let Something Good Be Said: Speeches and Writings of Frances E. Willard*. Edited by CAROLYN DE SWARTE GIFFORD and AMY R. SLAGELL. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xlviii, 256. \$45.00.

## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- CHING, ERIK, CHRISTINA BUCKLEY, and ANGÉLICA LOZANO-ALONSO. *Reframing Latin America: A Cultural Theory Reading of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 349. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$29.95.

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- ADORNO, THEODOR W. *History and Freedom: Lectures 1964–1965*. Edited by ROLF TIEDEMANN. Translated by RODNEY LIVINGSTONE. Reprint. Cambridge: Polity. 2007. Pp. xix, 348. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$29.95.
- ADORNO, THEODOR W. *Letters to His Parents 1939–1951*. Edited by CHRISTOPH GÖDDE and HENRI LONITZ. Translated by WIELAND HOBAN. Cambridge: Polity. 2006. Pp. vii, 397. \$45.00.
- BEMBO, AMBROSIO. *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo*. Translated by CLARA BARGELLINI. Foreword by ANTHONY WELCH. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 451. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.
- BLACK, JEREMY. *War in European History 1494–1660*. (Essential Bibliography.) Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books. 2006. Pp. ix, 118. \$14.95.
- ELIAS, NORBERT. *An Essay on Time*. Volume 9, *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*. Edited by STEVEN LOYAL and STEPHEN MENNELL. Rev. ed. Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 172. \$102.95.
- ELIAS, NORBERT. *Involvement and Detachment*. Volume 8, *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*. Edited by STEPHEN QUILEY. Rev. ed. Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 252. \$99.95.
- FEST, JOACHIM. *Albert Speer: Conversations with Hitler's Architect*. Translated by PATRICK CAMILLER. Cambridge: Polity. 2007. Pp. vi, 220. \$29.95.
- FLINDERS, MATTHEW. "Gratefull to Providence": *The Diary and Accounts of Matthew Flinders, Surgeon, Apothecary and Man-Midwife, 1775–1802*. Volume 1: 1775–1784. Edited by MARTYN BEARDSLEY and NICHOLAS BENNETT. (The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. With the Lincoln Record Society. 2007. Pp. xxv, 166. \$55.00.
- GRIMM, HANNELORE, and ARMIN MRUCK. *Deutsche Lebenswege zwischen Diktatur und Demokratie*. (Oldenburg Beiträge

zur DDR- und DEFA-Forschung, number 7.) Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag. 2007. Pp. 228.

- HUDEMANN, RAINER, and ARMIN HEININ, editors. *Das Saarland zwischen Frankreich, Deutschland und Europa, 1945–1957: Ein Quellen- und Arbeitsbuch*. Assisted by JOHANNES GROßMANN and MARCUS HAHN. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Saarländeschichte und Volksforschung, number 41.) With CD-ROM. Saarbrücken: Kommission Für Saarländische Landesgeschichte und Volksforschung. 2007. Pp. xii, 676. €29.00.
- KUROPKA, JOACHIM, editor. *Streitfall Galen: Studien und Dokumente*. Münster: Aschendorff. 2007. Pp. 540. €29.80.
- LOOMBA, ANIA, and JONATHAN BURTON, editors. *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xvi, 300. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$29.95.
- RUMMEL, ERIKA, and MILTON KOOISTRA, editors. *Reformation Sources: The Letters of Wolfgang Capito and His Fellow Reformers in Alsace and Switzerland*. (Essays and Studies, number 10.) Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2007. Pp. 246.

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

- BAKER, COLIN F. *Qur'an Manuscripts: Calligraphy, Illumination, Design*. London: The British Library. 2007. Pp. 112. £20.00.
- BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS. *Annals of the Kings of Assyria: The Cuneiform Texts with Translations and Transliterations from the Original Documents*. (The Kegan Paul Library of Archaeology and History.) London and New York: Kegan Paul. 2007. Pp. lxxv, 391. \$382.50.
- Palestine and Transjordan*. (Geographical Handbook Series.) London and New York: Kegan Paul. 2006. Pp. xv, 621. \$425.00.
- PRINGLE, DENYS. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Volume 3, *The City of Jerusalem*. Assisted by PETER E. LEACH. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xxv, 506. \$195.00.

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- HARING, LEE. *Stars and Keys: Folktales and Creolization in the Indian Ocean*. Translations by CLAUDIE RICAUD and DAWOOD AULEEAR. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xxv, 413. \$65.00.

# Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

## METHODS/THEORY

- BADIOU, ALAIN. *The Century*. Translated by ALBERTO TOSCANO. Reprint. Cambridge: Polity. 2007. Pp. xiii, 233. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$22.95.
- BOLTANSKI, LUC, and ÈVE CHIAPELLO. *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by GREGORY ELLIOTT. Paperback edition. New York: Verso. 2007. Pp. xlvii, 601. \$39.95.
- BROWN, CYNTHIA STOKES. *Big History: From the Big Bang to the Present*. New York: New Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 288. \$25.95.
- CREAGER, ANGELA N. H., ELIZABETH LUNBECK, and M. NORTON WISE, editors. *Science without Laws: Model Systems, Cases, Exemplary Narratives*. (Science and Cultural Theory.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. 287. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.
- EKELAND, IVAR. *The Best of All Possible Worlds: Mathematics and Destiny*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. 207. \$14.00.
- GALLOIS, WILLIAM. *Time, Religion and History*. (History: Concepts, Theories and Practice.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2007. Pp. ix, 293. \$34.00.
- MORILLO, STEPHEN, and MICHAEL F. PAVKOVIC. *What Is Military History?* Cambridge: Polity. 2006. Pp. vi, 150. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.
- MOSCOVICI, SERGE, and IVANA MARKOVA. *The Making of Modern Social Psychology: The Hidden Story of How an International Social Science Was Created*. Reprint. Cambridge: Polity. 2007. Pp. xvii, 296. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$24.95.
- PODDAR, PREM, and DAVID JOHNSON, editors. *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Thought in English*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxvii, 574. Cloth \$100.00, paper \$32.50.
- RADDEKER, HÉLÈNE BOWEN. *Sceptical History: Feminist and Postmodern Approaches in Practice*. New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. 241. \$29.95.
- SAITTA, DEAN J. *The Archaeology of Collective Action*. Foreword by MICHAEL S. NASSANEY. (The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. xx, 140. \$24.95.
- SETTIS, SALVATORE. *The Future of the "Classical"*. Translated by ALLAN CAMERON. Cambridge: Polity. 2006. Pp. vi, 136. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.
- SMELSER, NEIL J. *The Faces of Terrorism: Social and Psychological Dimensions*. (Science Essentials.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 285. \$29.95.
- WATERSON, ROXANA, editor. *Southeast Asian Lives: Personal Narratives and Historical Experience*. (Research in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, number 113.) Singapore: NUS Press and Athens: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 317. \$28.95.

## COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- AKENSON, DONALD HARMAN. *Some Family: The Mormons and How Humanity Keeps Track of Itself*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 349. \$29.95.
- BERAN, MICHAEL KNOX. *Forge of Empires, 1861-1871: Three Revolutionary Statesmen and the World They Made*. New York: Free Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 477. \$30.00.
- BERTRAND, ROMAIN, JEAN-LOUIS BRIQUET, and PETER PELS, editors. *The Hidden History of the Secret Ballot*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 256. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- DUTTON, PAUL V. *Differential Diagnoses: A Comparative History of Health Care Problems and Solutions in the United States and France*. (The Culture and Politics of Health Care Work.) Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 253. \$29.95.
- ELLEMAN, BRUCE A., and S. C. M. PAINE, editors. *Naval Coalition Warfare: From the Napoleonic War to Operation Iraqi Freedom*. (Cass Series: Naval Policy and History.) New York: Routledge. 2008. Pp. xviii, 247. \$140.00.
- GRAYLING, A. C. *Toward the Light of Liberty: The Struggles for Freedom and Rights That Made the Modern Western World*. New York: Walker. 2007. Pp. 336. \$26.95.
- HOLMES, RICHARD, and MARTIN MARIX EVANS, editors. *Battlefield: Decisive Conflicts in History*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 429. \$18.95.
- JACKSON, MARK. *Allergy: The History of a Modern Malady*. Paperback edition. London: Reaktion Books. 2007. Pp. 288. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$25.00.
- KALOF, LINDA. *Looking at Animals in Human History*. London: Reaktion Books. 2007. Pp. ix, 222. \$45.00.
- KAPLAN, LAWRENCE S. *Nato 1948: The Birth of the Transatlantic Alliance*. Assisted by MORRIS HONICK. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xi, 273. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$28.95.
- KROKER, KENTON. *The Sleep of Others and the Transformations of Sleep Research*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 533. \$49.95.
- LANDES, DAVID S. *Dynasties: Fortunes and Misfortunes of the World's Great Family Businesses*. New York: Penguin. 2006. Pp. xx, 380. Cloth \$25.95, paper \$16.00.
- LASZLO, PIERRE. *Citrus: A History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. x, 252. \$25.00.
- MILLER, DONALD E., and TETSUNAO YAMAMORI. *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement*. With DVD. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. x, 261. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.
- PETROSKI, HENRY. *The Toothpick: Technology and Culture*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2007. Pp. xii, 443. \$27.95.
- SAHADEO, JEFF, and RUSSELL ZANCA, editors. *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 401. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

- SCHOFIELD, JOHN, and WAYNE COCROFT, editors. *A Fearsome Heritage: Diverse Legacies of the Cold War*. (One World Archaeology Series, number 50.) Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press. 2007. Pp. 333. \$79.00.
- SCHWARTZ, DAVID G. *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling*. Paperback edition. New York: Gotham Books. 2007. Pp. xix, 570. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$18.00.
- SLOAN, BILL. *The Ultimate Battle: Okinawa 1945—The Last Epic Struggle of World War II*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2007. Pp. x, 405. \$27.00.
- SMITH, BENJAMIN. *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 243. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.
- STREBE, AMY GOODPASTER. *Flying for Her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. Foreword by TRISH BECKMAN. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International. 2007. Pp. xvi, 109. \$39.95.
- SYSE, HENRIK, and GREGORY M. REICHBERG, editors. *Ethics, Nationalism, and Just War: Medieval and Contemporary Perspectives*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2007. Pp. x, 405. \$39.95.
- TOMZ, MICHAEL. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 299. \$22.95.
- VAN ONSELEN, CHARLES. *The Fox and the Flies: The Secret Life of a Grotesque Master Criminal*. New York: Walker. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 646. \$34.95.
- VOTOLATO, GREGORY. *Transport Design: A Travel History*. London: Reaktion Books. 2007. Pp. 239. \$35.00.
- WANG, DONG. *Managing God's Higher Learning: U.S.-China Cultural Encounters and Canton Christian College (Lingnan University), 1888–1952*. (AsiaWorld.) Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2007. Pp. xiii, 211. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$34.95.
- WEINBERG, GERHARD L. *Visions of Victory: The Hopes of Eight World War II Leaders*. Paperback edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 292. \$19.99.

## ASIA

- BALA, POONAM. *Medicine and Medical Policies in India: Social and Historical Perspectives*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2007. Pp. xii, 139. \$55.00.
- BENJAMIN, CRAIG G. R. *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria*. (Silk Road Studies, number 14.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2007. Pp. xvii, 245.
- GOLDMAN, MERLE. *From Comrade to Citizen: The Struggle for Political Rights in China*. Paperback edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 286. \$19.95.
- HADLEY, GREGORY. *Field of Spears: The Last Mission of the Jordan Crew*. Foreword by PHILIP SEATON. Sheffield, U.K.: Paulownia Press. 2007. Pp. x, 160. Cloth £24.95, paper £17.95.
- HALBERSTAM, DAVID. *Ho*. 3d ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xi, 118. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.
- KALTMAN, BLAINE. *Under the Heel of the Dragon: Islam, Racism, Crime, and the Uighur in China*. (Ohio University Research in International Studies, Global and Comparative Studies Series, number 7.) Athens: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 150. \$24.00.
- KERR, IAN J., editor. *27 Down: New Departures in Indian Railway Studies*. (New Perspectives in South Asian History, number 16. With CD-ROM.) Hyderabad: Orient Longman. 2007. Pp. lxxii, 375. Rs. 1185.00.
- LI, XIAOBING. *A History of the Modern Chinese Army*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. xvi, 413. \$39.95.
- MEISNER, MAURICE. *Mao Zedong: A Political and Intellectual Portrait*. Cambridge: Polity. 2007. Pp. x, 222. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

- MILLER, JOHN H. *Modern East Asia: An Introductory History*. (An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2008. Pp. xxvii, 235. Cloth \$72.95, paper \$25.95.
- NISHIDA, SATOSHI. *Der Weideraufbau der japanischen Wirtschaft nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Die amerikanische Japanpolitik und die ökonomischen Nachkriegsreformen in Japan 1942–1952*. (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, number 193.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 474. €78.00.
- PEPPER, SUZANNE. *Keeping Democracy at Bay: Hong Kong and the Challenge of Chinese Political Reform*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. x, 448. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$39.95.
- PRATT, KEITH. *Everlasting Flower: A History of Korea*. Paperback edition. London: Reaktion Books. 2007. Pp. 320. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$27.00.
- SAMUELS, RICHARD J. *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 277. \$29.95.
- SINGH, JASWANT. *In Service of Emergent India: A Call to Honor*. Foreword by STROBE TALBOTT. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 359. \$29.95.
- WOOD, JAMES B. *Japanese Military Strategy in the Pacific War: Was Defeat Inevitable?* Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. x, 141. Cloth \$69.00, paper \$24.95.

## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- ABU-LUGHOD, JANET L. *Race, Space, and Riots in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 344. \$35.00.
- ALKEBULAN, PAUL. *Survival Pending Revolution: The History of the Black Panther Party*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 176. \$28.95.
- ALLEN, BROOKE. *Moral Minority: Our Skeptical Founding Fathers*. Paperback edition. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2006. Pp. xvi, 235. \$14.95.
- ANDREJEVIC, MARK. *iSpy: Surveillance and Power in the Interactive Era*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. ix, 325. \$29.95.
- ATKINS, ANNETTE. *Creating Minnesota: A History from the Inside Out*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 319. \$27.95.
- AUCOIN, BRENT J. *A Rift in the Clouds: Race and the Southern Federal Judiciary, 1900–1910*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 169. \$34.95.
- BAILEY, JEREMY D. *Thomas Jefferson and Executive Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 280. \$80.00.
- BALL, HOWARD. *Bush, the Detainees, and the Constitution: The Battle over Presidential Power in the War on Terror*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. viii, 275. \$34.95.
- BELLAVIA, DAVID. *House to House: An Epic Memoir of War*. Assisted by JOHN R. BRUNNING. New York: Free Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 321. \$26.00.
- BINDAS, KENNETH J. *Remembering the Great Depression in the Rural South*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. 184. \$59.95.
- BLANKE, DAVID. *Hell on Wheels: The Promise and Peril of America's Car Culture, 1900–1940*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. x, 266. \$34.95.
- BLACKFORD, MANSEL G. *Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and Its Consequences in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 267. \$48.00.
- BLESER, CAROL K., and LESLEY J. GORDON, editors. *Intimate Strategies of the Civil War: Military Commanders and Their Wives*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxv, 292. \$19.95.



- BORG, KEVIN L. *Auto Mechanics: Technology and Expertise in Twentieth-Century America*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 249. \$50.00.
- BOWLER, PETER J. *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons: Evolution and Christianity from Darwin to Intelligent Design*. (New Histories of Science, Technology, and Medicine.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 256. \$24.95.
- BRADY, DAVID W., and MATHEW D. MCCUBBINS, editors. *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress*. Volume Two. (Social Science History.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 505. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$34.95.
- BROWN, DAVID, and CLIVE WEBB. *Race in the American South: From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 392. Cloth £60.00, paper £18.99.
- BURMAN, STEPHEN. *The State of the American Empire: How the USA Shapes the World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. 132. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.
- BURNS, RICHARD DEAN, and SIRACUSA, JOSEPH M. *Historical Dictionary of the Kennedy-Johnson Era*. (Historical Dictionaries of U.S. Historical Eras.) Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow. 2007. Pp. xxix, 396. \$90.00.
- BUTLER, ANNE M., and MICHAEL J. LANSING. *The American West: A Concise History*. (Problems in American History.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2008. Pp. xiv, 242. \$32.95.
- BUTLER, ANTHEA D. *Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 206. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.
- CAMPBELL, JAMES. *The Ghost Mountain Boys: Their Epic March and the Terrifying Battle for New Guinea—The Forgotten War of the South Pacific*. New York: Crown. 2007. Pp. xv, 378. \$25.95.
- CARTER, RON. *Unlikely Heroes: Ordinary Men and Women Whose Courage Won the Revolution*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Shadow Mountain. 2007. Pp. viii, 254. \$21.95.
- CARUSO, PATRICK F. *Nightmare on Iwo Jima: A Marine in Combat*. Foreword by DAVID G. RATHGEBER. Paperback edition. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 168. \$19.95.
- CASELLA, ELEANOR CONLIN. *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement*. Foreword by MICHAEL S. NASSANEY. (The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. xx, 174. \$24.95.
- CHESLER, ELLEN. *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America*. Paperback edition. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2007. Pp. 667. \$15.00.
- CLARK, CHRISTOPHER. *Social Change in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War*. Paperback edition. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2006. Pp. xiii, 349. \$18.95.
- CLIFFORD, DEBORAH PICKMAN, and NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD. *"The Troubled Roar of the Waters": Vermont in Flood and Recovery, 1927–1931*. (Revisiting New England: The New Regionalism.) Durham: University of New Hampshire Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 229. \$29.95.
- COLLINS, CHRISTOPHER. *Homeland Mythology: Biblical Narratives in American Culture*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiii, 263. \$29.95.
- CORDERY, STACY A. *Alice: Alice Roosevelt Longworth, from White House Princess to Washington Power Broker*. New York: Viking. 2007. Pp. xiv, 590. \$32.95.
- DAEMMRICH, ARTHUR, and JOANNA RADIN, editors. *Perspectives on Risk and Regulation: The FDA at 100*. Philadelphia: Chemical Heritage Foundation. 2007. Pp. xvii, 163. \$12.00.
- DAMMANN, GORDON E., and ALFRED JAY BOLLET. *Images of Civil War Medicine: A Photographic History*. New York: Demos. 2008. Pp. viii, 192. \$34.95.
- DANISCH, ROBERT. *Pragmatism, Democracy, and the Necessity of Rhetoric*. (Studies in Rhetoric/Communication.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 190. \$39.95.
- D'ANTONIO, MICHAEL. *A Ball, a Dog, and a Monkey: 1957—The Space Race Begins*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2007. Pp. 306. \$26.00.
- DAVIDSON, JAMES WEST. *"They Say": Ida B. Wells and the Reconstruction of Race*. (New Narratives in American History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 242. \$21.95.
- DAVIES, GARETH. *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xii, 387. \$39.95.
- DEANS, BOB. *The River Where America Began: A Journey Along the James*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xv, 319. \$24.95.
- DELANEY, MICHELLE. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier*. New York: Smithsonian Books. 2007. Pp. xi, 160. \$34.95.
- DEROSIER, ARTHUR H., JR. *William Dunbar: Scientific Pioneer of the Old Southwest*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. x, 269. \$55.00.
- DEWEY, DONALD. *The Art of Ill Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons*. New York: New York University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 251. \$34.95.
- DIGGINS, JOHN PATRICK. *Eugene O'Neill's America: Desire under Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 305. \$29.00.
- DONALDSON, GARY A. *The First Modern Campaign: Kennedy, Nixon, and the Election of 1960*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. ix, 199. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$22.95.
- DOUGHERTY, KEVIN. *Civil War Leadership and Mexican War Experience*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2007. Pp. xi, 207. \$50.00.
- ELLIS, JOSEPH J. *American Creation: Triumphs and Tragedies at the Founding of the Republic*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2007. Pp. xi, 283. \$26.95.
- EMERSON, JASON. *The Madness of Mary Lincoln*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 255. \$29.95.
- ESTES, STEVE. *Ask and Tell: Gay and Lesbian Veterans Speak Out*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 280. \$29.95.
- FENTON, WILLIAM N. *Iroquois Journey: An Anthropologist Remembers*. Edited and introduction by JACK CAMPISI and WILLIAM A. STARNA. (The Iroquoians and Their World.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 204. \$55.00.
- FINLEY, LAURA L. *Juvenile Justice*. (Historical Guides to Controversial Issues in America.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 159. \$49.95.
- FLEMING, THOMAS. *The Perils of Peace: America's Struggle for Survival after Yorktown*. New York: Smithsonian Books. 2007. Pp. x, 352. \$27.95.
- FOSTER, THOMAS A., editor. *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*. Afterword by JOHN D'EMILIO. New York: New York University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 405. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.
- FOXMAN, ABRAHAM H. *The Deadliest Lies: The Israel Lobby and the Myth of Jewish Control*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. 256. \$24.95.
- FREYER, TONY A. *Little Rock on Trial: Cooper v. Aaron and School Desegregation*. (Landmark Law Cases and American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xi, 276. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$17.95.
- GARDELLA, PETER. *American Angels: Useful Spirits in the Ma-*

- terial World.* (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. x, 285. \$29.95.
- GIBBS, JOSEPH. *Dead Men Tell No Tales: The Lives and Legends of the Pirate Charles Gibbs.* (Studies in Maritime History.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 211. \$29.95.
- GLATTHAAR, JOSEPH T., and JAMES KIRBY MARTIN. *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution.* Paperback edition. New York: Hill and Wang. 2006. Pp. 434. \$19.95.
- GRAY, RALPH D. *Meredith Nicholson: A Writing Life.* (Indiana Biography Series.) Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 2007. Pp. 281. \$19.95.
- GRIFFIS, DON W. *Eagle Days: A Marine Legal/Infantry Officer in Vietnam.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 174. \$29.95.
- HATTAM, VICTORIA. *In the Shadow of Race: Jews, Latinos, and Immigrant Politics in the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 273. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$19.00.
- HENDLEY, NATE. *Bonnie and Clyde: A Biography.* (Greenwood Biographies.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 128. \$35.00.
- HENKIN, DAVID M. *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America.* Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 221. \$20.00.
- HERSH, BURTON. *Bobby and J. Edgar: The Historic Face-off between the Kennedys and J. Edgar Hoover That Transformed America.* New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers. 2007. Pp. x, 612. \$28.95.
- HILL, JOHN E. *Democracy, Equality, and Justice: John Adams, Adam Smith, and Political Economy.* Rev. ed. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2007. Pp. xvii, 267. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$29.95.
- HODGDON, TIMOTHY. *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965–83.* Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. 270. \$49.50.
- HOLLAND, JESSE J. *Black Men Built the Capitol: Discovering African-American History In and Around Washington, D.C.* Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot. 2007. Pp. xv, 192. \$14.95.
- HOOCK, HOLGER, editor. *History, Commemoration, and National Preoccupation: Trafalgar 1805–2005.* (British Academy Occasional Paper, number 8.) New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy. 2007. Pp. x, 130. \$26.95.
- HOWELL, WILLIAM G., and JON C. PEVEHOUSE. *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. xxvi, 333. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.95.
- HUGGINS, NATHAN IRVIN. *Harlem Renaissance.* Foreword by ARNOLD RAMPERSAD. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxxiii, 343. \$19.95.
- HULSETH, MARK. *Religion, Culture and Politics in the Twentieth-Century United States.* (Columbia Series in Religion and Politics.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. 249. Cloth \$74.50, paper \$24.50.
- HUNLEY, J. D. *The Development of Propulsion Technology for U.S. Space-Launch Vehicles, 1926–1991.* (Centennial of Flight Series, number 17.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 383. \$65.00.
- HUNTER, JERRY. *Sons of Arthur, Children of Lincoln: Welsh Writing from the American Civil War.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 498. £19.99.
- HURST, JACK. *Men of Fire: Grant, Forrest, and the Campaign That Decided the Civil War.* New York: Basic Books. 2007. Pp. xix, 442. \$27.95.
- JOHNSON, TIMOTHY D. *A Gallant Little Army: The Mexico City Campaign.* (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. x, 365. \$39.95.
- JOINER, GARY D. *Mr. Lincoln's Brown Water Navy: The Mississippi Squadron.* (American Crisis Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xiii, 199. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- JOSEPHSON, PAUL R. *Motorized Obsessions: Life, Liberty, and the Small-Bore Engine.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 258. \$22.00.
- KALINAK, KATHRYN. *How the West Was Sung: Music in the West-erns of John Ford.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. x, 256. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.
- KEELS, THOMAS H. *Forgotten Philadelphia: Lost Architecture of the Quaker City.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2007. Pp. 309. \$40.00.
- KELLER, MORTON. *America's Three Regimes: A New Political History.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. 336. \$27.95.
- KILPATRICK, JUDITH. *There When We Needed Him: Wiley Austin Branton, Civil Rights Warrior.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2007. Pp. x, 221. \$29.95.
- KINNARD, DOUGLAS. *The War Managers: 30th Anniversary Edition.* Reprint. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1979. Pp. ix, 216. \$19.95.
- KIRK, JOHN A. *Beyond Little Rock: The Origins and Legacies of the Central High Crisis.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 213. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.
- KLEIN, MAURY. *The Genesis of Industrial America, 1870–1920.* (Cambridge Essential Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 224. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$22.99.
- KLEIN, STACEY JEAN. *Margaret Junkin Preston, Poet of the Confederacy: A Literary Life.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 137. \$34.95.
- KUGEL, REBECCA, and LUCY ELDERSVELD MURPHY, editors. *Native Women's History in Eastern North America before 1900: A Guide to Research and Writing.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xxxvi, 467. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.
- LANDSBERG, BRIAN K. *Free at Last to Vote: The Alabama Origins of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xi, 264. \$34.95.
- LARSON, AGNES M. *The White Pine Industry in Minnesota: A History.* Foreword by BRADLEY J. GILLS. (The Fesler-Lampert Minnesota Heritage Book Series.) Reprint. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 432. \$17.95.
- LARSON, EDWARD J. *A Magnificent Catastrophe: The Tumultuous Election of 1800, America's First Presidential Campaign.* New York: Free Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 335. \$27.00.
- LATIMER, JON. *1812: War with America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 637. \$35.00.
- LEVINE, ELANA. *Wallowing in Sex: The New Sexual Culture of 1970s American Television.* (Console-ing Passions: Television and Cultural Power.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 320. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.
- LEVY, JACQUES E. *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa.* Foreword by FRED ROSS, JR. Afterword by JACQUELINE M. LEVY. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2007. Pp. xxxi, 556. \$19.95.
- LORENCE, JAMES J. *A Hard Journey: The Life of Don West.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 308. \$39.95.
- LORENZ-MEYER, MARTIN. *Safehaven: The Allied Pursuit of Nazi Assets Abroad.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 384. \$49.95.
- MAGEE, JUDITH. *The Art and Science of William Bartram.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press in asso-

- ciation with the Natural History Museum, London. 2007. Pp. xi, 264. \$45.00.
- MCCLOUD, SEAN. *Divine Hierarchies: Class in American Religion and Religious Studies*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. x, 224. \$22.50.
- MCGARRAH, JIM. *A Temporary Sort of Peace: A Memoir of Vietnam*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 2007. Pp. 251. \$19.95.
- MCGOWAN, JOHN. *American Liberalism: An Interpretation for Our Time*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 269. \$29.95.
- MCCWILLIAMS, TENNANT S. *New Lights in the Valley: The Emergence of UAB*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 546. \$39.95.
- MEAD, WALTER RUSSELL. *God and Gold: Britain, America, and the Making of the Modern World*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2007. Pp. x, 449. \$27.95.
- MEYER, CARRIE A. *Days on the Family Farm: From the Golden Age through the Great Depression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2007. Pp. x, 251. \$17.95.
- MILLER, DONALD L. *Masters of the Air: America's Bomber Boys Who Fought the Air War Against Nazi Germany*. Paperback edition. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2007. Pp. 671. \$20.00.
- MILLER, EDWARD S. *Bankrupting the Enemy: The U.S. Financial Siege of Japan before Pearl Harbor*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 323. \$32.00.
- MIROFF, BRUCE. *The Liberals' Moment: The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xi, 355. \$29.95.
- MONDAY, JANE CLEMENTS, and FRANCES BRANNEN VICK. *Petra's Legacy: The South Texas Ranching Empire of Petra Vela and Mifflin Kenedy*. (Perspectives on South Texas.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 430. \$35.00.
- MOORE, R. JONATHAN. *Suing for America's Soul: John Whitehead, The Rutherford Institute, and Conservative Christians in the Courts*. (Emory University Studies in Law and Religion.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2007. Pp. x, 214. \$18.00.
- NASAW, DAVID. *Andrew Carnegie*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2007. Pp. xvi, 878. \$20.00.
- NEMANIC, MARY LOU. *One Day for Democracy: Independence Day and the Americanization of Iron Range Immigrants*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 252. \$39.95.
- The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. Volume Seven: *Foodways*. Edited by JOHN T. EDGE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press with the center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi. 2007. Pp. xx, 310. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.
- NEWTON, JIM. *Justice for All: Earl Warren and the Nation He Made*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2006. Pp. 614. \$17.95.
- NIEDERMEIER, LYNN E. *Eliza Calvert Hall: Kentucky Author and Suffragist*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. ix, 284. \$45.00.
- NOLL, MARK A., and LUKE E. HARLOW, editors. *Religion and American Politics from the Colonial Period to the Present*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 502. \$25.00.
- O'CONNOR, ALICE. *Social Science for What? Philanthropy and the Social Question in a World Turned Rightside Up*. (A Russell Sage Centennial Volume.) New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 2007. Pp. xiii, 178. \$22.50.
- O'NEILL, JOHNATHAN. *Originalism in American Law and Politics: A Constitutional History*. (Johns Hopkins Series in Constitutional Thought.) Paperback edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 281. \$35.00.
- PACEPA, ION MIHAI. *Programmed to Kill: Lee Harvey Oswald, the Soviet KGB, and the Kennedy Assassination*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dec. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 349. \$28.95.
- PANGLE, LORRAINE SMITH. *The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin*. (The Political Philosophy of the American Founders.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 277. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.95.
- PRIEST, TYLER. *The Offshore Imperative: Shell Oil's Search for Petroleum in Postwar America*. (Kenneth E. Montague Series in Oil and Business History, number 19.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 317. \$39.95.
- RADOJKOVIC, JON. *Barn Building: The Golden Age of Barn Construction*. Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press. 2007. Pp. 192. \$35.00.
- RHEA, GORDON C. *In the Footsteps of Grant and Lee: The Wilderness through Cold Harbor*. Photographs by CHRIS E. HEISEY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 134. \$39.95.
- RIELLY, EDWARD J. *Sitting Bull: A Biography*. (Greenwood Biographies.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 157. \$35.00.
- ROBINSON, IRA. *Rabbis and Their Community: Studies in the Eastern European Orthodox Rabbinate in Montreal, 1896-1930*. Calgary, Alta.: University of Calgary Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 166. \$34.95.
- ROCHESTER, STUART I., and FREDERICK KILEY. *Honor Bound: American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia, 1961-1973*. Paperback edition. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 706. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$34.95.
- ROTHMAN, HAL K. *Playing the Odds: Las Vegas and the Modern West*. Edited by LINCOLN BRAMWELL. Foreword by WILLIAM DEBUYS. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 262. \$24.95.
- ROTTMAN, GORDON L. *Mobile Strike Forces in Vietnam 1966-70*. (Battle Orders, number 30.) Oxford: Osprey. 2007. Pp. 96. \$23.95.
- ROUNTREE, HELEN C., WAYNE E. CLARK, and KENT MOUNTFORD. *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607-1609*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 402. \$29.95.
- SAMUEL, LAWRENCE R. *The End of the Innocence: The 1964-1965 New York World's Fair*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiii, 243. \$29.95.
- SCHECHTER, HAROLD. *The Devil's Gentleman: Privilege, Poison, and the Trial That Ushered in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Ballantine Books. 2007. Pp. xv, 494. \$27.95.
- SELF, ROBERT T. *Robert Altman's McCabe and Mrs. Miller: Reframing the American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. Pp. x, 208. \$29.95.
- SEMONCHE, JOHN E. *Censoring Sex: A Historical Journey through American Media*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. viii, 301. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.
- SIMMONS, VIRGINIA MCCONNELL. *Drifting West: The Calamities of James White and Charles Baker*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 210. \$29.95.
- SMITH, ADAM I. P. *The American Civil War*. (American History in Depth.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xxii, 275. \$24.95.
- SMITH, CARL. *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City*. (Chicago Visions and Revisions.) Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 183. \$12.00.
- SMITH, MARK A. *The Right Talk: How Conservatives Transformed the Great Society into the Economic Society*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. 267. \$29.95.
- STANLEY-BLACKWELL, LAURIE. *Tokens of Grace: Cape Breton's Open-Air Communion Tradition*. Sydney, N.S.: Cape Breton University Press. 2006. Pp. 160. \$19.95.
- STEERS, EDWARD, JR. *Lincoln Legends: Myths, Hoaxes, and Confabulations Associated with Our Greatest President*.



- Foreword by HAROLD HOLZER. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xvii, 264. \$24.95.
- STRAHAN, RANDALL. *Leading Representatives: The Agency of Leaders in the Politics of the U.S. House*. (Interpreting American Politics.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 238. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.
- STUART, PETER C. *Planting the American Flag: Twelve Men Who Expanded the United States Overseas*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company. 2007. Pp. vii, 254. \$39.95.
- THEOHARIS, ATHAN. *The Quest for Absolute Security: The Failed Relations Among U.S. Intelligence Agencies*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2007. Pp. viii, 309. \$27.50.
- TIERNEY, DOMINIC. *FDR and the Spanish Civil War: Neutrality and Commitment in the Struggle That Divided America*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. 223. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.
- TOCZEK, DAVID M. *The Battle of Ap Bac Vietnam: They Did Everything but Learn from It*. Foreword by W. B. ROSSON. Paperback edition. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2007. Pp. xxvii, 185. \$19.95.
- VOLO, JAMES M., and DOROTHY DENNEEN VOLO. *Family Life in 19th-Century America*. (Family Life through History.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 415. \$65.00.
- WARD, GEOFFREY C. *The War: An Intimate History, 1941–1945*. Introduction by KEN BURNS. Assisted by DAVID MCMAHON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2007. Pp. xxv, 451. \$50.00.
- WESTHEIDER, JAMES E. *The African American Experience in Vietnam: Brothers in Arms*. (The African American History Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. xxi, 177. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.
- WESTWOOD, JEAN MILES. *Madame Chair: The Political Autobiography of an Unintentional Pioneer*. Edited by LINDA SILTOE. Foreword by FLOYD A. O'NEIL. Logan: Utah State University Press. 2007. Pp. vii, 230. \$34.95.
- WHITE, MARK J. *Against the President: Dissent and Decision-Making in the White House: A Historical Perspective*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2007. Pp. x, 370. \$28.95.
- WILLIAMS, LYNN BARSTIS. *Imprinting the South: Southern Print-makers and Their Images of the Region, 1920s–1940s*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. x, 211. \$39.95.
- WILSON, DANIEL J. *Living with Polio: The Epidemic and Its Survivors*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 300. \$17.00.
- WITHAM, LARRY. *A City upon a Hill: How Sermons Changed the Course of American History*. New York: HarperOne. 2007. Pp. xviii, 318. \$24.95.
- WYLIE, PAUL R. *The Irish General: Thomas Francis Meagher*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 404. \$29.95.
- XU, GUANGQIU. *Congress and the U.S.-China Relationship, 1949–1979*. (Series on International, Political, and Economic History.) Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 409. \$59.95.
- YENNE, BILL. *Rising Sons: The Japanese American GIs Who Fought for the United States in World War II*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books. 2007. Pp. xii, 302. \$25.95.
- YOUNT, DAVID. *How the Quakers Invented America*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xix, 159. \$19.95.
- ZIEGER, ROBERT H. *For Jobs and Freedom: Race and Labor in America since 1865*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. x, 276. \$37.50.
- Progress. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 115. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.
- DUNKERLEY, JAMES. *Bolivia: Revolution and the Power of History in the Present*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas. 2007. Pp. xv, 311. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$30.00.
- GRAYSON, GEORGE W. *Mexican Messiah: Andrés Manuel López Obrador*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 339. \$35.00.
- JONES, CHARLES A. *American Civilization*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas. 2007. Pp. 105. \$20.00.
- KLEIN, HERBERT S., and BEN VINSON III. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 286. \$21.95.
- MOYA PONS, FRANK. *History of the Caribbean: Plantations, Trade, and War in the Atlantic World*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener. 2007. Pp. xiii, 402. Cloth \$88.95, paper \$28.95.
- NEGRÓN-MUNTANER, FRANCES, editor. *None of the Above: Puerto Ricans in the Global Era*. (New Directions in Latino American Cultures.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xi, 283. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$26.95.
- SAEGER, JAMES SCHOFIELD. *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay: Honor and Egocentrism*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xi, 239. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$34.95.

## EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- ALCOCK, SUSAN E., and ROBIN OSBORNE, editors. *Classical Archaeology*. (Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, number 10.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2007. Pp. xiii, 447. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$39.95.
- BRINGMANN, KLAUS. *A History of the Roman Republic*. Translated by W. J. SMYTH. Cambridge: Polity. 2007. Pp. x, 358. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$28.95.
- CRACCO, GIORGIO, et al., editors. *Europa in costruzione: La forza dell'identità, la ricerca di unità (secoli IX–XIII)*. (Annali dell'Istituto italo-germanico in Trento; Quaderni, number 69.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2006. Pp. 484. €32.00.
- DILCHER, GERHARD, and DIEGO QUAGLIONI, editors. *Gli inizi del diritto pubblico: L'età di Federico Barbarossa; legislazione e scienza del diritto* / *Di Anfänge des öffentlichen Rechts: Gesetzgebung im Zeitalter Friedrich Barbarossas und das Gelehrte Recht*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico Trento, Contribut; Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient, Beiträge, number 19.) Bologna: Il Mulino and Berlin: Duncker und Humboldt. 2006. Pp. 353. €26.00.
- ERDKAMP, PAUL, editor. *A Companion to the Roman Army*. (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2007. Pp. xxvi, 574. \$174.95.
- HAHN, JOHANNES, and MEINOLF VIELBERG, editors. *Formen und Funktionen von Leitbildern*. (Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium, number 17.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 321.
- LEE, A. D. *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History*. (Ancient World at War.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2007. Pp. xxv, 282. \$34.95.
- MITCHELL, LINDA E. *Family Life in the Middle Ages*. (Family Life through History.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 240. \$65.00.
- POWELL, BARRY B. *Homer*. (Blackwell Introductions to the Classical World.) 2d ed. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2007. Pp. xv, 240. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.
- SKINNER, MARILYN B., editor. *A Companion to Catullus*. (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2007. Pp. xxvi, 590. \$149.95.
- SOUTHERN, PAT. *The Roman Army: A Social and Institutional History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 383. \$24.95.

## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- COLBURN, FORREST D., and ARTURO CRUZ S. *Varieties of Liberalism in Central America: Nation-States as Works in*



WILSON, EMILY. *The Death of Socrates*. (Profiles in History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 247. \$19.95.

WOOLF, GREG. *Et Tu, Brute? A Short History of Political Murder*. (Profiles in History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 199. \$19.95.

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ALSTON, CHARLOTTE. *Russia's Greatest Enemy? Harold Williams and the Russian Revolutions*. New York: Tauris Academic Studies. 2007. Pp. 278. \$74.95.

AUGUST, ANDREW. *The British Working Class, 1832–1940*. (Studies in Modern History.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2007. Pp. ix, 286. \$32.00.

BELL, DEAN PHILLIP. *Jews in the Early Modern World*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. xv, 301. Cloth \$79.00, paper \$29.95.

BIDELEUX, ROBERT, and IAN JEFFRIES. *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change*. 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xlv, 669. \$41.95.

BLOM, HANS, JOHN CHRISTIAN LAURSEN, and LUISA SIMONUTTI, editors. *Monarchisms in the Age of Enlightenment: Liberty, Patriotism, and the Common Good*. (UCLA Center/Clark Series, number 6.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. 2007. Pp. x, 306. \$60.00.

BLOUGH, NEAL. *Christ in Our Midst: Incarnation, Church and Discipleship in the Theology of Pilgram Marpeck*. (Anabaptist and Mennonite Studies, number 8.) Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora Press. 2007. Pp. 275. \$30.00.

BRUNNBAUER, ULF, ANDREAS HELMEDACH, and STEFAN TROEBST, editors. *Schnittstellen: Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa; Festschrift für Holm Sundhaussen zum 65. Geburtstag*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 133.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2007. Pp. 639. €69.80.

BURBANK, JANE, MARK VON HAGEN, and ANATOLY REMNEV, editors. *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 538. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.

CLAYTON, ANTHONY. *The British Officer: Leading the Army from 1660 to the Present*. Paperback edition. London: Pearson Education Limited. 2006. Pp. xiv, 335. \$18.95.

COHEN, JEREMY. *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 313. \$29.95.

DELANEY, ENDA, and DONALD M. MACRAIL, editors. *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities Since 1750*. New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xxii, 305. \$70.00.

DÍAZ-MAS, PALOMA. *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain*. Translated by GEORGE K. ZUCKER. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 235. \$16.00.

DIETL, RALPH. *Emanzipation und Kontrolle: Europa in der westlichen Sicherheitspolitik 1948–1963; Eine Innenansicht des westlichen Bündnisses*. Band 2, *Europa 1958–1963: Ordnungsfaktor oder Akteur?* (Historische Mitteilungen, number 67.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 430. €76.00.

DOLVEN, JEFF. *Scenes of Instruction in Renaissance Romance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. 281. \$29.00.

FANNING, BRYAN, editor. *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 262. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$22.50.

FRANKS, MICHAEL. *The Basingstoke Admiral: A Life of Sir James Lancaster (c. 1554–1618)*. Foreword by Andrew Lambert. Salisbury, U.K.: Hobnob Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 232. £14.95.

GRISTWOOD, SARAH. *Elizabeth and Leicester: Power, Passion, Politics*. New York: Viking. 2007. Pp. 407. \$27.95.

HALFOND, IRWIN. *Maurice Paléologue: The Diplomat, the Writer, the Man, and the Third French Republic*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2007. Pp. xiii, 189. \$29.95.

HETALA, MARIATTA, editor. *Tutkijat ja sota: Suomalaisten tutkijoiden kontakteja ja kohtaloita toisen maailmansodan aikana* [Scholars and War: The Contacts and Fate of Finnish Scholars in World War II]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 121.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2006. Pp. 484.

ILARDI, VINCENT. *Renaissance Vision from Spectacles to Telescopes*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 259.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 2007. Pp. xv, 378. \$85.00.

JEAL, TIM. *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 570. \$38.00.

JOYCE, SIMON. *The Victorians in the Rearview Mirror*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 211. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

KALASHNIKOV, MIKHAIL, and ELENA JOLY. *The Gun That Changed the World*. Translated by ANDREW BROWN. Cambridge: Polity. 2006. Pp. xxv, 175. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

KAUFMANN, ERIC P. *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 373. \$55.00.

KEEGAN, JOHN. *Winston Churchill*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2002. Pp. vii, 196. \$13.00.

KENDALL, STUART. *Georges Bataille*. (Critical Lives.) London: Reaktion Books. 2007. Pp. 233. \$16.95.

KIESEWETTER, HUBERT. *Die Industrialisierung Sachsens: Ein regional-vergleichendes Erklärungsmodell*. (Regionale Industrialisierung, number 5.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 630. €80.00.

LANG, MARKUS. *Karl Loewenstein: Transatlantischer Denker der Politik*. (Transatlantische Historische Studien, number 28.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 353. €46.00.

LOWER, WENDY. *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine*. Paperback edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2005. Pp. xviii, 307. \$21.95.

MANER, HANS-CHRISTIAN, and NORBERT SPANNENBERGER, editors. *Konfessionelle Identität und Nationsbildung: Die griechisch-katholischen Kirchen in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum: Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e.v. an der Universität Leipzig, number 25.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 237. €36.00.

MCCAFFREY, CARMEL. *In Search of Ireland's Heroes: The Story of the Irish from the English Invasion to the Present Day*. Paperback edition. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2006. Pp. xii, 290. \$16.95.

MCCLOSKEY, DEIRDRE N. *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 616. \$22.50.

NAGORSKI, ANDREW. *The Greatest Battle: Stalin, Hitler, and the Desperate Struggle for Moscow that Changed the Course of World War II*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2007. Pp. xiii, 366. \$27.00.

NEWMAN, STEVE. *Ballad Collection, Lyric, and the Canon: The Call of the Popular from the Restoration to the New Criticism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 294. \$65.00.

NORTH, DAVID. *Leon Trotsky and the Post-Soviet School of Historical Falsification: A Review of Two Biographies of Trotsky by Geoffrey Swain and Ian Thatcher*. Oak Park, Mich.: Mehring Books. 2007. Pp. 96. \$10.00.

PETTITT, CLARE. *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers, and Empire*. (Profiles in History.) Cam-

- bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 244. \$22.95.
- RANCOUR-LAFERRIERE, DANIEL. *Tolstoy's Quest for God*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 2007. Pp. vii, 199. \$34.95.
- RUIZ, TEOFILO F. *Spain's Centuries of Crisis, 1300–1474*. (A History of Spain.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2007. Pp. x, 236. \$89.95.
- SABEAN, DAVID WARREN, SIMON TEUSCHER, and JON MATHIEU, editors. *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2007. Pp. xiii, 336. \$90.00.
- SCHABAS, MARGARET. *The Natural Origins of Economics*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 231. \$22.00.
- SCHMIDT-SCHWEIZER, ANDREAS. *Politische Geschichte Ungarns von 1985 bis 2002: Von der liberalisierten Einparteienherrschaft zur Demokratie in der Konsolidierungsphase*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 132.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2007. Pp. 484. €44.80.
- SCHÖRLE, ECKART. *Die Verhöflichung des Lachens: Lachgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*. (Kulturen des Komischen, number 4.) Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag. 2007. Pp. 418. €48.00.
- SCIROCCO, ALFONSO. *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World*. Translated by ALLAN CAMERON. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 442. \$35.00.
- SIMMS, BRENDAN, and TORSTEN RIOTTE, editors. *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714–1837*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 337. \$99.00.
- SUNDERLAND, DAVID. *Managing British Colonial and Post-Colonial Development: The Crown Agents, 1914–74*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2007. Pp. 296. \$85.00.
- TUSELL, JAVIER. *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy, 1939 to the Present*. Translated by ROSEMARY CLARK. (A History of Spain.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2007. Pp. vii, 494. \$89.95.
- VETTENNIEMI, ERKKI. *Pohjolan Helleenit: Suomalaisten olympiaurheilujen syntä* [The Northern Hellas: Origins of Finnish Olympic Sports]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 233.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2007. Pp. 466.
- VOGT, ANNETTE. *Vom Hintereingang zum Hauptportal? Lise Meitner und ihre Kolleginnen an der Berliner Universität und in der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft*. (Pallas Athene: Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, number 17.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 550. €84.00.
- WALTER, ROLF, editor. *Innovationsgeschichte: Erträge der 21. Arbeitstagung der Gesellschaft für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 30. März bis 2. April 2005 in Regensburg*. (Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, number 188.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2007. Pp. 362. €75.00.
- WASSERSTEIN, BERNARD. *Barbarism and Civilization: A History of Europe in Our Time*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiii, 901. \$45.00.
- WIEN, MARKUS. *Markt und Modernisierung: Deutsch-bulgarische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen 1918–1944 in ihren konzeptionellen Grundlagen*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 128.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2007. Pp. 356. €49.80.
- WISTRICH, ROBERT S. *Laboratory for World Destruction: Germans and Jews in Central Europe*. (Studies in Antisemitism.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SISCA), Hebrew University of Jerusalem. 2007. Pp. xiv, 404. \$55.00.

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

- AKSAN, VIRGINIA H. *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged*. (Modern Wars in Perspective.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2007. Pp. xx, 599. £25.99.
- ROGER S. BAGNALL and RAFFAELLA CRIBIORE. *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800*. Assisted by EVIE ATHARIDIS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 421. \$75.00.
- GOLDSTONE, PATRICIA. *Aaronsohn's Maps: The Untold Story of the Man Who Might Have Created Peace in the Middle East*. San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 2007. Pp. 344. \$26.00.
- MARCINKOWSKI, MARCIN. *Die Entwicklung des Osmanischen Reiches zwischen 1839 und 1908: Reformbestrebungen und Modernisierungsversuche im Spiegel der deutschsprachigen Literatur*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 279.) Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag. 2007. Pp. 103. €32.00.
- PARSI, TRITA. *Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran, and the United States*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 361. \$28.00.
- POLLARD, JUSTIN, and HOWARD REID. *The Rise and Fall of Alexandria: Birthplace of the Modern World*. New York: Penguin. 2006. Pp. xvii, 329. \$16.00.
- THORNHILL, MICHAEL T. *Road to Suez: The Battle of the Canal Zone*. London: Sutton Publishing. 2006. Pp. x, 270. \$34.95.
- UFFORD, LETITIA W. *The Pasha: How Mehmet Ali Defied the West, 1839–1841*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company. 2007. Pp. x, 261. \$45.00.

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- ILIFFE, JOHN. *Africans: The History of a Continent*. (African Studies Series.) 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 365. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.99.

---

# Communications

---

*A letter to the editor will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editors' discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters should not exceed one thousand words for articles and seven hundred words for reviews. They can be submitted by e-mail to [ahr@indiana.edu](mailto:ahr@indiana.edu), or by the postal service to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. For detailed information on the policies for this section, see <http://www.americanhistoricalreview.org>.*

No letters were received for publication in this issue.

## ERRATA

On p. 828 of the June 2007 issue, the title of Sharon Block's book was erroneously listed as *Rape and Secular Power in Early America*. The book's correct title is *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*. The editors regret the error.

On pp. 1280 and 1281 in the October issue, several diacritical marks were incorrectly typeset in the paragraph beginning "In chapters seven and eight, . . ." and ending ". . . after the reburial of Nagy on June 16, 1989." The paragraph should have read thus:

In chapters seven and eight, which provide a useful day-by-day account of the Soviet and Hungarian decision-making process in 1956, we see Kádár at the height of his opportunism. Kádár agreed with Prime Minister Imre Nagy on the need for a full break with the old Rákosi-Gerő regime after he was appointed the new first secretary on October 30, 1956. Chosen suddenly by the Soviet elite to head a harsher, post-invasion regime,

knowing the intervention was already underway, Kádár succumbed to a combination of fear and ambition. His belief in party unity and loyalty to the USSR prevailed. He certainly would not "opt for martyrdom" like Nagy. As Gough writes, "To view siding with the Soviet Union as a betrayal is to use a moral calculus alien to Kádár. . . . [T]here was nothing in his thinking that made Soviet intervention wrong *in itself*" (p. 97). As he later warned Alexander Dubček in 1968, Nagy himself had not been a "counter-revolutionary," but had been "overtaken by events" (p. 164). Although initially acting as Leonid Brezhnev's "broker and soft cop" in the 1968 crisis, in contrast to hardliners Walter Ulbricht and Władysław Gomułka, Kádár ultimately joined Warsaw Pact forces in the invasion of Czechoslovakia when Dubček rejected a call from Brezhnev for yet another multilateral meeting (p. 167). The ever pragmatic Kádár "knew that Hungarian living standards were dependent on Soviet goodwill" (p. 169). Goulash communism and the "New Economic Mechanism" (NEM) boosted Kádár's popularity by easing foreign trade restrictions, giving limited freedom to the workings of the market, and allowing a limited number of small businesses to operate in the services sector (p. 161). In contrast to the wasteful Ceaușescu of Romania, Kádár was known for his modest lifestyle, probably stemming from his poverty in childhood. All he wanted was "a bed of my own and shoes that don't leak in the winter" he once told his girlfriend Piroska (p. 15). Other factors contributing to Kádár's popularity include his peaceful abdication (again, in contrast to Ceaușescu), his sincere regret for the tragedy of 1956, especially regarding Nagy, and his death just three weeks after the reburial of Nagy on June 16, 1989.

The editors regret the errors.

---

# Index to *American Historical Review*, Volume 112

---

The titles of articles in the *AHR* are enclosed in quotation marks, and titles of books reviewed are printed in italics. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

- Aaslestad, Katherine, *Place and Politics: Local Identity, Civic Culture, and German Nationalism in North Germany during the Revolutionary Era*, 293
- Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance, by Terpstra, 301
- Abbé, Jean-Loup, *À la conquête des étangs: L'aménagement de l'espace en Languedoc méditerranéen (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, 1589
- Abbenhuis, Maartje M., *The Art of Staying Neutral: The Netherlands in the First World War, 1914-1918*, 1619
- Abbott, Carl, *Frontiers Past and Future: Science Fiction and the American West*, 1232
- Abd-Allah, Umar F., *A Muslim in Victorian America: The Life of Alexander Russell Webb*, 1190
- Abel, Richard, *Americanizing the Movies and "Movie-Mad" Audiences, 1910-1914*, 521
- Abraham in Arms, by Little, 1526
- Abrams, Douglas Carl (R), 216
- Abrams, Jeanne E., *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail: A History in the American West*, 1187
- Absence and Memory in Colonial American Theatre, by Johnson, 1156
- The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, by Porter, 587
- Absent Minds, by Collini, 1614
- Abu-Lughod, Lila, and Ahmad H. Sadi, editors, *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (E), 1296
- Accampo, Elinor, *Blessed Motherhood, Bitter Fruit: Nelly Roussel and the Politics of Female Pain in Third Republic France*, 1623
- Ackerman, Bruce, *The Failure of the Founding Fathers: Jefferson, Marshall, and the Rise of Presidential Democracy*, 841
- Adams, Julia, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, 602
- Adas, Michael, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission*, 493
- Adas, Michael (R), 1511
- Adelman, Jeremy (R), 256
- Adi, Hakim (R), 318
- Adler, Jeffrey S., *First in Violence, Deepest in Dirt: Homicide in Chicago, 1875-1920*, 517
- Africa after Gender?*, edited by Cole, Manuh, and Miescher (E), 973
- Africa Squadron*, by Canney, 1173
- An African Trading Empire*, by Macmillan, 630
- African Underclass*, by Burton, 970
- Africa's Hidden Histories*, edited by Barber (E), 1297
- "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History," by Eltis, Morgan, and Richardson, 1329
- Agents of Empire*, by Levin, 1265
- Agmon, Iris, *Family and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine*, 965
- Agostoni, Claudia (R), 1237
- "AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence," by Benedict, Berend, Ellis, Kaplan, Makdisi, and Miles, 1433
- Aiken, Katherine G. (R), 521
- Aksan, Virginia H., and Daniel Goffman, editors, *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (E), 1664
- Alamillo, José, *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town, 1880-1960*, 539
- Alamillo, José M. (R), 1202
- Aldrete, Gregory S., *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*, 1588
- Aldrich, Mark, *Death Rode the Rails: American Railroad Accidents and Safety, 1828-1965*, 516
- Aldrich, Richard J. (R), 532
- Aletta Jacobs 1854-1929*, by Bosch, 1618
- Alexander, Charles C. (R), 885
- Alexander, Ruth M. (R), 869
- Alexopoulos, Golfo (R), 1648
- All Creatures*, by Kohler, 1535
- Allen, Austin, *Origins of the Dred Scott Case: Jacksonian Jurisprudence and the Supreme Court, 1837-1857*, 1175
- Allen, Robert B. (R), 1487
- Allman, Jean, and John Parker, *Tongnaab: The History of a West African God*, 1656
- Almond, Philip (R), 580
- Along the Maysville Road*, by Friend, 1162
- Alonso, Harriet Hyman (R), 851
- Alter, Peter (R), 293
- Alvis, Robert E. (R), 1278
- Ambaras, David R., *Bad Youth: Juvenile Delinquency and the Politics of Everyday Life in Modern Japan*, 479
- Ambassadors in Pinstripes*, by Zeiler, 1554
- Ambrose, Douglas, and Robert W. T. Martin, editors, *The Many Faces of Alexander Hamilton: The Life and Legacy of America's Most Elusive Founding Father*, 1158
- Ambrosius, Lloyd E. (R), 821
- Ambrosoli, Mauro (R), 1626
- American Africans in Ghana*, by Gaines, 318
- American Babel*, by Doerksen, 525



- American Catholics and the Mexican Revolution, 1924–1936*, by Redinger, 215
- American Curiosity*, by Parish, 1138
- The American Discovery of Europe*, by Forbes, 1504
- American Dreams and Nazi Nightmares*, by Fermaglich, 1206
- American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe*, by Krige, 1512
- The American Presence in Ulster*, by Carroll, 472
- The American State Constitutional Tradition*, by Dinan, 182
- American Taxation, American Slavery*, by Einhorn, 193
- American Wilderness*, edited by Lewis (E), 1294
- Americanizing the Movies and "Movie-Mad" Audiences, 1910–1914*, by Abel, 521
- Americans without Law*, by Weiner, 883
- Amkraut, Brian, *Between Home and Homeland: Youth Aliyah from Nazi Germany*, 1145
- Anarchism in Hungary*, by Bozöki and Sükösd, 953
- The Ancient Constitution and the Origins of Anglo-American Liberty*, by Reid, 809
- Ancient Middle Niger*, by McIntosh, 316
- Anderson, Jeffrey E., *Conjure in African American Society*, 1555
- Anderson, Mark Cronlund (R), 215
- Anderson, Terry H., *The Pursuit of Fairness: A History of Affirmative Action*, 241
- Anderson, Warwick, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*, 1511
- Anderson, Warwick, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia*, 1152
- Andrés González de Barcia and the Creation of the Colonial Spanish American Library, by Carlyon, 902
- Andrew Jackson and the Constitution, by Magliocca, 1531
- Andrew Jackson and the Politics of Martial Law, by Warshauer, 1530
- Angelus Pacis*, by Beattie, 1593
- Angers, Denise (R), 917
- Anthony, David Henry, III, *Max Yergan: Race Man, Internationalist, Cold Warrior*, 530
- Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by McPherson, 1579
- Applegate, Celia (R), 802
- An Apprenticeship in Arms*, by Manning, 583
- Apter, Andrew, *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria*, 1658
- Archive Stories*, edited by Burton, 1499
- Argentina and the United States*, by Sheinin, 1145
- Argentina, Brasil y Estados Unidos de la Triple Alianza al Mercosur*, by Moniz Bandeira, 824
- Argeri, Maria E., *De guerreros a delincuentes: La desarticulación de las jefaturas indígenas y el poder judicial; Norpatagonia, 1880–1930*, 907
- The Armenians*, by Panossian, 1654
- Armstrong, Charles K., Gilbert Rozman, Samuel S. Kim, and Stephen Kotkin, editors, *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*, 176
- The Art of Forgetting*, by Flower, 1588
- The Art of Staying Neutral*, by Abbenhuis, 1619
- ARVN, by Brigham, 833
- Asato, Noriko, *Teaching Mikadoism: The Attack on Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii, California, and Washington, 1919–1927*, 211
- Ashton, Dianne (R), 232
- Asian Borderlands*, by Giersch, 828
- Assmann, Jan, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 962
- Astell, Ann W., *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages*, 919
- At Home in the City*, by Klimasmith, 218
- At Home in the Hoosier Hills*, by Nation, 503
- At the Water's Edge*, by Small, 244
- Atabaki, Touraj, editor, *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran (E)*, 1665
- Atkins, Margaret, and Robin Osborne, editors, *Poverty in the Roman World (E)*, 633
- Atoms and Alchemy*, by Newman, 266
- Auerbach, Jerold S., *Explorers in Eden: Pueblo Indians and the Promised Land*, 861
- Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg*, by Böhler, 1642
- Auger, Martin F., *Prisoners of the Home Front: German POWs and "Enemy Aliens" in Southern Quebec, 1940–46*, 179
- Augst, Thomas, and Kenneth Carpenter, editors, *Institutions of Reading: The Social Life of Libraries in the United States (E)*, 1662
- Austin, Allan W. (R), 211
- Austin, Allyn, and Jamie S. Scott, editors, *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, 1154
- Averill, Stephen C., *Revolution in the Highlands: China's Jangganshan Base Area*, 1518
- Avila, Eric (R), 1570
- Axelrod, Paul (R), 489
- Ayalon, Ami, *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900–1948*, 624
- Ayers, Edward L., Gary W. Gallagher, and Andrew J. Torget, editors, *Crucible of the Civil War: Virginia from Secession to Commemoration*, 1542
- "Back to the League of Nations," by Pedersen, 1091
- The Backcountry and the City*, by White, 1527
- Bad Youth*, by Ambaras, 479
- Bai, Limin, *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China*, 1148
- Bai, Limin (R), 1515
- Bailey, Paul J., *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century*, 1515
- Baker, H. Robert, *The Rescue of Joshua Glover: A Fugitive Slave, the Constitution, and the Coming of the Civil War*, 1540
- Baker, R. Scott, *Paradoxes of Desegregation: African American Struggles for Educational Equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926–1972*, 891
- Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern*, by Todorova, 953
- Ballard, Michael B. (R), 510
- Ballenger, Jesse F., *Self, Senility, and Alzheimer's Disease in Modern America: A History*, 1229
- Balot, Ryan (R), 909
- Bandit Nation*, by Frazer, 1582
- Bandyopadhyay, Kavsik, and Boria Majumdar, *A Social History of Indian Football: Striving to Score*, 834
- Banner, Stuart (R), 498
- Baptist, Edward E. (R), 1172
- Barbarian Tides*, by Goffart, 912
- Barber, Karin, editor, *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self (E)*, 1297

- Barber, Katrine, *Death of Celilo Falls*, 865
- Barber, Katrine (R), 862
- Bardsley, Sandy, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England*, 569
- Barnes, David S., *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle against Filth and Germs*, 1622
- Barnes, James J., and Patience P. Barnes, *Nazis in Pre-War London, 1930–1939: The Fate and Role of German Party Members and British Sympathizers*, 596
- Barnes, Patience P., and James J. Barnes, *Nazis in Pre-War London, 1930–1939: The Fate and Role of German Party Members and British Sympathizers*, 596
- Barnes, T. D. (R), 560
- Barnouw, Dagmar, *The War in the Empty Air: Victims, Perpetrators, and Postwar Germans*, 1629
- Baron, Beth, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics*, 1283
- Baronov, David (R), 1586
- Barr, Daniel P., editor, *The Boundaries between Us: Natives and Newcomers along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750–1850*, 838
- Barreneche, Osvaldo, *Crime and the Administration of Justice in Buenos Aires, 1785–1853*, 1242
- Barrera-Osorio, Antonio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution*, 815
- Barry, Jonathan (R), 582
- Bartal, Israel, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772–1881*, 1277
- Bartholomew-Feis, Dixee R., *The OSS and Ho Chi Minh: Unexpected Allies in the War against Japan*, 821
- Barton, Paul, *Hispanic Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in Texas*, 1558
- Basalla, George (R), 1509
- Basista, Jakub (R), 1640
- Basra, the Failed Gulf State, by Visser, 1286
- Bass, Amy (R), 1557
- Bates, David, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton, editors, *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (E), 634
- Batten, Bruce L., *Gateway to Japan: Hakata in War and Peace, 500–1300*, 174
- The Battle of Adwa*, edited by Milkias and Metaferia, 628
- The Battle over Hetch Hetchy*, by Righter, 249
- Battling for Hearts and Minds*, by Stern, 1243
- Baum, Bruce, *The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity*, 814
- Baumel, Judith Tydor, *The “Bergson Boys” and the Origins of Contemporary Zionist Militancy*, 233
- Baumgartner, Frederic J. (R), 283
- Baycroft, Timothy, and Mark Hewitson, editors, *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789–1914*, 921
- Baym, Nina (R), 228
- Beachy, Robert, *The Soul of Commerce: Credit, Property, and Politics in Leipzig, 1750–1840*, 292
- Beachy, Robert (R), 1273
- Beattie, Blake R., *Angelus Pacis: The Legation of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, 1326–1334*, 1593
- Becker, Marc, and A. Kim Clark, editors, *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador* (E), 1663
- Becker, Marjorie (R), 1578
- Beckert, Sven (R), 1123
- Becoming Bourgeois*, by Byrne, 1166
- Beem, Charles, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History*, 1603
- Beeman, Randal (R), 249
- Behind the Bamboo Curtain*, edited by Roberts (E), 632
- Beier, Lucinda McCray (R), 812
- Belabored Professions*, by Santamarina, 852
- Belasco, Warren, *Meals to Come: A History of the Future of Food*, 1231
- Belknap, Michal R. (R), 1218
- Bell, David A., *The First Total War: Napoleon’s Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It*, 1489
- Bell, Dean Phillip (R), 294
- Bell, Dean Philip, and Stephen G. Burnett, editors, *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 290
- Bell, Jonathan (R), 243
- Bell, Rudolph M. (R), 946
- Bellamy, John, *Strange, Inhuman Deaths: Murder in Tudor England*, 1604
- Beller, Steven (R), 1279
- Bellin, Joshua David (R), 206
- Belsky, Richard, *Localities at the Center: Native Place, Space, and Power in Late Imperial Beijing*, 172
- Belsky, Richard (R), 1517
- Bender, Thomas, *A Nation among Nations: America’s Place in World History*, 1123
- Bendroth, Margaret Lamberts, *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston’s Churches, 1885–1950*, 867
- Benedict, Michael Les (R), 1176
- Benedict, Philip, Nora Berend, Stephen Ellis, Jeffrey Kaplan, Ussama Makdisi, and Jack Miles, “AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence,” 1433
- Benedict, Philip (R), 162
- Bentley, Michael, *Modernizing England’s Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism 1870–1970*, 469
- Berchtold, Jacques, and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, editors, *La mémoire des guerres de religion: La concurrence des genres historiques XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (E), 1295
- Berend, Nora, Philip Benedict, Stephen Ellis, Jeffrey Kaplan, Ussama Makdisi, and Jack Miles, “AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence,” 1433
- Berg, Manfred (R), 535
- Berger, Dina, *The Development of Mexico’s Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night*, 903
- Berghahn, V. R. (R), 606
- The “Bergson Boys” and the Origins of Contemporary Zionist Militancy*, by Baumel, 233
- Berkey, Jonathan P. (R), 459
- Berkowitz, Edward D., *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies*, 1576
- Berkowitz, Michael (R), 1508
- Berkowitz, Roger, *The Gift of Science: Leibniz and the Modern Legal Tradition*, 938
- Bernard, G. W., *The King’s Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, 577
- Bernardi, Emanuele, *La riforma agraria in Italia e gli Stati Uniti: Guerra fredda, Piano Marshall e interventi per il Mezzogiorno negli anni del centrismo degasperiano*, 617
- Bernstein, Andrew, *Modern Passings: Death Rites, Politics, and Social Change in Imperial Japan*, 175

- Bethencourt, Francisco, and Diogo Ramada Curto, editors, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (E), 1660
- Between a River and a Mountain*, by Wehrle, 533
- Between Christians and Moriscos*, by Ehlers, 282
- Between Home and Homeland*, by Amkraut, 1145
- Between Justice and Politics*, by Irvine, 1634
- Beyond Justice*, by Wittmann, 298
- Beyond Papillon*, by Toth, 819
- Beyond Slavery*, edited by Davis (E), 1294
- Beyond Sovereignty*, edited by Grant, Levine, and Trentmann (E), 1661
- Bhattacharya, Tithi, *The Sentinels of Culture: Class, Education, and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal (1848–85)*, 483
- Biagioli, Mario, *Galileo's Instruments of Credit: Telescopes, Images, Secrecy*, 947
- Bialer, Uri, *Cross on the Star of David: The Christian World in Israel's Foreign Policy, 1948–1967*, 315
- Bianchin, Lucia, *Dove non arriva la legge: Dottrine della censura nella prima età moderna*, 265
- The Bible War in Ireland*, by Whelan, 280
- Bickford-Smith, Vivian, and Richard Mendelsohn, editors, *Black and White in Colour: African History on Screen* (E), 1297
- Biesen, Sheri Chenin, *Blackout: World War II and the Origins of Film Noir*, 887
- Bigott, Joseph C. (R), 1200
- Bigsby, Christopher, *Remembering and Imagining the Holocaust: The Chain of Memory*, 1497
- Bindas, Kenneth J. (R), 217
- Binion, Rudolph, *Past Impersonal: Group Process in Human History*, 1131
- Biotech*, by Vettel, 1230
- Biow, Douglas, *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy*, 946
- Birmingham, David, *Empire in Africa: Angola and Its Neighbors*, 627
- The Birth of Development*, by Staples, 1513
- The Birth of Head Start*, by Vinovskis, 893
- Birthing a Slave*, by Schwartz, 506
- Bischof, Günter (R), 952
- Bitter Harvest*, by Hart, 1583
- Bitton-Ashkelony, Brouria, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*, 564
- Black Americans and Organized Labor*, by Moreno, 534
- Black and Brown*, by Horne, 555
- Black and White in Colour*, edited by Bickford-Smith and Mendelsohn (E), 1297
- Black Blood Brothers*, by von Germeten, 1581
- A Black Congressman in the Age of Jim Crow*, by Marszalek, 512
- The Black Laws*, by Middleton, 504
- Black Muslim Religion in the Nation of Islam, 1960–1975*, by Curtis, 1226
- Black, White and Olive Drab*, by Myers, 1214
- Blackout*, by Biesen, 887
- Blackwelder, Julia Kirk (R), 520
- Blanck, Dag, *The Creation of an Ethnic Identity: Being Swedish American in the Augustana Synod, 1860–1917*, 1549
- Blanton, Carlos Kevin, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836–1981*, 212
- Blaufarb, Rafe, "The Western Question: The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence," 742
- Blessed among Nations*, by Rauchway, 494
- Blessed Motherhood, Bitter Fruit*, by Accampo, 1623
- Bliss, Katherine Elaine, and William E. French, *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence* (E), 633
- Bliss, Michael, *Harvey Cushing: A Life in Surgery*, 514
- Blobaum, Robert (R), 1641
- Block, David (R), 1585
- Block, Sharon, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, 848
- Block by Block*, by Seligman, 222
- Blomkvist, Nils (R), 1592
- Blood and Vengeance in Early Modern France*, by Carroll, 931
- The Blood of Government*, by Kramer, 473
- Bloom, Alexander (R), 895
- Blue, Frederick J. (R), 1540
- Blum, Edward J. (R), 1546
- Blumenthal, Uta-Renate (R), 1246
- Bobroff, Ronald Park, *Roads to Glory: Late Imperial Russia and the Turkish Straits*, 954
- Body Parts*, edited by Forth and Crozier, 476
- Bogger, Tommy L. (R), 505
- Böhler, Jochen, *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg: Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939*, 1642
- Bokovoy, Matthew F., *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880–1940*, 207
- Boles, John B., editor, *Shapers of Southern History: Autobiographical Reflections*, 469
- Bolitho, Harold (R), 175
- Bolton, Charles C., *The Hardest Deal of All: The Battle over School Integration in Mississippi, 1870–1980*, 535
- Bonastia, Christopher, *Knocking on the Door: The Federal Government's Attempt to Desegregate the Suburbs*, 1571
- Bond, Bradley G., editor, *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*, 497
- Bonin, Pierre, *Bourgeoisie et habitanage dans les villes du Languedoc sous l'ancien régime*, 932
- Bonnell, Victoria E. (R), 1281
- Booth, Marilyn (R), 1283
- Borderland Smuggling*, by Smith, 503
- Borders and Healers*, edited by Luedke and West (E), 321
- Borhi, László (R), 822
- Boritt, Gabor, *The Gettysburg Gospel: The Lincoln Speech That Nobody Knows*, 1179
- Bosch, Mineke, *Aletta Jacobs 1854–1929: Een onwrikbaar geloof in rechtvaardigheid*, 1618
- Bose, Sugata, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*, 1140
- Bosworth, R. J. B. (R), 475
- Botelho, Lynn A., and Francis J. Bremer, editors, *The World of John Winthrop: Essays on England and New England, 1588–1649*, 1135
- Bothman, Fay, and Sara M. Patterson, editors, *Race, Religion, Region: Landscapes of Encounter in the American West*, 863
- The Boundaries between Us*, edited by Barr, 838
- Bourgeois Nightmares*, by Fogelson, 219
- Bourgeoisie et habitanage dans les villes du Languedoc sous l'ancien régime*, by Bonin, 932
- Bourke, Joanna, *Fear: A Cultural History*, 1147
- Boxer, Marilyn J., "Rethinking the Socialist Construction and International Career of the Concept 'Bourgeois Feminism,'" 131

- Boyd, Gary A., *Dublin, 1745–1922: Hospitals, Spectacle and Vice*, 585
- Boyer, Christopher R. (R), 1238
- Boyle, Kevin (R), 524
- Boynton, Susan, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125*, 259
- Bozöki, András, and Miklós Sükösd, *Anarchism in Hungary: Theory, History, Legacies*, 953
- Braided Relations, Entwined Lives*, by Kennedy, 196
- Brakebill, Tina Stewart, "Circumstances are Destiny": *An Antebellum Woman's Struggle to Define Sphere*, 849
- Brakke, David (R), 622
- Brakke, David, Michael L. Satlow, and Steven Weitzman, editors, *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, 962
- Brandenberger, David (R), 310
- Brandenberger, David, and Kevin M. F. Platt, editors, *Epic Revisionism: Russian History and Literature and Stalinist Propaganda*, 620
- Brandon, Mark E. (R), 1175
- Branson, Susan (R), 1156
- Brattain, Michelle, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public," 1386
- Braude, Ann (R), 1536
- Brazos, Barbara, Richard L. Lael, and Margot Ford McMillen, *Evolution of a Missouri Asylum: Fulton State Hospital, 1851–2006*, 1168
- Breaking the Color Barrier*, by Schneller, 240
- Breathnach, Ciara, *The Congested Districts Board of Ireland, 1891–1923: Poverty and Development in the West of Ireland*, 591
- Breen, T. H. (R), 840
- Breines, Winifred, *The Trouble between Us: An Uneasy History of White and Black Women in the Feminist Movement*, 1226
- Brekus, Catherine A., editor, *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past* (E), 972
- Bremer, Francis J., and Lynn A. Botelho, editors, *The World of John Winthrop: Essays on England and New England, 1588–1649*, 1135
- Brett, Edward T. (R), 1559
- Brick, Howard, *Transcending Capitalism: Visions of a New Society in Modern American Thought*, 1577
- Brick, Howard (R), 1207
- Brickhouse, Anna, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere*, 817
- Brigham, Robert K., *ARVN: Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army*, 833
- Brison, Jeffrey D., *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy and the Arts and Letters in Canada*, 489
- Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689*, by Matar, 815
- Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688–1756*, by Thompson, 1608
- Britain, Soviet Russia and the Collapse of the Versailles Order, 1919–1939*, by Neilson, 1255
- Britland, Karen, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*, 584
- Broadwater, Jeff, *George Mason: Forgotten Founder*, 1528
- Brody, David (R), 474
- Brøndal, Jørn, *Ethnic Leadership and Midwestern Politics: Scandinavian Americans and the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890–1914*, 518
- Brøndal, Jørn (R), 1549
- Bronner, Stephen Eric (R), 573
- Bronstein, Judith, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274*, 260
- Bronstein, Judith (R), 1248
- The Brooklyn Bridge*, by Haw, 1192
- Brosnan, Kathleen A. (R), 864
- Brothers from the North*, by Kisluk, 1254
- Brown, David S., *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography*, 1125
- Brown, Elizabeth A. R. (R), 262
- Brown, Howard G., *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice, and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon*, 1487
- Brown, Kendall W. (R), 557
- Brown, Stewart J. (R), 280
- Brown-Fleming, Suzanne, *The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience: Cardinal Aloisius Muench and the Guilt Question in Germany*, 610
- Bruce, Susannah Ural, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865*, 1544
- Brückner, Martin, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy and National Identity*, 1529
- Brückner, Martin (R), 1165
- Brumwell, Stephen (R), 184
- Brundage, Anthony (R), 926
- Brunelle, Gayle K. (R), 920, 1619
- Brunnbauer, Ulf, Michael G. Esch, and Holm Sundhaussen, editors, *Definitionsmacht, Utopie, Vergeltung: "Ethische Säuberungen" im östlichen Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1602
- Brutal Reasoning*, by Fudge, 1256
- Bryant, Nick, *The Bystander: John F. Kennedy and the Struggle for Black Equality*, 242
- Brydon, Michael, *The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker: An Examination of Responses, 1600–1714*, 1606
- Buckley, Mary, *Mobilizing Soviet Peasants: Heroines and Heroes of Stalin's Fields*, 1282
- Buckner, Phillip, and R. Douglas Francis, editors, *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* (E), 1660
- Bucur, Maria (R), 1275
- Buescher, John Benedict, *The Remarkable Life of John Murray Spear: Agitator for the Spirit Land*, 1536
- Buettner, Elizabeth, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India*, 1507
- Buhle, Paul, *Tim Hector: A Caribbean Radical's Story*, 1580
- Buhle, Paul (R), 233
- Building Houses out of Chicken Legs*, by Williams-Forsen, 876
- Building New Deal Liberalism*, by Smith, 880
- Buisseret, David (R), 471
- Bukowczyk, John J., et al., *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Region as Transnational Region, 1650–1990*, 835
- Bullock, Steve (R), 544
- Bullock, Steven C. (R), 190
- Bullock, Steven R., *Playing for Their Nation: Baseball and the American Military during World War II*, 885
- Bunting, Robert (R), 250
- Burgess, Glenn, and Matthew Festenstein, editors, *English Radicalism, 1550–1850* (E), 1295
- Burguière, André, *L'École des Annales: Une histoire intellectuelle*, 1493
- Burkhart, Louise M. (R), 900



- Burnett, Stephen G., and Dean Philip Bell, editors, *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 290
- Burstein, Andrew (R), 185
- Burton, Andrew, *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam*, 970
- Burton, Antoinette, editor, *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, 1499
- Burton, Antoinette (R), 1500
- Buscombe, Edward, "Injuns!" *Native Americans in the Movies*, 1196
- Bush, Barbara, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism*, 1500
- The Business of War*, by Wilson, 854
- Bustin, Dennis C., *Paradox and Perseverance: Hanserd Knollys, Particular Baptist Pioneer in Seventeenth-Century England*, 1607
- Busto, Rudy V., *King Tiger: The Religious Vision of Reyes López Tijerina*, 540
- Butler, Anne M. (R), 1187
- Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, 1595
- Bynum, Victoria E. (R), 870
- Bynum, W. F. (R), 605
- Byrne, Frank J., *Becoming Bourgeois: Merchant Culture in the South, 1820-1865*, 1166
- Byrne, Frank J. (R), 1197
- Byrnes, Joseph F., *Catholic and French Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France*, 284
- Byrnes, Joseph F. (R), 1268
- The Bystander*, by Bryant, 242
- Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization*, edited by Jeffreys (E), 1294
- Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains*, by Pippidi, 951
- Caciquismo in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, edited by Knight and Pansters, 1239
- Cadigan, Sean T. (R), 1153
- Caesar in Gaul and Rome*, by Riggsby, 559
- Caesar's Legacy*, by Osgood, 910
- Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy*, 570
- Caine, Barbara (R), 1261
- Calhoun, Charles W., *Conceiving a New Republic: The Republican Party and the Southern Question, 1869-1900*, 1183
- Calhoun, Charles W. (R), 1547
- California Vieja*, by Kropp, 862
- Calling This Place Home*, by Jensen, 519
- Calloway, Colin G., *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America*, 184
- The Cambridge History of Science: Volume 3, Early Modern Science*, edited by Park and Daston, 1484
- Camden after the Fall*, by Gillette, 1570
- Les campagnes françaises entre mythe et histoire (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, by Jessenne, 1621
- Campbell, Alan, John McIlroy, and Keith Gildart, editors, *Industrial Politics and the 1926 Mining Lockout: The Struggle for Dignity*, 1263
- Campbell, Fergus, *Land and Revolution: Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland, 1891-1921*, 281
- Campbell, Gavin James (R), 1199
- Campbell, Gwyn (R), 1140
- Campi, Alicia (R), 1519
- Canada and the British World*, edited by Buckner and Francis (E), 1660
- Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples*, edited by Austin and Scott, 1154
- Caner, Daniel F. (R), 564
- Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge, "The Core and Peripheries of Our National Narratives: A Response from IH-35," 1423
- Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge, "Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?," 787
- Canney, Donald L., *Africa Squadron: The U.S. Navy and the Slave Trade, 1843-1861*, 1173
- Capital Speculations*, by Luria, 491
- Cardoza, Anthony L. (R), 1276
- Caribbean Rum*, by Smith, 553
- Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement*, by Matthews, 903
- Carlyon, Jonathan Earl, *Andrés González de Barcia and the Creation of the Colonial Spanish American Library*, 902
- Carnival of Blood*, by Moore, 511
- Carpenter, Kenneth, and Thomas Augst, editors, *Institutions of Reading: The Social Life of Libraries in the United States* (E), 1662
- Carriers of Culture*, by Rockel, 1288
- Carrington, Selwyn H. H. (R), 1580
- Carroll, Francis M., *The American Presence in Ulster: A Diplomatic History, 1796-1996*, 472
- Carroll, Michael P. (R), 214
- Carroll, Patrick, *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation*, 1259
- Carroll, Stuart, *Blood and Vengeance in Early Modern France*, 931
- Carruthers, Mary (R), 919
- Carry Me Back*, by Deyle, 1172
- Carson, James Taylor (R), 496
- Carson, Mina (R), 858
- Cartographies of Tsardom*, by Kivelson, 1645
- Carton, Benedict (R), 319
- Cash, Arthur H., *John Wilkes: The Scandalous Father of Civil Liberty*, 271
- Cashin, Joan E., *The First Lady of the Confederacy: Varina Davis's Civil War*, 1541
- Cassuto, Leonard (R), 853
- Catholic and French Forever*, by Byrnes, 284
- The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970*, by Gauvreau, 488
- Caught in the Middle East*, by Hahn, 1576
- Cavallo, Jo Ann (R), 300
- Cave, Alfred A., *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America*, 1163
- Caviar and Ashes*, by Shore, 1641
- Ceadel, Martin (R), 1255
- Censorship and Cultural Sensibility*, by Shuger, 1604
- A Century of Genocide*, by Weitz, 168
- Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, edited by Howe (E), 972
- Cerman, Markus (R), 953
- Cha-Jua, Sundiata Keita (R), 504
- Challenging U.S. Apartheid*, by Grady-Willis, 1219
- Chambers, Liam, *Michael Moore c. 1639-1726: Provost of Trinity, Rector of Paris*, 280
- Chance, John K. (R), 1581
- Chanet, Jean-François, *Vers l'armée nouvelle: République conservatrice et réforme militaire 1871-1879*, 287

- Chaplin, Joyce E., *The First Scientific American: Benjamin Franklin and the Pursuit of Genius*, 187
- Chappell, John (R), 1210
- Charles Darwin, *Geologist*, by Herbert, 272
- Charles I, by Cust, 922
- Charles Trevelyan and the Great Irish Famine, by Haines, 590
- Chatterjee, Indrani, and Richard M. Eaton, editors, *Slavery and South Asian History* (E), 1293
- Chavalas, Mark W. (R), 621
- Chehabi, H. E., editor, *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years* (E), 1665
- Chemistry, Pharmacy and Revolution in France, 1777–1809, by Simon, 284
- Chet, Guy (R), 183
- Cheyette, Fredric L. (R), 261
- The Chicago Black Renaissance and Women's Activism*, by Knupfer, 875
- Chicago's Progressive Alliance*, by Leidenberger, 1200
- Childhood on the Farm*, by Riney-Kehrberg, 225
- Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, by Hackel, 901
- Childs, William R., *The Texas Railroad Commission: Understanding Regulation in America to the Mid-Twentieth Century*, 251
- Chimneys in the Desert*, by Rocchi, 256
- The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*, edited by Esherick, Pickowicz, and Walder (E), 632
- Christelow, Allan (R), 624
- Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, by Grafton and Williams, 1651
- Christopher, Emma, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730–1807*, 816
- Chronic Politics*, by Funigiello, 248
- Chudacoff, Howard P. (R), 227
- Chuku, Gloria (R), 1658
- The Church in the Barrio*, by Treviño, 214
- Chused, Richard (R), 1160
- Cimprich, John (R), 1544
- Cinderella's Sisters*, by Ko, 1118
- Circular Breathing*, by McKay, 278
- "Circumstances are Destiny," by Brakebill, 849
- Citino, Robert M., "Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction," 1070
- Citizen*, by Knight, 521
- Citizen Soldiers*, by McCartney, 276
- Citizenship and Those Who Leave*, edited by Green and Weil (E), 1661
- Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy*, by D'Andrea, 1633
- The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*, by Noll, 1177
- Claiming the Pen*, by Kerrison, 1166
- "The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property," by Penningroth, 1039
- Clanton, O. Gene (R), 201
- Clarence-Smith, William Gervase, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*, 1134
- Clark, A. Kim, and Marc Becker, editors, *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador* (E), 1663
- Clark, Andrew F. (R), 1657
- Clark, Anne L. (R), 1591
- Clark, Christopher, *Social Change in America: From the Revolution through the Civil War*, 181
- Clark, Elizabeth A. (R), 1651
- Clark, Henry C., *Compass of Society: Commerce and Absolutism in Old-Regime France*, 1619
- Clark, James G., *A Monastic Renaissance at St. Albans: Thomas Walsingham and His Circle*, 568
- Clark, Kathleen (R), 1180
- Clasen, Claus-Peter, *Weben in schwerer Zeit: Das Augsburger Textilgewerbe im 19. Jahrhundert*, 940
- Cleary, Patricia (R), 847
- Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World*, by Dowling, 257
- Clement, Elizabeth Alice, *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900–1945*, 869
- Clio's Southern Sisters*, edited by Schultz and Turner, 469
- "Clockwatchers and Stargazers," by Sauter, 685
- Close, David H. (R), 170
- Clymer, Kenton (R), 473
- Coalfield Jews*, by Weiner, 1188
- A Coat of Many Colors*, by Conser, 1189
- Coates, Timothy J. (R), 559
- Cockfield, Jamie H. (R), 1647
- Cocks, Catherine (R), 526
- Coenen, Craig R., *From Sandlots to the Super Bowl: The National Football League, 1920–1967*, 544
- Coffey, John (R), 1135
- Cogdell, Christina, and Susan Currell, editors, *Popular Eugenics: National Efficiency and American Mass Culture in the 1930s* (E), 633
- Cohen, Deborah, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions*, 928
- Cohen, Mark R., *Poverty and Charity in the Jewish Community of Medieval Egypt*, 312
- Cohen, Matthew Isaac, *The Komedie Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891–1903*, 1151
- Cohen, Sande, *History out of Joint: Essays on the Use and Abuse of History*, 1501
- Cohn, Samuel K., Jr. (R), 1131
- Cohrs, Patrick O., *The Unfinished Peace after World War I: America, Britain and the Stabilisation of Europe, 1919–1932*, 821
- The Coldest Crucible*, by Robinson, 545
- The Colditz Myth*, by MacKenzie, 612
- Cole, Catherine M., Takiyia Manuh, and Stephan F. Miescher, editors, *Africa after Gender?* (E), 973
- Cole, Laurence (R), 1636
- Cole, Robert, *Propaganda, Censorship and Irish Neutrality in the Second World War*, 597
- Cole, Robert (R), 472
- Cole, Thomas R. (R), 1229
- Coleman, Annie Gilbert (R), 876
- Coleman, David (R), 598
- Coleman, Heather J., and Mark D. Steinberg, editors, *Sacred Stories: Religion and Spirituality in Modern Russia* (E), 1296
- The Collapse of the Spanish Republic, 1933–1936*, by Payne, 1616
- Collini, Stefan, *Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain*, 1614
- Collins, Marcus, *Modern Love: Personal Relationships in Twentieth-Century Britain*, 598
- Collins, Roger (R), 1245
- Colls, Robert (R), 469
- Colonial Pathologies*, by Anderson, 1511
- Color-Blind Justice*, by Elliott, 1545
- Colored Amazons*, by Gross, 868
- The Commodification of Childhood*, by Cook, 227
- A Common Thread*, by English, 1197

- Community Schools and the State in Ming China*, by Schneewind, 477
- Compass of Society*, by Clark, 1619
- Completing the Union*, by Whitehead, 239
- Conceiving a New Republic*, by Calhoun, 1183
- The Confederacy on Trial*, by Weitz, 197
- Confession and Resistance*, by Little, 918
- Confino, Alon (R), 1132
- Confronting the American Dream*, by Gobat, 556
- The Congested Districts Board of Ireland, 1891–1923*, by Breathnach, 591
- Congress and the Cold War*, by Johnson, 1205
- Conjure in African American Society*, by Anderson, 1555
- Conn, Steven (R), 1196
- Connelly, Mark, *Steady the Buffs! A Regiment, a Region, and the Great War*, 1612
- Connor, Walter D. (R), 308
- A Conquering Spirit*, by Waselkov, 1530
- The Conquest of Malaria*, by Snowden, 1276
- À la conquête des étangs*, by Abbé, 1589
- Conrad, David C. (R), 316
- Conroy, Mary Schaeffer, *The Soviet Pharmaceutical Business during Its First Two Decades (1917–1937)*, 957
- Conroy, Mary Schaeffer (R), 305
- Conser, Walter H., Jr., *A Coat of Many Colors: Religion and Society along the Cape Fear River of North Carolina*, 1189
- Constituting Empire*, by Hulsebosch, 498
- The Constitution as Social Design*, by Ritter, 543
- Consuming Nature*, by Summers, 865
- Contacts Desired*, by Meeker, 541
- Contested Democracy*, edited by Sinha and Eschen (E), 1662
- Conversaciones históricas con el mestizaje y su identidad nacional en Honduras*, by Euraque, 1240
- Cook, Daniel Thomas, *The Commodification of Childhood: The Children's Clothing Industry and the Rise of the Child Consumer*, 227
- Cook, Harold J. (R), 579
- Coolies and Cane*, by Jung, 199
- Coontz, Stephanie (R), 1208
- Coope, Jessica A. (R), 915
- Cooper, Barbara M. (R), 317
- Cooper, Gail (R), 1231
- Coppa, Frank J., *The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust*, 616
- Copperheads*, by Weber, 508
- Cops and Kids*, by Wolcott, 226
- "The Core and Peripheries of Our National Narratives," by Cañizares-Esguerra, 1423
- Corkin, Stanley, *Cowboys as Cold Warriors: The Western and U.S. History*, 245
- Cormack, Margaret, editor, *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World* (E), 632
- Cornell, Saul, *A Well Regulated Militia: The Founding Fathers and the Origins of Gun Control in America*, 842
- Coryell, Janet L. (R), 196
- Countryman, Edward (R), 181
- Countryman, Matthew J., *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia*, 536
- Courtenay, William J. (R), 916
- Coury, Ralph M. (R), 1652
- Covenant of Care*, by Kraut and Kraut, 1556
- Cowboys as Cold Warriors*, by Corkin, 245
- Cowen, David J., and Robert E. Wright, *Financial Founding Fathers: The Men Who Made America Rich*, 490
- Cox, Jeffrey (R), 481
- Cracraft, James (R), 305
- Craig, Campbell (R), 1211
- Cramsie, John (R), 581
- Crandall, Russell, *Gunboat Democracy: U.S. Intervention in the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Panama*, 823
- Crandall, Russell (R), 1145
- Crandall, Russell (C), 1315
- Crang, Jeremy A. (R), 612
- Crawford, Martin (R), 509
- Creating the Big Easy*, by Stanonis, 526
- Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*, by Ugé, 258
- Creating the Twentieth Century*, by Smil, 167
- The Creation of an Ethnic Identity*, by Blanck, 1549
- Creative Union*, by Tomoff, 1650
- Creech, Joe, *Righteous Indignation: Religion and the Populist Revolution*, 866
- Cresswell, Stephen, *Rednecks, Redeemers, and Race*, 870
- Crews, Robert D., *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*, 1491
- Crick, Julia, David Bates, and Sarah Hamilton, editors, *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (E), 634
- Crime and the Administration of Justice in Buenos Aires, 1785–1853*, by Barreneche, 1242
- Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*, by Whitlock, 273
- Crimes against Children*, by Robertson, 516
- A Crisis in Confederate Command*, by Prushankin, 510
- Critchlow, Donald T., *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*, 1227
- The Cromwellian Protectorate*, edited by Little (E), 1664
- Cronin, Maura (R), 279
- Crosby, Emily (R), 1575
- Cross on the Star of David*, by Bialer, 315
- Cross, Gary S., and John K. Walton, *The Playful Crowd: Pleasure Places in the Twentieth Century*, 171
- Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds*, edited by Miles and Holland (E), 320
- Crozier, Ivan, and Christopher E. Forth, editors, *Body Parts: Critical Explorations in Corporeality*, 476
- Crucible of the Civil War*, edited by Ayers, Gallagher, and Torget, 1542
- Cueto, Marcos (R), 1513
- Cuff, Timothy (R), 490
- Cullather, Nick, "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie," 337
- The Cultivation of Whiteness*, by Anderson, 1152
- The Cultural Roots of American Islamism*, by Marr, 1190
- The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy*, by Biow, 946
- The Culture of History*, by Melman, 1611
- Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, edited by Scott and Simms (E), 1664
- Currell, Susan, *The March of Spare Time: The Problem and Promise of Leisure in the Great Depression*, 236
- Currell, Susan (R), 171
- Currell, Susan, and Christina Cogdell, editors, *Popular Eugenics: National Efficiency and American Mass Culture in the 1930s* (E), 633
- Curtis, Edward E., IV, *Black Muslim Religion in the Nation of Islam, 1960–1975*, 1226

- Curto, Diogo Ramada, and Francisco Bethencourt, editors, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (E), 1660
- Cushner, Nicholas P., *Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*, 1139
- Cust, Richard, *Charles I: A Political Life*, 922
- Cutler, William W., III (R), 818
- Cutter, Barbara (R), 849
- Cyprus*, edited by Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, 1248
- D'Agostino, Anthony (R), 953
- Dain, Bruce (R), 1177
- Daly, John Patrick (R), 1177
- Damousi, Joy, "The Filthy American Twang': Elocution, the Advent of American 'Talkies,' and Australian Cultural Identity," 394
- Dances in Deep Shadows*, by Occleshaw, 955
- D'Andrea, David M., *Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy: The Hospital of Treviso, 1400–1530*, 1633
- Danger on the Doorstep*, by Nordstrom, 1559
- Dangerous Motherhood*, by Marland, 927
- Dangler, Jean, *Making Difference in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, 1264
- Daniel, Pete, *Toxic Drift: Pesticides and Health in the Post-World War II South*, 250
- D'Antonio, Patricia, *Founding Friends: Families, Staff, and Patients at the Friends Asylum in Early Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*, 1167
- Danzi, Angela D. (R), 1556
- Daston, Lorraine, and Katherine Park, editors, *The Cambridge History of Science; Volume 3, Early Modern Science*, 1484
- Daum, Andreas W. (R), 529
- Davies, Edward J., II (R), 548
- Davies, Sarah, and James Harris, editors, *Stalin: A New History*, 1648
- Davis, Darién J., editor, *Beyond Slavery: The Multilayered Legacy of Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean* (E), 1294
- Davis, David Brion, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*, 165
- Davis, David Brion (R), 1134
- Davis, Donald E. (R), 234
- Davis, James E. (R), 838
- Davis, Lance E., and Stanley L. Engerman, *Naval Blockades in Peace and War: An Economic History since 1750*, 1505
- Davis, Natalie Zemon, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds*, 459
- Davis, Robert C. (R), 815
- Dawson, Mark S., *Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart London*, 1259
- Dawson, Mark S. (R), 584
- Dawson, Michael (R), 487
- De Grand, Alexander (R), 948
- de la Fuente, Alejandro (R), 554
- de la Peña, Carolyn (R), 493
- De León, Arnoldo (R), 863
- The Deadly Politics of Giving*, by Mallios, 836
- Dean, Robert (R), 245
- Dean, Virgil W., *An Opportunity Lost: The Truman Administration and the Farm Policy Debate*, 528
- Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, by Assmann, 962
- Death and the Idea of Mexico*, by Lomnitz, 254
- Death of Celilo Falls*, by Barber, 865
- Death Rode the Rails*, by Aldrich, 516
- Decherney, Peter, *Hollywood and the Cultural Elite: How the Movies Became American*, 873
- Decker, William Merrill (R), 1184
- Defining the Jacobean Church*, by Prior, 1606
- Definitionsmacht, Utopie, Vergeltung*, edited by Brunnbauer, Esch, and Sundhaussen, 1602
- Degrees of Freedom*, by Scott, 166
- DeLay, Brian, "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," 35
- Delbourgo, James, *A Most Amazing Scene of Wonders: Electricity and Enlightenment in Early America*, 1157
- D'Elia, Anthony F., *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 300
- Delivering Aid*, by Krainz, 858
- Déloye, Yves, *Les Voies de Dieu: Pour une autre histoire du suffrage électoral; Le clergé catholique français et le vote, XIXe-XXe siècle*, 1268
- Delpar, Helen (R), 903
- Delph, Ronald K., Michelle M. Fontaine, and John Jeffries Martin, editors, *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, 945
- DeMarco, Eileen S., *Reading and Riding: Hachette's Railroad Bookstore Network in Nineteenth-Century France*, 285
- DeMarco, Eileen S. (R), 603
- Deming, James C. (R), 1620
- The Demise of the American Convention System, 1880–1911*, by Reynolds, 856
- Democracy Rising*, by Lau, 535
- The Democratization of Invention*, by Khan, 492
- Denery, Dallas G., II, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life*, 1249
- Denery, Dallas G., II (R), 1596
- Dennis, Michael (R), 535
- The Department of Education Battle, 1918–1932*, by Slawson, 210
- DeRosa, Christopher S., *Political Indoctrination in the U.S. Army from World War II to the Vietnam War*, 1215
- Derry, Margaret E., *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing Culture, 1800–1920*, 1144
- Designing Modern America*, by Innes, 1193
- Dessi, Rosa Maria, editor, *Prêcher la paix et discipliner la société: Italie, France, Angleterre (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, 916
- Deuchler, Martina (R), 164
- Deutsch, Nathaniel (R), 1557
- Deutsch, Sarah (R), 213
- Deutsche Ölpolitik 1928–1938*, by Kockel, 295
- The Development of Mexico's Tourism Industry*, by Berger, 903
- The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*, by Johnstone, 580
- Dewald, Jonathan, *Lost Worlds: The Emergence of French Social History, 1815–1970*, 1493
- DeWindt, Anne Reiber, and Edwin Brezette DeWindt, *Ramsey: The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200–1600*, 567
- DeWindt, Edwin Brezette, and Anne Reiber DeWindt, *Ramsey: The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200–1600*, 567



- Deyle, Steven, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life*, 1172
- Dibua, Jeremiah I., *Modernization and the Crisis of Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience*, 1658
- Dickson, David, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630–1830*, 279
- Dictatorship of the Air*, by Palmer, 956
- Dimeo, Paul (R), 834
- Dinan, John (R), 1219
- Dinan, John J., *The American State Constitutional Tradition*, 182
- Diplomacy and Displacement*, by Yıldırım, 965
- Diplomat without Portfolio*, by Fritzinger, 1262
- Dipple, Geoffrey, “Just as in the Time of the Apostles”: *Uses of History in the Radical Reformation*, 572
- Dirck, Brian R., editor, *Lincoln Emancipated: The President and the Politics of Race*, 1541
- Dirks, Nicholas B., *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain*, 471
- Disarming the Allies of Imperialism*, by Murdock, 1516
- Disciplining Statistics*, by Schweber, 1600
- Distant Relations*, edited by Chehabi (E), 1665
- Ditt, Karl (R), 940
- Divide and Conquer*, by Weisz, 813
- The Divided Family in Civil War America*, by Taylor, 196
- “‘Do Prophets Come with a Sword?’” by Sizgorich, 993
- Doctor Franklin’s Medicine*, by Finger, 188
- Dodd, Gwilym, and Anthony Musson, editors, *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives* (E), 634
- Dodson, Michael S. (R), 480
- Doerksen, Clifford J., *American Babel: Rogue Radio Broadcasters of the Jazz Age*, 525
- The Dogaressa of Venice, 1200–1500*, by Hurlburt, 263
- Doing Medicine Together*, edited by Solomon, 1601
- Dolan, Frances E. (R), 264
- Domesticating the West*, by Jackson, 1187
- Dominance by Design*, by Adas, 493
- Dominican Cultures*, edited by Vega (E), 1294
- Dong, Madeleine Y. (R), 172
- Dong, Madeleine Yue, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*, 1517
- Donohue, Kathleen B., *Freedom from Want: American Liberalism and the Idea of the Consumer*, 878
- The Doom of Reconstruction*, by Slap, 1547
- Dore, Elizabeth, *Myths of Modernity: Peonage and Patriarchy in Nicaragua*, 1584
- Dormandy, Thomas, *The Worst of Evils: The Fight against Pain*, 812
- Dorsey, Allison (R), 1569
- Douglas, Davison M., *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Desegregation, 1865–1954*, 221
- Douglas, Lawrence (R), 1630
- Dove non arriva la legge*, by Bianchin, 265
- Dowling, Melissa Barden, *Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World*, 257
- Downey, Greg (R), 549
- Downey, Tom, *Planting a Capitalist South: Masters, Merchants, and Manufacturers in the Southern Interior, 1790–1860*, 195
- Dowry Murder*, by Oldenburg, 484
- Doyle, William (R), 933
- Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*, by Britland, 584
- Drews, Wolfram, *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville*, 1245
- Drowne, Kathleen, *Spirits of Defiance: National Prohibition and Jazz Age Literature, 1920–1933*, 217
- Dublin, 1745–1922*, by Boyd, 585
- Dublin, Thomas, and Walter Licht, *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century*, 548
- Dubofsky, Melvyn (R), 534
- Dubois, Laurent (R), 165
- Duiker, William J. (R), 833
- Dunaway, Finis, *Natural Visions: The Power of Images in American Environmental Reform*, 249
- Dunning, Chester (R), 1645
- Dunstan, Helen, *State or Merchant? Political Economy and Political Process in 1740s China*, 828
- Durbach, Nadja (R), 835
- Dursteler, Eric C., *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 313
- Dursteler, Eric (R), 945
- DuVal, Kathleen, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*, 839
- DuVal, Kathleen (R), 1164
- Dwyer, Ellen (R), 1167
- Dynner, Glenn, *Men of Silk: The Hasidic Conquest of Polish Jewish Society*, 618
- Dyson, Stephen L., *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 1506
- The Eagle and the Virgin*, edited by Vaughan and Lewis, 1238
- Eagles, Charles W. (R), 859
- Ealham, Chris, and Michael Richards, editors, *The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939*, 599
- Early Detection*, by Gardner, 229
- The Early Modern Ottomans*, edited by Aksan and Goffman (E), 1664
- Eating Beauty*, by Astell, 919
- Eaton, Richard M., *The New Cambridge History of India*, 178
- Eaton, Richard M., and Indrani Chatterjee, editors, *Slavery and South Asian History* (E), 1293
- Echenberg, Myron, *Plague Ports: The Global Urban Impact of Bubonic Plague, 1894–1901*, 1143
- L’École des Annales*, by Burguière, 1493
- Ecology, Economy and State Formation in Early Modern Germany*, by Warde, 1626
- Edge of Empire*, by Jasanoff, 1140
- Edgerton, David, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History since 1900*, 1509
- Edgerton, David, *Warfare State Britain, 1920–1970*, 593
- The Education of Booker T. Washington*, by West, 513
- Edward Lansdale’s Cold War*, by Nashel, 532
- Edwards, Laura F., “Status without Rights: African Americans and the Tangled History of Law and Governance in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. South,” 365
- Egerton, Frank N. (R), 865
- Egypt as a Woman*, by Baron, 1283
- Ehlers, Benjamin, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568–1614*, 282
- Eichengreen, Barry (R), 235

- Eichner, Carolyn J. (R), 1623
- Einhorn, Robin L., *American Taxation, American Slavery*, 193
- The Eisenhower Administration, the Third World, and the Globalization of the Cold War*, edited by Statler and Johns (E), 972
- Eisenmann, Linda, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945–1965*, 542
- Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience, by Pedersen, 595
- Elkin, Stephen L., *Reconstructing the Commercial Republic: Constitutional Design after Madison*, 1159
- Elliott, Bruce S., David A. Gerber, and Suzanne M. Sinke, editors, *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (E), 1661
- Elliott, J. H., *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830*, 800
- Elliott, Mark, *Color-Blind Justice: Albion Tourgée and the Quest for Racial Equality from the Civil War to Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1545
- Ellis, Richard J. (R), 209
- Ellis, Stephen, Philip Benedict, Nora Berend, Jeffrey Kaplan, Ussama Makdisi, and Jack Miles, “AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence,” 1433
- Elofson, Warren M. (R), 180
- The Eloquence of the Body*, by Roodenburg, 1617
- Eltis, David, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson, “Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas,” 1329
- Elusive Equality*, by Feinberg, 304
- The Elusive Ideal*, by Nelson, 892
- Ely, James W., Jr. (R), 516
- The Emergence of a Scientific Culture*, by Gaukroger, 1597
- The Emergence of Modern Business Enterprise in France, 1800–1930*, by Smith, 603
- The Emerging Female Citizen*, by Smith, 598
- Emil von Behring, by Linton, 605
- Empire Families*, by Buettner, 1507
- Empire in Africa*, by Birmingham, 627
- Empires of the Atlantic World*, by Elliott, 800
- Encountering the Sacred*, by Bitton-Ashkelony, 564
- Ending the French Revolution*, by Brown, 1487
- Enforcing Equality*, by Zietlow, 1219
- Engel, Jonathan, *Poor People’s Medicine: Medicaid and American Charity Care since 1965*, 247
- Engerman, Stanley L., and Lance E. Davis, *Naval Blockades in Peace and War: An Economic History since 1750*, 1505
- English, Beth, *A Common Thread: Labor, Politics, and Capital Mobility in the Textile Industry*, 1197
- English, Beth (R), 1166
- English Newsbooks and Irish Rebellion 1641–1649*, by O’Hara, 924
- English Radicalism, 1550–1850*, edited by Burgess and Festenstein (E), 1295
- Englund, Steven (R), 934, 1493
- Enright, Michael J., *The Sutton Hoo Sceptre and the Roots of Celtic Kingship Theory*, 565
- “Entangled Atlantic Histories,” by Gould, 1415
- “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds,” by Gould, 764
- “Entangled Histories,” by Cañizares-Esguerra, 787
- Epic Revisionism*, edited by Platt and Brandenberger, 620
- Epstein, James, “Politics of Colonial Sensation: The Trial of Thomas Picton and the Cause of Louisa Calderon,” 712
- Epstein, James (R), 587
- Erdem, Y. Hakan, Israel Gershoni, and Amy Singer, editors, *Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth Century* (E), 321
- Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean*, by Palmer, 1235
- Ericson, David F. (R), 1172
- Ernst, Daniel R. (R), 1548
- Errington, R. Malcolm, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*, 560
- Escape from Impasse*, by Hiroshi, 1521
- Esch, Michael G., Ulf Brunnbauer, and Holm Sundhaussen, editors, *Definitionsmacht, Utopie, Vergeltung: “Ethnische Säuberungen” im östlichen Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1602
- Eschen, Penny Von, and Manisha Sinha, editors, *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History* (E), 1662
- Esherrick, Joseph W., Paul G. Pickowicz, and Andrew G. Walder, editors, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* (E), 632
- Eskew, Glenn T. (R), 1573
- The Essence of Liberty*, by King, 505
- Estes, Steve (R), 1572
- Estes, Todd, *The Jay Treaty Debate, Public Opinion, and the Evolution of Early American Political Culture*, 191
- Ethington, Philip J. (R), 1568
- Ethnic Leadership and Midwestern Politics*, by Brøndal, 518
- Ettinger, Laura E., *Nurse-Midwifery: The Birth of a New American Profession*, 888
- The Eucharist in the Reformation*, by Wandel, 1272
- Eudell, Demetrius L. (R), 1235
- Eugenic Nation*, by Stern, 538
- Euraque, Darío A., *Conversaciones históricas con el mestizaje y su identidad nacional en Honduras*, 1240
- Euraque, Darío A., Jeffrey L. Gould, and Charles R. Hale, editors, *Memorias del mestizaje: Cultura política en Centroamérica de 1920 al presente*, 1127
- Eurasian Crossroads*, by Millward, 1514
- The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, by Ludlow, 576
- Evans, Harriet (R), 1118
- Evans, Ivan (R), 1291
- Evans, Sterling (R), 487
- Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia*, edited by Kiaer and Naiman, 309
- Evolution of a Missouri Asylum*, by Lael, Brazos, and McMillen, 1168
- The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker*, by Brydon, 1606
- Ewell, Judith (R), 905
- Exit-Voice Dynamics and the Collapse of East Germany*, by Pfaff, 944
- Experiencing Nature*, by Barrera-Orsorio, 815
- Explorers in Eden*, by Auerbach, 861
- Fabian, Ann (R), 857
- The Face of Decline*, by Dublin and Licht, 548
- Faderman, Lillian (R), 541
- Failed Illusions*, by Gati, 822

- The Failure of the Founding Fathers*, by Ackerman, 841  
 Fairbairn, Brett (R), 941  
*Faith and Boundaries*, by Silverman, 495  
*Faith, Duty and Power of Mind*, by Sutherland, 1261  
 Falola, Toyin (R), 246  
 Falola, Toyin, and Ann Genova, editors, *Yorùbá Identity and Power Politics*, 1287  
*The Familial State*, by Adams, 602  
*Family and Court*, by Agmon, 965  
 Farber, Daniel A. (R), 1182  
 Farber, Samuel, *The Origins of the Cuban Revolution Reconsidered*, 554  
*Farmers and the State in Colonial Kano*, by Pierce, 968  
 Farnham, Christie Anne (R), 469  
 Farrell, Sean (R), 923  
*Fascism's European Empire*, by Rodogno, 949  
*Fashioning Socialism*, by Stitzel, 614  
*Father Abraham*, by Striner, 507  
 Faure, David (R), 1514  
*Fear*, by Bourke, 1147  
 Fehrenbach, Heide, *Race after Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America*, 169  
 Feinberg, Melissa, *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1950*, 304  
 Feldman, Glenn, editor, *Politics and Religion in the White South*, 203  
 Feldstein, Ruth (R), 882  
*Felipe II y Francia (1559–1598)*, by Vázquez de Prada, 930  
 Ferguson, Jeffrey B., *The Sage of Sugar Hill: George S. Schuyler and the Harlem Renaissance*, 874  
 Ferguson, Robert A., *The Trial in American Life*, 1155  
 Fermaglich, Kirsten, *American Dreams and Nazi Nightmares: Early Holocaust Consciousness and Liberal America, 1957–1965*, 1206  
 Fernández Molina, José Antonio, *Pintando el mundo de azul: El auge añilero y el mercado centroamericano, 1750–1810*, 904  
 Fernández-Armesto, Felipe (R), 1504  
 Ferris, Marcie Cohen, and Mark I. Greenberg, editors, *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History* (E), 1663  
 Festenstein, Matthew, and Glenn Burgess, editors, *English Radicalism, 1550–1850* (E), 1295  
 Fewster, Derek, *Visions of Past Glory: Nationalism and the Construction of Early Finnish History*, 937  
 Field, Sean L. (R), 566  
*Fighting the Good Fight*, by Roberson, 1225  
 “‘The Filthy American Twang,’” by Damousi, 394  
*Fin de Siècle Beirut*, by Hanssen, 1653  
*Financial Founding Fathers*, by Wright and Cowen, 490  
 Fincham, Kenneth, and Peter Lake, editors, *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (E), 634  
 Fine, Lisa M. (R), 1198  
 Finger, Stanley, *Doctor Franklin's Medicine*, 188  
 Finkelstein, Andrea, *The Grammar of Profit: The Price Revolution in Intellectual Context*, 920  
 Finnegan, Cara A. (R), 1564  
*The First Cold Warrior*, by Spalding, 1204  
*First in Violence, Deepest in Dirt*, by Adler, 517  
*The First Lady of the Confederacy*, by Cashin, 1541  
*The First Miracle Drugs*, by Lesch, 1510  
*The First Scientific American*, by Chaplin, 187  
*The First Total War*, by Bell, 1489  
*The First Vietnam War*, edited by Lawrence and Logevall (E), 1293  
*The First Wall Street*, by Wright, 192  
*The First Way of War*, by Grenier, 183  
 Fischer, Kirsten (R), 501  
 Fisher, Michael H. (R), 1137  
 Fissel, Mark Charles, and Buchanan Sharp, editors, *Law and Authority in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to Thomas Garden Barnes* (E), 972  
*Fit to Be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939*, by Molina, 208  
 Fitzpatrick, David (R), 281  
 Fitzpatrick, Ellen (R), 159  
 Fitzpatrick, Sheila, *Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia*, 959  
 Flamm, Michael W., *Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s*, 1218  
 Fleming, James Rodger (R), 552  
 Fleming, K. E. (R), 160  
 Fletcher, Marvin (R), 240  
 Fletcher, W. Miles, III (R), 175  
 Flippen, J. Brooks (R), 1228  
*Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*, by Aldrete, 1588  
 Flower, Harriet I., *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*, 1588  
*The Flowering of Muslim Theology*, by van Ess, 623  
*The Foe Within*, by Fuller, 1647  
 Fogelson, Robert M., *Bourgeois Nightmares: Suburbia, 1870–1930*, 219  
 Foley, Michael S. (R), 1217  
 Follett, Richard (R), 166  
 Fonnberg-Schmidt, Iben, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254*, 1592  
 Fontaine, Michelle M., Ronald K. Delph, and John Jeffries Martin, editors, *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, 945  
*Food Is Love*, by Parkin, 542  
*A Foot in the Past*, by Riello, 1599  
*For Prophet and Tsar*, by Crews, 1491  
 Forbes, Jack D., *The American Discovery of Europe, 1504*  
 Ford, Alan, and John McCafferty, editors, *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland*, 923  
 “The Foreign Policy of the Calorie,” by Cullather, 337  
*The Forgotten Fifth*, by Nash, 502  
*The Forgotten Frontier*, by Penn, 970  
*Forkhill Protestants and Forkhill Catholics, 1787–1858*, by Madden, 586  
 Forster, Cindy (R), 1240  
 Forth, Christopher E., and Ivan Crozier, editors, *Body Parts: Critical Explorations in Corporeality*, 476  
*Fortress of the Soul*, by Kamil, 162  
 Foster, Martha Harroun, *We Know Who We Are: Métis Identity in a Montana Community*, 1155  
*Founding Corporate Power in Early National Philadelphia*, by Schocket, 1532  
*Founding Friends*, by D'Antonio, 1167  
 Fowden, Garth (R), 911  
 Fowler, Will, and Peter Lambert, editors, *Political Violence and the Construction of National Identity in Latin America* (E), 1663  
 Fox, Daniel M. (R), 248  
 Foyster, Elizabeth, *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660–1857*, 1258  
 Foyster, Elizabeth (R), 270  
*Fragile Hierarchies*, by Tacoma, 622

- Fragonard, Marie-Madeleine, and Jacques Berchtold, editors, *La mémoire des guerres de religion: La concurrence des genres historiques XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (E), 1295
- Frame, Murray, *School for Citizens: Theatre and Civil Society in Imperial Russia*, 1646
- Francaviglia, Richard (R), 547
- Francis, R. Douglas, and Phillip Buckner, editors, *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* (E), 1660
- Frank, Andrew K. (R), 1530
- The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963–1965*, by Pendas, 1630
- Frazer, Chris, *Bandit Nation: A History of Outlaws and Cultural Struggle in Mexico, 1810–1920*, 1582
- Freedom from Want*, by Donohue, 878
- Freedom Is Not Enough*, by MacLean, 897
- The Freedom to Smoke*, by Rudy, 487
- Freedom's Distant Shores*, edited by Smith (E), 632
- Freifeld, Alice (R), 1638
- French, William E., and Katherine Elaine Bliss, *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence* (E), 633
- French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*, edited by Bond, 497
- French Colonialism Unmasked*, by Ginio, 626
- The French Imperial Nation-State*, by Wilder, 289
- French Salons*, by Kale, 934
- Freyer, Tony A. (R), 843
- Frick, Carole Collier (R), 570
- Fried, Richard M., *The Man Everybody Knew: Bruce Barton and the Making of Modern America*, 216
- Friedman, Lawrence J. (R), 252
- Friend, Craig Thompson, *Along the Maysville Road: The Early American Republic in the Trans-Appalachian West*, 1162
- Friends or Foes?*, by Saul, 234
- Frierson, Cathy A. (R), 1499
- Friling, Tuvia (R), 315
- Fritz, Christian G. (R), 182
- Fritz, Stephen G. (R), 1642
- Fritzinger, Linda B., *Diplomat without Portfolio: Valentine Chirol, His Life, and The Times*, 1262
- Frog in the Well*, by Keene, 479
- From Christian Science to Jewish Science*, by Umansky, 1557
- From Comrade to Citizen*, by Goldman, 173
- From French Community to Missouri Town*, by Stepenoff, 1533
- From Privileges to Rights*, by Middleton, 499
- From Sandlots to the Super Bowl*, by Coenen, 544
- From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil*, by Graden, 1586
- From the Boardroom to the War Room*, by Holl, 237
- From Warfare to Welfare*, by Light, 1211
- Front Page Girls*, by Lutes, 1186
- Frontier Goiás, 1822–1889*, by McCreery, 1585
- Frontiers Past and Future*, by Abbott, 1232
- Frost, Dan R. (R), 515
- Frost, Linda, *Never One Nation: Freaks, Savages, and Whiteness in U.S. Popular Culture 1850–1877*, 853
- Frost, Linda (R), 1553
- Frühstück, Sabine (R), 1520
- Fudge, Erica, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England*, 1256
- Fugitive Landscapes*, by Truett, 1504
- Fuller, William C., Jr., *The Foe Within: Fantasies of Treason and the End of Imperial Russia*, 1647
- Fundamentalists in the City*, by Bendroth, 867
- Fung, Chi Ming, *Reluctant Heroes: Rickshaw Pullers in Hong Kong and Canton, 1874–1954*, 830
- Fung, Edmund S. K. (R), 1516
- Funigiello, Philip J., *Chronic Politics: Health Care Security from FDR to George W. Bush*, 248
- Für ein anderes Deutschland*, by Ueberschär, 608
- Für Volk und deutschen Osten*, by Mühle, 613
- Furstenberg, François, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation*, 1170
- Furstenberg, François (R), 497
- Furth, Charlotte, Judith T. Zeitlin, and Ping-chen Hsiung, editors, *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History* (E), 1293
- Fyson, Donald, *Magistrates, Police, and People: Everyday Criminal Justice in Quebec and Lower Canada, 1764–1837*, 1524
- Gaines, Kevin K., *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era*, 318
- Galileo's Instruments of Credit*, by Biagioli, 947
- Gallagher, Gary W., Edward L. Ayers, and Andrew J. Torget, editors, *Crucible of the Civil War: Virginia from Secession to Commemoration*, 1542
- Gambone, Michael D. (R), 556
- Games, Alison (R), 1135
- Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, by Hughes, 269
- Garb, Margaret (R), 218
- Garbarini, Alexandra, *Numbered Days: Diaries and the Holocaust*, 1498
- Garbarini, Alexandra (R), 1497
- García, María Cristina, *Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico, the United States, and Canada*, 1146
- García, María Elena (R), 1241
- The Garden of Delights*, by Griffiths, 1591
- Gardner, Kirsten E., *Early Detection: Women, Cancer, and Awareness Campaigns in the Twentieth-Century United States*, 229
- Garnett, George, *Marsilius of Padua and "the Truth of History,"* 916
- Garrow, David J. (R), 543
- Gateway to Japan*, by Batten, 174
- Gati, Charles, *Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt*, 822
- Gaukroger, Stephen, *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1210–1685*, 1597
- Gauvreau, Michael, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931–1970*, 488
- Gauvreau, Michael (R), 1154
- Geehr, Richard S. (R), 299
- Die Gegenwart Gottes in der modernen Gesellschaft*, edited by Geyer and Hölscher (E), 973
- Gelfand, H. Michael, *Sea Change at Annapolis: The United States Naval Academy, 1949–2000*, 1213
- Gelfand, H. Michael (R), 1214
- Gelvin, James L. (R), 1285
- Gender and Education in China*, by Bailey, 1515



- Gender, Crime and Judicial Discretion, 1780–1830*, by Palk, 1609
- Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence*, by French and Bliss (E), 633
- Genova, Ann, and Toyin Falola, editors, *Yorùbá Identity and Power Politics*, 1287
- Genres of Recollection*, by Papailias, 160
- Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart London*, by Dawson, 1259
- Gentles, Ian (R), 583
- The Geographic Revolution in Early America*, by Brückner, 1529
- George Mason*, by Broadwater, 1528
- Georgian Monarchy*, by Smith, 584
- Gerber, David A., Bruce S. Elliott, and Suzanne M. Sinke, editors, *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (E), 1661
- Gerber, Larry G., *The Irony of State Intervention: American Industrial Relations Policy in Comparative Perspective, 1914–1939*, 474
- Gerlach, Christian (R), 296
- German Disarmament after World War I*, by Shuster, 606
- German History from the Margins*, edited by Gregor, Roemer, and Roseman, 810
- Germans, Jews, and Antisemites*, by Volkov, 942
- Geró, András, *Imagined History: Chapters from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Hungarian Symbolic Politics*, 1637
- Gershenhorn, Jerry (R), 523
- Gershoni, Israel, Amy Singer, and Y. Hakan Erdem, editors, *Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth Century* (E), 321
- Gerstner, David A., *Manly Arts: Masculinity and Nation in Early American Cinema*, 872
- Gerstner, David A. (C), 1318
- Geschichte für Leser*, edited by Hardtwig and Schütz, 1631
- The Gettysburg Gospel*, by Boritt, 1179
- Geyer, Michael (R), 168
- Geyer, Michael, and Lucian Hölscher, editors, *Die Gegenwart Gottes in der modernen Gesellschaft: Transzendenz und Religiöse Vergemeinschaftung in Deutschland [The Presence of God in Modern Society: Transcendence and Religious Community in Germany]* (E), 973
- Ghodsee, Kristen (R), 614
- Ghost Dances and Identity*, by Smoak, 1550
- Gibiat, Samuel, *Hiérarchies sociales et ennoblissement: Les commissaires des guerres de la maison du roi 1691–1790*, 1266
- Giblin, James L., and Gregory H. Maddox, editors, *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania*, 629
- Gidley, Mick (R), 1196
- Giersch, C. Patterson, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier*, 828
- The Gift of Science*, by Berkowitz, 938
- Gigliotti, Simone (R), 1498
- Gilbert, Erik (R), 1288
- Gilbert, James, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s*, 1208
- Gildart, Keith, John McIlroy, and Alan Campbell, editors, *Industrial Politics and the 1926 Mining Lockout: The Struggle for Dignity*, 1263
- Gildea, Robert (R), 284
- Gilding the Market*, by Stuard, 570
- Giles, Paul (R), 500
- Gillette, Howard, Jr., *Camden after the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Post-Industrial City*, 1570
- Gillis, John, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World*, 1135
- Gillis, John R. (R), 928
- Ginio, Ruth, *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa*, 626
- Giovacchini, Saverio (R), 873
- "Girl Cases," by Shadle, 1289
- Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies of Sixteenth-Century Italy*, by Russell, 1634
- Gjerde, Jon (R), 503
- Glenn, Charles L. (R), 221
- Glick, Thomas F. (R), 815
- The Global Cold War*, by Westad, 806
- Glover, Lorri, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation*, 1537
- Gobat, Michel, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule*, 556
- Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500–1600*, by Metcalf, 559
- Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England*, by Reynolds, 268
- Goehring, James E. (R), 962
- Goff, James R., Jr. (R), 1224
- Goffart, Walter, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire*, 912
- Goffman, Daniel, and Virginia H. Aksan, editors, *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (E), 1664
- Goldberg, Eric J., *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876*, 914
- Golden, Janet, *Message in a Bottle: The Making of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome*, 550
- Goldfield, David (R), 220
- Goldfrank, David M. (R), 954
- Goldman, Merle, *From Comrade to Citizen: The Struggle for Political Rights in China*, 173
- Goldschmidt, Arthur, Amy J. Johnson, and Barak A. Salmoni, editors, *Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*, 1652
- Goldstein, Eric L., *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity*, 233
- Goldstein, Eric L. (R), 884
- Gonzalez, Evelyn (R), 1192
- González, Michael J., *This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1821–1846*, 255
- González, Ondina E., and Bianca Premo, editors, *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America* (E), 1660
- A Good Comrade*, by Gough, 1280
- The Good Life in the Scientific Revolution*, by Jones, 1598
- Goodare, Julian, *The Government of Scotland 1560–1625*, 581
- Goodwin, Janet R., *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan*, 1520
- Goodwin, Joanne L. (R), 879
- Goosman, Stuart L., *Group Harmony: The Black Urban Roots of Rhythm and Blues*, 1224
- Gorham, Deborah (R), 595
- Gorsuch, Anne E., and Diane P. Koenker, editors, *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (E), 635

- Gottschalk, Marie, *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America*, 551
- Gough, Robert J. (R), 518
- Gough, Roger, *A Good Comrade: János Kádár, Communism and Hungary*, 1280
- Gough, Terrence J. (C), 328
- Gould, Eliga H., "Entangled Atlantic Histories: A Response from the Anglo-American Periphery," 1415
- Gould, Eliga H., "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," 764
- Gould, Jeffrey L., Darío A. Euraque, and Charles R. Hale, editors, *Memorias del mestizaje: Cultura política en Centroamérica de 1920 al presente*, 1127
- Gould, Lewis L., *The Most Exclusive Club: A History of the Modern United States Senate*, 183
- Gould, Lewis L. (R), 856
- Governing Soviet Journalism*, by Wolfe, 311
- Governing the American State*, by Johnson, 1548
- The Government of Scotland 1560–1625*, by Goodare, 581
- Gowland, Angus, *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in Context*, 1257
- Grabar, Oleg (R), 966
- Graden, Dale Torston, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835–1900*, 1586
- Grady-Willis, Winston A., *Challenging U.S. Apartheid: Atlanta and Black Struggles for Human Rights, 1960–1977*, 1219
- Grafton, Anthony, and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*, 1651
- Grafton, Anthony T., and Marc S. Rodriguez, editors, *Migration in History: Human Migration in Comparative Perspective* (E), 1661
- Graham, Colin, and Leon Litvack, editors, *Ireland and Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (E), 634
- Graham, Gael, *Young Activists: American High School Students in the Age of Protest*, 894
- Graham-Leigh, Elaine, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade*, 261
- The Grammar of Profit*, by Finkelstein, 920
- Grant, Beata (R), 826
- Grant, Edward (R), 1597
- Grant, Kevin, Philippa Levine, and Frank Trentmann, editors, *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950* (E), 1661
- Grant, Michael Johnston (R), 528
- Grant, S-M (R), 1179
- Granville, Johanna (R), 1280
- The Great Society Subway*, by Schrag, 1210
- The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle against Filth and Germs*, by Barnes, 1622
- The Greatest Generation Grows Up*, by Lindenmeyer, 224
- A Greek Roman Empire*, by Millar, 911
- Green, Judith A., *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy*, 1591
- Green, Nancy L., and François Weil, editors, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation* (E), 1661
- Greenbaum, Susan (R), 1233
- Greenberg, Cheryl Lynn, *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century*, 884
- Greenberg, Mark I., and Marcie Cohen Ferris, editors, *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History* (E), 1663
- Greene, Christina (R), 1574
- Greene, John Robert (R), 1576
- Greenhalgh, Elizabeth, *Victory through Coalition: Britain and France during the First World War*, 1255
- Greenhalgh, Elizabeth (R), 1271
- Greenhields, Malcolm R., and J. Michael Hayden, *Six Hundred Years of Reform: Bishops and the French Church, 1190–1789*, 283
- Greenwald, Richard A. (R), 1202
- Greer, Allan (R), 1139
- Gregor, A. James, *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science*, 1498
- Gregor, Neil, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman, editors, *German History from the Margins*, 810
- Gregory, Frederick (R), 604
- Gregory, James N., *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America*, 220
- Grele, Ronald J. (C), 651
- Grendler, Paul F. (R), 265
- Grenier, John, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607–1814*, 183
- Grier, Beverly Carolease, *Invisible Hands: Child Labor and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe*, 319
- Grier, Katherine C., *Pets in America: A History*, 899
- Griffiths, Fiona J., *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century*, 1591
- Grob, Gerald N. (R), 1510
- Gronewold, Sue (R), 1149
- Gross, Kali N., *Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880–1910*, 868
- Grossman, James (R), 223
- Group Harmony*, by Goosman, 1224
- Grubb, James S. (R), 313
- Grundlingh, Albert (R), 1292
- Gruner, Wolf, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße: Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Verfolgung der "Mischehen" 1943*, 1628
- Guadalupe and Her Faithful*, by Matovina, 860
- Guardians of the Nation*, by Judson, 1635
- Gubser, Michael, *Time's Visible Surface: Alois Riegl and the Discourse on History and Temporality in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 1279
- Gudmundson, Lowell (R), 1127
- De guerreros a delinquentes*, by Argeri, 907
- Guerrini, Anita (R), 588
- Gullace, Nicoletta F. (R), 274
- Gump, James O. (R), 970
- Gunboat Democracy*, by Crandall, 823
- Gurock, Jeffrey S., *Judaism's Encounter with American Sports*, 1557
- Gutzke, David W., *Pubs and Progressives: Reinventing the Public House in England 1896–1960*, 592
- Haar, Ingo (R), 613
- Haas, Lisbeth (R), 901
- Habib, S. Irfan, and Dhruv Raina, editors, *Social History of Science in Colonial India* (E), 1662
- Hackel, Steven W., *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850*, 901
- Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, by Simmons, 1508
- Haftner, Daryl M. (R), 1599
- Hahn, Peter L., *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945–1961*, 1576

- Hahn, Roger (R), 284  
 Haines, Robin, *Charles Trevelyan and the Great Irish Famine*, 590  
 Hale, Charles R., Darío A. Euraque, and Jeffrey L. Gould, editors, *Memorias del mestizaje: Cultura política en Centroamérica de 1920 al presente*, 1127  
 Hall, Mitchell K. (R), 244  
 Haller, John S., Jr. (R), 506  
 Halperin, Mark, *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960–1279*, 826  
 Hametz, Maura E. (R), 949  
 Hamilton, Sarah, David Bates, and Julia Crick, editors, *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (E), 634  
 Hamm, Thomas D. (R), 572  
 Hanebrink, Paul A., *In Defense of Christian Hungary: Religion, Nationalism, and Antisemitism, 1890–1944*, 1638  
 Hanna, Martha, *Your Death Would Be Mine: Paul and Marie Pireaud in the Great War*, 1271  
 Hansen, Mogens Herman, *The Shotgun Method: The Demography of the Ancient Greek City-State Culture*, 1244  
 Hanssen, Jens, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Capital*, 1653  
*The Hardest Deal of All*, by Bolton, 535  
 Hardtwig, Wolfgang, and Erhard Schütz, editors, *Geschichte für Leser: Populäre Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert*, 1631  
 Hardwick, Julie (R), 602  
 Harling, Philip (R), 471  
 Harp, Stephen L. (R), 285  
*The Harp and the Eagle*, by Bruce, 1544  
 Harper, John L. (R), 1158  
 Harreld, Donald J. (R), 936  
 Harris, Bob (R), 584  
 Harris, James, and Sarah Davies, editors, *Stalin: A New History*, 1648  
 Hart, Paul, *Bitter Harvest: The Social Transformation of Morelos, Mexico, and the Origins of the Zapatista Revolution, 1840–1910*, 1583  
 Hartman, Joan E., and Adele Seeff, editors, *Structures and Subjectivities: Attending to Early Modern Women* (E), 973  
*Harvest of Dissent*, by Summerhill, 200  
 Harvey, Karen, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture*, 270  
 Harvey, Paul (R), 1555  
*Harvey Cushing*, by Bliss, 514  
*Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland*, by Wodzinski, 950  
 Havens, Tom (R), 479  
 Haw, Richard, *The Brooklyn Bridge: A Cultural History*, 1192  
 Hayden, J. Michael, and Malcolm R. Greenshields, *Six Hundred Years of Reform: Bishops and the French Church, 1190–1789*, 283  
 Hayes, Peter (R), 295  
 Hays, J. N. (R), 1143  
 Heasley, Lynne, *A Thousand Pieces of Paradise: Landscape and Property in the Kickapoo Valley*, 547  
 Heineman, Kenneth J. (R), 880  
 Heinzen, James (R), 1282  
 Hen, Yitzhak (R), 561  
 Hendricks, Wanda A. (R), 875  
 Henkin, David M. (R), 1535  
 Henretta, James A. (R), 809  
*Henry Adams and the Southern Question*, by O'Brien, 1184  
*Henry I*, by Green, 1591  
*Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia*, by Herzstein, 531  
 Hentschel, Klaus, *Die Mentalität deutscher Physiker in der frühen Nachkriegszeit (1945–1949)*, 943  
*Die Herausforderung der Globalisierung*, by Torp, 941  
 Herbert, Sandra, *Charles Darwin, Geologist*, 272  
 Herbst, Jürgen, *School Choice and School Governance: A Historical Study of the United States and Germany*, 818  
*Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy*, edited by Delph, Fontaine, and Martin, 945  
 Herf, Jeffrey, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust*, 1627  
 Herf, Jeffrey (R), 942  
 Herman, Bernard L., *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830*, 1161  
 Herzstein, Robert E., *Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia*, 531  
 Hewitson, Mark, and Timothy Baycroft, editors, *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789–1914*, 921  
*Hierarchies sociales et ennoblissement*, by Gibiat, 1266  
 Higgs, David (R), 934  
 Higham, Nicholas (R), 565  
*Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945–1965*, by Eisenmann, 542  
*Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador*, edited by Clark and Becker (E), 1663  
 Hill, Richard (C), 1316  
 Hill, Samuel S. (R), 203  
 Hionidou, Violetta (R), 1644  
 Hiroshi, Mitani, *Escape from Impasse: The Decision to Open Japan*, 1521  
*Hispanic Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in Texas*, by Barton, 1558  
*Historians in Public*, by Tyrrell, 159  
*Histories of Infamy*, by Roa-de-la-Carrera, 1615  
*History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*, by McDougall, 624  
*History out of Joint*, by Cohen, 1501  
*History's Locomotives*, by Malia, 1120  
 Hitchins, Keith (R), 951  
*Hitler's African Victims*, by Scheck, 611  
 Ho, Virgil K. Y., *Understanding Canton: Rethinking Popular Culture in the Republican Period*, 1149  
 Ho, Virgil K. Y. (R), 830  
 Hodges, Graham Russell Gao (R), 1171  
 Hoffman, Elizabeth Cobbs (R), 1579  
 Hoffmann, David L. (R), 309  
 Hoffmann, Richard C. (R), 1589  
 Hoffschwelle, Mary S., *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, 890  
 Holden, Charles J. (R), 511  
 "Holding the World in Balance," by Subrahmanyam, 1359  
 Holl, Richard E., *From the Boardroom to the War Room: America's Corporate Liberals and FDR's Preparedness Program*, 237  
 Holland, Sharon P., and Tiya Miles, editors, *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (E), 320  
 Hollander, Paul (R), 1283

- Hollywood and the Cultural Elite, by Decherney, 873
- Holmes, James R., *Theodore Roosevelt and World Order: Police Power in International Relations*, 206
- The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience*, by Brown-Fleming, 610
- Hölscher, Lucian, and Michael Geyer, editors, *Die Gegenwart Gottes in der modernen Gesellschaft: Transzendenz und Religiöse Vergemeinschaftung in Deutschland [The Presence of God in Modern Society: Transcendence and Religious Community in Germany]* (E), 973
- Horace Greeley, by Williams, 1169
- Horn, Jeff, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1830*, 1267
- Horn, Martin (R), 1619
- Horne, Gerald, *Black and Brown: African Americans and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1920*, 555
- Hornstein, Jeffrey M., *A Nation of Realtors: A Cultural History of the Twentieth-Century American Middle Class*, 1567
- Horowitz, Elliott, *Reckless Rites: Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence*, 1502
- Horses in Society*, by Derry, 1144
- Horton, Carol (R), 814
- Horton, Carol A., *Race and the Making of American Liberalism*, 882
- The Hospitallers and the Holy Land*, by Bronstein, 260
- Hostettler, Laura (R), 827
- Hostetter, David L., *Movement Matters: American Antipartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics*, 1223
- Household Gods*, by Cohen, 928
- Housley, Norman (R), 570
- How Far the Promised Land?*, by Rosenberg, 1220
- How Race Is Made*, by Smith, 194
- Howard, Thomas Albert, *Protestant Theology and the Rise of the Modern German University*, 604
- Howard, Vicki (R), 877
- Howe, Nicholas, editor, *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (E), 972
- Howell, Martha (R), 1251
- Hoxie, Frederick E. (R), 855
- Hsiung, Ping-chen, Charlotte Furth, and Judith T. Zeitlin, editors, *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History* (E), 1293
- Hubbard, Jennifer M., *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Biology, 1898–1939*, 1525
- Hudelson, Richard, and Carl Ross, *The Ore Docks: A Working People's History of Duluth*, 1198
- Hudon, William V. (R), 1634
- Hudson, Lynn M. (R), 876
- Hufbauer, Benjamin, *Presidential Temples: How Memorials and Libraries Shape Public Memory*, 1221
- Hughes, Ann, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, 269
- Hulsebosch, Daniel J., *Constituting Empire: New York and the Transformation of Constitutionalism in the Atlantic World, 1664–1830*, 498
- Human Remains*, by MacDonald, 835
- Human Rights in Turkey*, edited by Kabasakal Arat (E), 1296
- The Humboldt Current*, by Sachs, 1141
- A Hundred Horizons*, by Bose, 1140
- Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets*, by Kenez, 1639
- Hurlburt, Holly S., *The Dogaressa of Venice, 1200–1500: Wife and Icon*, 263
- Hurlburt, Holly S. (R), 615
- Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624–1783*, by Mulcahy, 552
- Hutchinson, George, *In Search of Nella Larsen: A Biography of the Color Line*, 523
- Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay (R), 1243
- Huzel, James P., *The Popularization of Malthus in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Martineau, Cobbett, and the Pauper Press*, 926
- The Idea of the Self*, by Seigel, 575
- Ideology and Challenges of Political Liberalisation in the USSR, 1957–1961*, by Renkama, 961
- "If the Workers Took a Notion,"* by Lambert, 1202
- Imagined Hinduism*, by Oddie, 482
- Imagined History*, by Ger6, 1637
- Imagined Orphans*, by Murdoch, 589
- Imagining Native America in Music*, by Pisani, 1196
- Imagining Our Americas*, edited by Shukla and Tinsman (E), 1660
- Imbarrato, Susan Clair, *Traveling Women: Narrative Visions of Early America*, 1165
- Imperialism and Postcolonialism*, by Bush, 1500
- In Defense of Christian Hungary*, by Hanebrink, 1638
- In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts*, by Dyson, 1506
- In Pursuit of German Memory*, by Kansteiner, 942
- In Search of a Nation*, edited by Maddox and Giblin, 629
- In Search of Nella Larsen*, by Hutchinson, 523
- In the Name of the Father*, by Furstenberg, 1170
- "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War,"* by DeLay, 35
- The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero*, by Sayre, 161
- Industrial Politics and the 1926 Mining Lockout*, edited by McIlroy, Campbell, and Gildart, 1263
- Inexpressible Privacy*, by Shamir, 850
- An Infamous Past*, by Petreu, 1643
- Ingersoll, Thomas N., *To Intermix with Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removal*, 846
- Inhuman Bondage*, by Davis, 165
- "Injuns!" Native Americans in the Movies*, by Buscombe, 1196
- Innes, Christopher, *Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street*, 1193
- Inside West Nile*, by Leopold, 969
- Institutions of Reading*, edited by Augst and Carpenter (E), 1662
- Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks*, edited by Lawrance, Osborn, and Roberts (E), 1297
- Inventing Pollution*, by Thorsheim, 275
- L'invention du barreau français 1660–1830*, by Leuwers, 933
- Invisible Hands*, by Grier, 319
- Ipsen, Carl, *Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era*, 1275
- Ireland, Robert M. (R), 197
- Ireland and Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Litvack and Graham (E), 634
- Ireland and the Cold War*, by Wylie, 929
- The Irony of State Intervention*, by Gerber, 474
- Irvine, William D., *Between Justice and Politics: The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, 1898–1945*, 1634



- Irwin, Lee (R), 1550  
*Isaac Taylor Tichenor*, by Williams, 204  
*Iselin contra Rousseau*, by Kapossy, 1632  
 Isenberg, Nancy (R), 848  
*Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*, by Clarence-Smith, 1134  
*Islam and the Prayer Economy*, by Soares, 317  
*The Islamic Middle East and Japan*, edited by Worringer (E), 1662  
*Islands of the Mind*, by Gillis, 1135  
 Israel, Charles A. (R), 210  
 Israel, Paul (R), 167  
*Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict*, edited by Rotberg (E), 635  
*Italy in the Age of Pinocchio*, by Ipsen, 1275  
*Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds*, by Nemec, 515
- Jabour, Anya, *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South*, 1538  
 Jabour, Anya (R), 1166  
 Jackson, Brenda K., *Domesticating the West: The Re-creation of the Nineteenth-Century American Middle Class*, 1187  
 Jackson, Lynette A., *Surfacing Up: Psychiatry and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908–1968*, 1290  
 Jacob, Margaret C., *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions*, 574  
 Jacob, Margaret C., *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*, 573  
 Jacobson, Lisa, *Raising Consumers: Children and the Mass Market in the Early Twentieth Century*, 1194  
 Jacobson, Lisa (R), 1212  
 Jacoby, David (R), 260  
 Jacoby, Karl (R), 1535  
 James, Harold, *The Roman Predicament: How the Rules of International Order Create the Politics of Empire*, 825  
 Jansen, Katherine L. (R), 1594  
 Janzen, John M. (R), 625  
 Jarausch, Konrad H. (R), 465, 1274  
 Jasanoff, Maya, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750–1850*, 1140  
 Jasanoff, Maya (R), 163  
*The Jay Treaty Debate, Public Opinion, and the Evolution of Early American Political Culture*, by Estes, 191  
*Jean-Paul Sartre and the Jewish Question*, by Judaken, 1270  
 Jeater, Diana (R), 1289  
 Jeffreys, Elizabeth, editor, *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (E), 1294  
*Jenseits der Konfession*, by Reinbold, 930  
 Jensen, Joan M., *Calling This Place Home: Women on the Wisconsin Frontier, 1850–1925*, 519  
 Jessenne, Jean-Pierre, *Les campagnes françaises entre mythe et histoire (XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, 1621  
*The Jewish Century*, by Slezkine, 463  
*Jewish Dogs*, by Stow, 562  
*The Jewish Enemy*, by Herf, 1627  
*Jewish Girls Coming of Age in America, 1860–1920*, by Klapper, 231  
*Jewish Martyrs in the Pagan and Christian Worlds*, by Shepkaru, 561
- Jewish Roots in Southern Soil*, edited by Ferris and Greenberg (E), 1663  
*Jewish Scholarship and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, by Roemer, 294  
*Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail*, by Abrams, 1187  
*Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland*, by Teter, 1640  
*The Jews in Mussolini's Italy*, by Sarfatti, 948  
*Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, edited by Bell and Burnett, 290  
*The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772–1881*, by Bartal, 1277  
*Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration*, by Patler, 522  
*Jim Crow Moves North*, by Douglas, 221  
*John Hawkwood*, by Caferro, 570  
*John Wilkes*, by Cash, 271  
*John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic*, by Morrison, 189  
 Johns, Andrew L., and Kathryn C. Statler, editors, *The Eisenhower Administration, the Third World, and the Globalization of the Cold War* (E), 972  
 Johnson, Amy J., Arthur Goldschmidt, and Barak A. Salmoni, editors, *Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*, 1652  
 Johnson, Joan Marie (R), 196  
 Johnson, Kimberly S., *Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877–1929*, 1548  
 Johnson, Odai, *Absence and Memory in Colonial American Theatre: Fiorelli's Plaster*, 1156  
 Johnson, Owen V. (R), 311  
 Johnson, Robert David, *Congress and the Cold War*, 1205  
 Johnston, Robert D. (R), 1560  
 Johnstone, Nathan, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*, 580  
 Jones, Kathleen W. (R), 516  
 Jones, Matthew L., *The Good Life in the Scientific Revolution: Descartes, Pascal, Leibniz, and the Cultivation of Virtue*, 1598  
 Jordan, William G. (R), 871  
 Joseph, Peniel E., *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America*, 1575  
*Judaism's Encounter with American Sports*, by Gurock, 1557  
 Judaken, Jonathan, *Jean-Paul Sartre and the Jewish Question: Anti-antisemitism and the Politics of the French Intellectual*, 1270  
 Judaken, Jonathan (R), 295  
 Judson, Pieter M., *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*, 1635  
 Judt, Tony, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, 465  
 Jung, Moon-Ho, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation*, 199  
 Jung, Moon-Kie, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement*, 1202  
*"Just as in the Time of the Apostles,"* by Dipple, 572  
*The Justice of Venice*, by Shaw, 615
- Kabasakal Arat, Zehra F., editor, *Human Rights in Turkey* (E), 1296  
 Kahn, Ronald, and Ken I. Kersch, editors, *The Supreme Court and American Political Development*, 843  
 Kaijser, Arne, and Erik van der Vleuten, editors, *Networking Europe: Transnational Infrastructures and the Shaping of Europe, 1850–2000* (E), 634

- Kale, Steven, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*, 934
- Kalland, Arne (R), 478
- Kallendorf, Hilaire (R), 282
- Kalman, Laura, *Yale Law School and the Sixties: Revolt and Reverberations*, 895
- Kamil, Neil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517–1751*, 162
- Kann, Mark E. (R), 551
- Kansteiner, Wulf, *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television and Politics after Auschwitz*, 942
- Kaplan, Herbert H., *Nathan Mayer Rothschild and the Creation of a Dynasty: The Critical Years, 1806–1816*, 266
- Kaplan, Jeffrey, Philip Benedict, Nora Berend, Stephen Ellis, Ussama Makdisi, and Jack Miles, "AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence," 1433
- Kaplan, Steven (R), 628
- Kapossy, Béla, *Iselin contra Rousseau: Sociable Patriotism and the History of Mankind*, 1632
- Karl Kraus, *Apocalyptic Satirist*, by Timms, 299
- Karpat, Kemal H. (R), 314
- Kassell, Lauren, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London: Simon Forman; Astrologer, Alchemist, and Physician*, 579
- Kasten, Brigitte (R), 914
- Kater, Michael H. (R), 1145
- Kaul, Suvir (R), 1140
- Kaye, Joel (R), 1249
- Keeler, Ward (R), 1151
- Keene, Donald, *Frog in the Well: Portraits of Japan by Watanabe Kazan, 1793–1841*, 479
- Kelley, Donald R. (R), 1501
- Kelley, Mary, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic*, 848
- Kelley, Mary (R), 850
- Kellogg, Susan, *Weaving the Past: A History of Latin America's Indigenous Women from the Prehispanic Period to the Present*, 1578
- Kelly, Barbara M. (R), 1567
- Kelly, Catriona (R), 620
- Kelly, Christopher, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 912
- Kenez, Peter, *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary, 1944–1948*, 1639
- Kennedy, Cynthia M., *Braided Relations, Entwined Lives: The Women of Charleston's Urban Slave Society*, 196
- Kennedy, Liam (R), 590
- Kenney, Padraic (R), 944
- Kerber, Linda K., "The Stateless as the Citizen's Other: A View from the United States," 1
- Kerby-Fulton, Kathryn (R), 918
- Kercher, Stephen E., *Revel with a Cause: Liberal Satire in Postwar America*, 1207
- Kerrison, Catherine, *Claiming the Pen: Women and Intellectual Life in the Early American South*, 1166
- Kersch, Ken I., and Ronald Kahn, editors, *The Supreme Court and American Political Development*, 843
- Kersten, Andrew E., *Labor's Home Front: The American Federation of Labor during World War II*, 1203
- Kertzer, David I. (R), 1275
- Kessler-Harris, Alice (R), 241
- Ketcham, Ralph (R), 1159
- Kete, Kathleen (R), 899
- Khan, B. Zorina, *The Democratization of Invention: Patents and Copyrights in American Economic Development, 1790–1920*, 492
- Khodarkovsky, Michael (R), 1491
- Kiaer, Christina, and Eric Naiman, editors, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside*, 309
- Kiddy, Elizabeth W. (R), 906
- Kierner, Cynthia A. (R), 1538
- Kilgore, DeWitt Douglas (R), 1232
- Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era, by Szalontai, 1522
- Kim, Samuel S., Charles K. Armstrong, Gilbert Rozman, and Stephen Kotkin, editors, *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*, 176
- Kinealy, Christine, and Roger Swift, editors, *Politics and Power in Victorian Ireland* (E), 973
- King, Margaret L. (R), 301
- King, Wilma, *The Essence of Liberty: Free Black Women during the Slave Era*, 505
- King Tiger, by Busto, 540
- The King's Reformation*, by Bernard, 577
- The King's Three Faces*, by McConville, 840
- Kirby, Jack Temple (R), 1201
- Kirk, John A. (R), 522
- Kirschenbaum, Lisa A., *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1995: Myth, Memories, and Monuments*, 1649
- Kisatsky, Deborah, *The United States and the European Right, 1945–1955*, 529
- Kisluk, Eugene J., *Brothers from the North: The Polish Democratic Society and the European Revolutions of 1848–1849*, 1254
- Kivelson, Valerie, *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia*, 1645
- Klapper, Melissa R., *Jewish Girls Coming of Age in America, 1860–1920*, 231
- Klapper, Melissa R. (R), 1187
- Klassen, Pamela E. (R), 230
- Kleinberg, S. J., *Widows and Orphans First: The Family Economy and Social Welfare Policy, 1880–1939*, 879
- Kleinberg, S. J. (R), 881
- Kleinschmidt, Harald, *Perception and Action in Medieval Europe*, 566
- Klimasmith, Betsy, *At Home in the City: Urban Domesticity in American Literature and Culture, 1850–1930*, 218
- Klinghoffer, Arthur Jay, *The Power of Projections: How Maps Reflect Global Politics and History*, 471
- Kloppenber, James T. (R), 1125
- Knee, Stuart E. (R), 233
- Knight, Alan, and Wil Pansters, editors, *Caciquismo in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, 1239
- Knight, Louise W., *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy*, 521
- Knighton, Ben (R), 969
- Knocking on the Door*, by Bonastia, 1571
- Knupfer, Anne Meis, *The Chicago Black Renaissance and Women's Activism*, 875
- Knupfer, Anne Meis (R), 868
- Ko, Dorothy, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding*, 1118
- Kockel, Titus, *Deutsche Ölpolitik 1928–1938*, 295
- Koenker, Diane P., and Anne E. Gorsuch, editors, *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (E), 635

- Kohler, Robert E., *All Creatures: Naturalists, Collectors, and Biodiversity, 1850–1950*, 1535
- Kolchin, Peter (R), 810
- Kollegen—Kommilitonen—Kämpfer, edited by Maurer (E), 1296
- The Komédie Stamboel*, by Cohen, 1151
- Konishi, Sho, "Reopening the 'Opening of Japan': A Russian-Japanese Revolutionary Encounter and the Vision of Anarchist Progress," 101
- Kontogiorgi, Elisabeth, *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees 1922–1930*, 1644
- Koonz, Claudia, *The Nazi Conscience*, 609
- Koot, Gerard M. (R), 272
- Koppes, Clayton (R), 887
- Korea at the Center*, edited by Armstrong, Rozman, Kim, and Kotkin, 176
- Kornberg, Jacques (R), 610
- Kotkin, Stephen, Charles K. Armstrong, Gilbert Rozman, and Samuel S. Kim, editors, *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*, 176
- Krahulik, Karen C. (R), 1234
- Krainz, Thomas A., *Delivering Aid: Implementing Progressive Era Welfare in the American West*, 858
- Kramer, Mark (R), 1639
- Kramer, Paul, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*, 473
- Kraut, Alan M., and Deborah A. Kraut, *Covenant of Care: Newark Beth Israel Hospital and the Jewish Hospital in America*, 1556
- Kraut, Deborah A., and Alan M. Kraut, *Covenant of Care: Newark Beth Israel Hospital and the Jewish Hospital in America*, 1556
- Kreitzer, Beth (R), 291
- Krige, John, *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe*, 1512
- Krikler, Jeremy, *White Rising: The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killing in South Africa*, 1291
- Kripal, Jeffrey J., and Glenn W. Shuck, editors, *On the Edge of the Future: Esalen and the Evolution of American Culture* (E), 633
- Kropp, Phoebe S., *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place*, 862
- Krugler, David F., *This Is Only a Test: How Washington, D.C., Prepared for Nuclear War*, 1210
- Kruse, Kevin M., *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*, 1569
- Kruse, Kevin M., and Thomas J. Sugrue, editors, *The New Suburban History*, 1133
- Kugel, Rebecca (R), 1155
- Kulavig, Erik (R), 961
- Kumar, Nita (R), 483
- Kuromiya, Hiroaki, *Stalin*, 310
- Kushner, Barak, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, 175
- Kusukawa, Sachiko, and Ian Maclean, editors, *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe* (E), 320
- Kynoch, Gary (R), 630
- Kyvig, David E. (R), 241
- Labor Rights Are Civil Rights*, by Vargas, 213
- Labor's Home Front*, by Kersten, 1203
- Lael, Richard L., Barbara Brazos, and Margot Ford
- McMillen, *Evolution of a Missouri Asylum: Fulton State Hospital, 1851–2006*, 1168
- Lafi, Nora, editor, *Municipalités méditerranéennes: Les réformes urbaines ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée (Moyen-Orient, Maghreb, Europe méridionale)*, 964
- Laird, Pamela Walker (R), 1566
- Lake, Peter, and Kenneth Fincham, editors, *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (E), 634
- Lambert, Frank (R), 503
- Lambert, Josiah Barlett, "If the Workers Took a Notion": *The Right to Strike and American Political Development*, 1202
- Lambert, Peter (R), 1631
- Lambert, Peter, and Will Fowler, editors, *Political Violence and the Construction of National Identity in Latin America* (E), 1663
- Land and Revolution*, by Campbell, 281
- Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, by Mormino, 1233
- Landau, Paul S. (R), 1290
- The Landscape of Reform*, by Minteer, 864
- Landy, Marcia (R), 1195
- Lane, Kris (R), 558
- Langford, Jean M. (R), 1150
- The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, by Pollock, 480
- Lanier, Gabrielle M. (R), 491
- Lanni, Adriaan, *Law and Justice in the Courts of Classical Athens*, 909
- Large, David Clay (R), 608
- Larson, Deborah Welch (R), 1209
- Larson, Edward J. (R), 1155
- Lassiter, Matthew D. (R), 1571
- Lau, Peter F., *Democracy Rising: South Carolina and the Fight for Black Equality since 1865*, 535
- Lavery, Jason (R), 936
- Law and Authority in Early Modern England*, edited by Sharp and Fissel (E), 972
- Law and Identity in Mandate Palestine*, by Likhovsky, 1285
- Law and Justice in the Courts of Classical Athens*, by Lanni, 909
- Law and Order*, by Flamm, 1218
- Lawrance, Benjamin N., Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts, editors, *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (E), 1297
- Lawrence, Christopher, *Rockefeller Money, the Laboratory, and Medicine in Edinburgh, 1919–1930: New Science in an Old Country*, 277
- Lawrence, Mark Atwood, and Fredrik Logevall, editors, *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis* (E), 1293
- Lawson, Melinda (R), 1178
- Lawson, Steven F. (R), 242
- LBJ*, by Woods, 529
- Leach, Elizabeth Eva, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages*, 1596
- Learning from the Left*, by Mickenberg, 1212
- Learning to Stand and Speak*, by Kelley, 848
- Lederer, Susan E. (R), 514
- Leff, Lisa Moses, *Sacred Bonds of Solidarity: The Rise of Jewish Internationalism in Nineteenth-Century France*, 1269

- The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1995*, by Kirschenbaum, 1649
- Leidenberger, Georg, *Chicago's Progressive Alliance: Labor and the Bid for Public Streetcars*, 1200
- Leidenberger, Georg (R), 1210
- Lemay, J. A. Leo, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume One: Journalist, 1706–1730; Volume Two: Printer and Publisher, 1730–1747*, 185
- Lemov, Rebecca, *World as Laboratory: Experiments with Mice, Mazes and Men*, 889
- The Lena Goldfields Massacre and the Crisis of the Late Tsarist State*, by Melancon, 307
- Leonard, Amy, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany*, 291
- Leonard, Gerald (R), 1530
- Leonard, Kevin Allen (R), 1568
- Leopold, Mark, *Inside West Nile: Violence, History and Representation on an African Frontier*, 969
- Lepenes, Wolf, *The Seduction of Culture in German History*, 802
- Lerner, Gerda (R), 468
- Lerner, Mitchell B., editor, *Looking Back at LBJ: White House Politics in a New Light*, 243
- Lesch, John E., *The First Miracle Drugs: How the Sulfa Drugs Transformed Medicine*, 1510
- Lesko, Leonard H. (R), 962
- Lester, Connie L., *Up from the Mudsills of Hell: The Farmers' Alliance, Populism, and Progressive Agriculture in Tennessee, 1870–1915*, 201
- Lester, Connie L. (R), 200
- Let the People Decide*, by Moye, 1573
- Letters across Borders*, edited by Elliott, Gerber, and Sinke (E), 1661
- Leuchtenburg, William E., *The White House Looks South: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson*, 241
- Leupp, Gary P. (R), 479
- Leuwers, Hervé, *L'invention du barreau français 1660–1830: La construction nationale d'un groupe professionnel*, 933
- Levin, Michael J., *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 1265
- Levine, Philippa, Kevin Grant, and Frank Trentmann, editors, *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950* (E), 1661
- Levine, Susan (R), 542
- Levine-Clark, Marjorie (R), 927
- Levinson, Irving W. (R), 555
- Levy, Peter B. (R), 530
- Lewis, Jane (R), 598
- Lewis, Michael, editor, *American Wilderness: A New History* (E), 1294
- Lewis, Stephen E., and Mary Kay Vaughan, editors, *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920–1940*, 1238
- Liaisons dangereuses*, by Lindemann, 939
- Licht, Walter, and Thomas Dublin, *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century*, 548
- Liebeschuetz, Wolf (R), 912
- Lieven, Dominic (R), 825
- The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume One*, by Lemay, 185
- Lifshitz, Felice, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827*, 913
- Lifshitz, Felice (R), 258
- Light, Jennifer S., *From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America*, 1211
- Lightner, David L., *Slavery and the Commerce Power: How the Struggle against the Interstate Slave Trade Led to the Civil War*, 1539
- Likhovsky, Assaf, *Law and Identity in Mandate Palestine*, 1285
- Lincome, Mark (R), 1521
- Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney*, by Simon, 1176
- Lincoln Emancipated*, edited by Dirck, 1541
- Lincolmites and Rebels*, by McKenzie, 1544
- Lindemann, Mary, *Liaisons dangereuses: Sex, Law, and Diplomacy in the Age of Frederick the Great*, 939
- Lindemann, Mary (R), 1252
- Lindenmeyer, Kriste, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up: American Childhood in the 1930s*, 224
- Lindsay, Lisa A. (R), 1287
- Linebaugh, Peter (R), 816
- Linton, Derek S., *Emil von Behring: Infectious Disease, Immunology, Serum Therapy*, 605
- The Lioness Roared*, by Beem, 1603
- Lipkin, Zwia, *Useless to the State: "Social Problems" and Social Engineering in Nationalist Nanjing, 1927–1937*, 830
- Litigants and Households*, by Roberts, 967
- Little, Ann M., *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*, 1526
- Little, Douglas (R), 1576
- Little, Katherine C., *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England*, 918
- Little, Patrick, editor, *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (E), 1664
- Litvack, Leon, and Colin Graham, editors, *Ireland and Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (E), 634
- Liverani, Mario, *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*, 621
- Livezeanu, Irina (R), 1643
- Living for the Revolution*, by Springer, 1574
- Living with Strangers*, by McCrady, 487
- Loades, David (R), 577
- Localities at the Center*, by Belsky, 172
- Logevall, Fredrik, and Mark Atwood Lawrence, editors, *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis* (E), 1293
- Lojkó, Miklós, *Meddling in Middle Europe: Britain and the "Lands Between" 1919–1925*, 952
- Lomnitz, Claudio, *Death and the Idea of Mexico*, 254
- Long, Pamela O. (R), 947
- Longitude and Empire*, by Richardson, 163
- Loo, Tina, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*, 1153
- Looking Back at LBJ*, edited by Lerner, 243
- Loos, Tamara, *Subject Siam: Family, Law, and Colonial Modernity in Thailand*, 1523
- Lorandi, Ana María, *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques*, 557
- Lost Battalions*, by Slotkin, 1561
- Lost Modernities*, by Woodside, 164
- The Lost Wolves of Japan*, by Walker, 478
- Lost Worlds*, by Dewald, 1493
- Loth, Wilfried (R), 576
- Love for Sale*, by Clement, 869
- Love, Eric T. L. (R), 239
- Love, Wages, Slavery*, by Ryan, 1174



- Lovejoy, Paul E. (R), 967, 1173  
 Lovell, Margaretta M. (R), 190  
 Loviglio, Jason (R), 525  
 Lowe, Peter (R), 1205  
 Ludlow, N. Piers, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge*, 576  
 Luedke, Tracy J., and Harry G. West, editors, *Borders and Healers: Brokering Therapeutic Resources in Southeast Africa* (E), 321  
 Lunsford, Virginia West, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands*, 936  
 Luongo, F. Thomas, *The Sainly Politics of Catherine of Siena*, 1594  
 Luria, Sarah, *Capital Speculations: Writing and Building Washington, D.C.*, 491  
 Lutes, Jean Marie, *Front Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880–1930*, 1186  
 Lutts, Ralph H. (R), 249  
 Lynch, John, *Simón Bolívar: A Life*, 905  
 Lyons, Clare A., *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830*, 501  
 Lyons, Mary Ann (R), 280  
 Lyons, Maura, *William Dunlap and the Construction of an American Art History*, 190
- Maas, Harro, *William Stanley Jevons and the Making of Modern Economics*, 272  
 MacDonald, Helen, *Human Remains: Dissection and Its Histories*, 835  
 MacFarquhar, Roderick, and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, 804  
 MacKenzie, S. P., *The Colditz Myth: British and Commonwealth Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany*, 612  
 Mackerras, Colin (R), 1514  
 MacKinnon, Stephen R. (R), 531  
 Maclean, Ian (R), 571  
 Maclean, Ian, and Sachiko Kusukawa, editors, *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe* (E), 320  
 MacLean, Nancy, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace*, 897  
 Macleod, David I. (R), 226  
 Macmillan, Hugh, *An African Trading Empire: The Story of Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn, 1901–2005*, 630  
 MacQueen, Norrie (R), 627  
 Madden, Kyla, *Forkhill Protestants and Forkhill Catholics, 1787–1858*, 586  
 Maddox, Gregory H. (R), 970  
 Maddox, Gregory H., and James L. Giblin, editors, *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania*, 629  
*Made to Break*, by Slade, 549  
 Mader, Eric-Oliver (R), 938  
*Madness at Home*, by Suzuki, 1610  
 Magid, Shaul (R), 1502  
*Magistrates, Police, and People*, by Fyson, 1524  
 Magliocca, Gerard N., *Andrew Jackson and the Constitution: The Rise and Fall of Generational Regimes*, 1531  
 Mahoney, Barbara S. (R), 820  
 Majumdar, Boria, and Kavsik Bandyopadhyay, *A Social History of Indian Football: Striving to Score*, 834
- Makdisi, Ussama, Philip Benedict, Nora Berend, Stephen Ellis, Jeffrey Kaplan, and Jack Miles, "AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence," 1433  
*Making a Better World*, by Parson, 1568  
*The Making and Unmaking of Empires*, by Marshall, 163  
*Making Difference in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, by Dangler, 1264  
*Making Home Work*, by Simonsen, 855  
*Making Indian Law*, by McMillen, 1552  
*Making Lemonade out of Lemons*, by Alamillo, 539  
*The Making of the Chinese State*, by Shin, 827  
 Malia, Martin, *History's Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World*, 1120  
*Malintzin's Choices*, by Townsend, 900  
 Mallios, Seth, *The Deadly Politics of Giving: Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown*, 836  
*The Man Everybody Knew*, by Fried, 216  
 Mandler, Peter (R), 575  
 Mandler, Peter (R), 1260  
 Mangan, Jane E., *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí*, 558  
*Manly Arts*, by Gerstner, 872  
 Mann, Gregory, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century*, 1657  
 Mann, Michael (R), 1498  
 Manning, Roger B., *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585–1702*, 583  
 Manuh, Takiwaa, Catherine M. Cole, and Stephan F. Miescher, editors, *Africa after Gender?* (E), 973  
*The Many Faces of Alexander Hamilton*, edited by Ambrose and Martin, 1158  
*Mao's Last Revolution*, by MacFarquhar and Schoenhals, 804  
*Mapping Paradise*, by Scafi, 1482  
*The March of Spare Time*, by Currell, 236  
 Marcus, Kenneth H., *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture*, 217  
 Marcus, Sharon (R), 1622  
 Marcuse, Harold (R), 298  
 Marinatos, Nanno (R), 908  
*Marital Violence*, by Foyster, 1258  
 Markus, Andrew (R), 1152  
 Marland, Hilary, *Dangerous Motherhood: Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain*, 927  
 Marques, João Pedro, *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-Century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 601  
 Marr, Timothy, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamism*, 1190  
*Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, by McSheffrey, 1251  
 Marshall, P. J., *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America*, 163  
*Marsilius of Padua and "the Truth of History,"* by Garnett, 916  
 Marszalek, John F., *A Black Congressman in the Age of Jim Crow: South Carolina's George Washington Murray*, 512  
 Martin, Benjamin F. (R), 1634  
 Martin, John Jeffries, Ronald K. Delph, and Michelle M. Fontaine, editors, *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, 945  
 Martin, Philippe, *Une religion des livres (1640–1850)*, 602  
 Martin, Robert W. T., and Douglas Ambrose, editors, *The Many Faces of Alexander Hamilton: The Life and*

- Legacy of America's Most Elusive Founding Father*, 1158
- Martínez, Juan Francisco, *Sea la Luz: The Making of Mexican Protestantism in the American Southwest, 1829–1900*, 1192
- Marxism and National Identity*, by Stuart, 934
- Mason, Matthew, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic*, 1172
- Mason, Robert (R), 238
- Masquerade*, by Young, 190
- The Master of Seventh Avenue*, by Parmet, 237
- Matar, Nabil, *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689*, 815
- Mate, Mavis E. (R), 569
- Mathews, Donald G. (R), 204
- Matovina, Timothy, *Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio, from Colonial Origins to the Present*, 860
- Matovina, Timothy (R), 255, 1192
- Matt, Susan J. (R), 878
- Matthews, Gelien, *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement*, 903
- Maurer, Trude, editor, *Kollegen—Kommilitonen—Kämpfer: Europäische Universitäten im Ersten Weltkrieg* (E), 1296
- Max Yergan*, by Anthony, 530
- Maxwell, William J. (R), 874
- May, Allyson N. (R), 1609
- Mazón, Patricia (R), 169
- McBane, Margo (R), 539
- McCafferty, John, and Alan Ford, editors, *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland*, 923
- McCaffray, Susan P. (R), 307
- McCalla, Douglas (R), 835
- McCann, Carole R. (R), 538
- McCannon, John (R), 545
- McCarthy, Timothy Patrick, and John Stauffer, editors, *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism*, 1177
- McCartin, Joseph A. (R), 1565
- McCartney, Helen B., *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War*, 276
- McCartney, Paul T., *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism*, 204
- McCauley, Bernadette, *Who Shall Take Care of Our Sick? Roman Catholic Sisters and the Development of Catholic Hospitals in New York City*, 230
- McConville, Brendan, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688–1776*, 840
- McCormack, Matthew, editor, *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain* (E), 1295
- McCrary, David G., *Living with Strangers: The Nineteenth-Century Sioux and the Canadian-American Borderlands*, 487
- McCreery, David, *Frontier Goiás, 1822–1889*, 1585
- McCreery, David (R), 904
- McCune, Mary, *"The Whole Wide World Without Limits": International Relief, Gender Politics, and American Jewish Women, 1893–1930*, 232
- McDougall, Alan, *Youth Politics in East Germany: The Free German Youth Movement 1946–1968*, 297
- McDougall, James, *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*, 624
- McGinnis, Scott (R), 1607
- McGovern, Charles F., *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890–1945*, 1566
- McIlroy, John, Alan Campbell, and Keith Gildart, editors, *Industrial Politics and the 1926 Mining Lockout: The Struggle for Dignity*, 1263
- McIntosh, Roderick J., *Ancient Middle Niger: Urbanism and the Self-Organizing Landscape*, 316
- McKay, George, *Circular Breathing: The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain*, 278
- McKenzie, Brian Angus, *Remaking France: Americanization, Public Diplomacy, and the Marshall Plan*, 289
- McKenzie, Robert Tracy, *Lincolmites and Rebels: A Divided Town in the American Civil War*, 1544
- McKeown, Adam (R), 461
- McMillen, Christian W., *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Land Case and the Birth of Ethnohistory*, 1552
- McMillen, Margot Ford, Richard L. Lael, and Barbara Brazos, *Evolution of a Missouri Asylum: Fulton State Hospital, 1851–2006*, 1168
- McMillin, James A. (R), 1539
- McNamara, Dennis L. (R), 176
- McPherson, Alan, editor, *Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 1579
- McQuaid, Kim (R), 237
- McSheffrey, Shannon, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, 1251
- McWilliam, Rohan (R), 1611
- Meade, Teresa A. (R), 1587
- Meals to Come*, by Belasco, 1231
- Mears, Natalie (R), 578
- Meckel, Richard A. (R), 225
- Meddling in Middle Europe*, by Lojkó, 952
- Medical Revolutionaries*, by Weaver, 1579
- The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence*, by Siegmund, 302
- Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London*, by Kassell, 579
- Meeker, Martin, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communication and Community, 1940s–1970s*, 541
- Megargee, Geoffrey P., *War of Annihilation: Combat and Genocide on the Eastern Front, 1941*, 296
- Megargee, Geoffrey P. (R), 611
- Melancon, Michael, *The Lena Goldfields Massacre and the Crisis of the Late Tsarist State*, 307
- Meli, Domenico Bertoloni, *Thinking with Objects: The Transformation of Mechanics in the Seventeenth Century*, 1253
- Melman, Billie, *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past, 1800–1953*, 1611
- La mémoire des guerres de religion*, edited by Berchtold and Fragonard (E), 1295
- Memorias del mestizaje*, edited by Euraque, Gould, and Hale, 1127
- Men in the Middle*, by Gilbert, 1208
- Men of Silk*, by Dynner, 618
- Menard, Russell R. (R), 192, 903
- Mendelsohn, Richard, and Vivian Bickford-Smith, editors, *Black and White in Colour: African History on Screen* (E), 1297
- Mendle, Michael (R), 924
- Die Mentalität deutscher Physiker in der frühen Nachkriegszeit (1945–1949)*, by Hentschel, 943
- The Merchants of Zigong*, by Zelin, 1514
- Merchants, Midwives, and Laboring Women*, by Vecchio, 520
- Meriwether, James H. (R), 1223

- Merkel, William G. (R), 842  
 Merrills, A. H. (R), 1482  
 Merwick, Donna, *The Shame and the Sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland*, 837  
*Message in a Bottle*, by Golden, 550  
 Messer, Peter C., *Stories of Independence: Identity, Ideology, and History in Eighteenth-Century America*, 500  
 Metaferia, Getachew, and Paulos Milkias, editors, *The Battle of Adwa: Reflections on Ethiopia's Historic Victory against European Colonialism*, 628  
 Metcalf, Alida C., *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500–1600*, 559  
 Meyer, Melissa L. (R), 1551  
 Meyer, Michael (R), 609  
*Michael Moore c. 1639–1726*, by Chambers, 280  
 Michaels, Paula A. (R), 957  
 Michel, Sonya (R), 893  
 Michelson, Bruce, *Printer's Devil: Mark Twain and the American Publishing Revolution*, 1185  
 Michlic, Joanna B. (R), 618  
 Michlic, Joanna Beata, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*, 619  
 Mickenberg, Julia, *Learning from the Left: Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States*, 1212  
*Middle East Historiographies*, edited by Gershoni, Singer, and Erdem (E), 321  
 Middleton, Simon, *From Privileges to Rights: Work and Politics in Colonial New York City*, 499  
 Middleton, Stephen, *The Black Laws: Race and the Legal Process in Early Ohio*, 504  
 Miescher, Stephan F., Catherine M. Cole, and Takyiwa Manuh, editors, *Africa after Gender?* (E), 973  
*Migration in History*, edited by Rodriguez and Grafton (E), 1661  
 Milanich, Nara, "Whither Family History? A Road Map from Latin America," 439  
 Milazzo, Paul Charles, *Unlikely Environmentalists: Congress and Clean Water, 1945–1972*, 1228  
 Miles, Jack, Philip Benedict, Nora Berend, Stephen Ellis, Jeffrey Kaplan, and Ussama Makdisi, "AHR Conversation: Religious Identities and Violence," 1433  
 Miles, Tiya, and Sharon P. Holland, editors, *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (E), 320  
 "Military Histories Old and New," by Citino, 1070  
 Milkias, Paulos, and Getachew Metaferia, editors, *The Battle of Adwa: Reflections on Ethiopia's Historic Victory against European Colonialism*, 628  
 Millar, Fergus, *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)*, 911  
 Miller, David Philip (R), 272  
 Miller, Marla R., *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of Revolution*, 847  
 Miller, Robert J., *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny*, 845  
 Millward, James A., *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 1514  
 Millward, Robert, *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830–1990*, 576  
 Minchin, Timothy J. (R), 897  
*Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire*, by Quataert, 314  
 Minter, Ben A., *The Landscape of Reform: Civic Pragmatism and Environmental Thought in America*, 864  
 Mintz, Sidney W. (R), 553  
*Missionary Tropics*, by Županov, 481  
 Mitchell, Lee (R), 872  
 Mixon, Gregory (R), 513  
*Mobilizing Soviet Peasants*, by Buckley, 1282  
 Moch, Leslie Page (R), 1271  
*Modern Love*, by Collins, 598  
*Modern Passings*, by Bernstein, 175  
*Modernization and the Crisis of Development in Africa*, by Dibua, 1658  
*Modernizing England's Past*, by Bentley, 469  
 Moeller, Robert G. (R), 810  
 Mohr, James C., *Plague and Fire: Battling Black Death and the 1900 Burning of Honolulu's Chinatown*, 486  
 Mohun, Arwen P. (R), 1194  
 Molina, Natalia, *Fit to Be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939*, 208  
 Mollin, Marian, *Radical Pacifism in Modern America: Egalitarianism and Protest*, 1222  
*A Monastic Renaissance at St. Albans*, by Clark, 568  
 Moniz Bandeira, Luis Alberto, *Argentina, Brasil y Estados Unidos de la Triple Alianza al Mercosur: Conflicto e integración en América del Sur*, 824  
*The Monk and the Book*, by Williams, 1652  
 Monod, Paul (R), 1603  
 Montgomery, Rebecca S. (R), 890  
 Montrose, Louis, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation*, 578  
 Moore, Deborah Dash (R), 884  
 Moore, John Hammond, *Carnival of Blood: Dueling, Lynching, and Murder in South Carolina, 1880–1920*, 511  
 Moos, Dan, *Outside America: Race, Ethnicity, and the Role of the American West in National Belonging*, 206  
 More, Ellen S. (R), 888  
 Moreno, Julio E. (R), 1146  
 Moreno, Paul D., *Black Americans and Organized Labor: A New History*, 534  
 Morgan, Chad, *Planters' Progress: Modernizing Confederate Georgia*, 198  
 Morgan, Iwan (R), 529  
 Morgan, Philip, David Eltis, and David Richardson, "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas," 1329  
 Mori, Jennifer (R), 1608  
 Mormino, Gary R., *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida*, 1233  
 Morris, Andrew (R), 1554  
 Morris, Christopher (R), 195  
 Morrison, Jeffry H., *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic*, 189  
 Morrison, Michael A. (R), 1169  
 Morrow, Robert W., *Sesame Street and the Reform of Children's Television*, 549  
 Morstein-Marx, Robert (R), 910  
 Morton, Desmond (R), 179  
 Moser, John E., *Right Turn: John T. Flynn and the Transformation of American Liberalism*, 238  
 Moskowitz, Marina, *Standard of Living: The Measure of the Middle Class in Modern America*, 877

- Moskowitz, Marina (R), 1193  
*A Most Amazing Scene of Wonders*, by Delbourgo, 1157  
*The Most Exclusive Club*, by Gould, 183  
*The Mother of the Gods, Athens and the Tyranny of Asia*, by Munn, 908  
*Movement Matters*, by Hostetter, 1223  
Moye, J. Todd, *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945–1986*, 1573  
Moye, J. Todd (R), 1219  
Moyn, Samuel, *Origins of the Other: Emmanuel Levinas between Revelation and Ethics*, 295  
Moyn, Samuel (R), 1270  
Mühle, Eduard, *Für Volk und deutschen Osten: Der Historiker Hermann Aubin und die deutsche Ostforschung*, 613  
Mulcahy, Matthew, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624–1783*, 552  
Municipalités méditerranéennes, edited by Lafi, 964  
Munn, Mark, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*, 908  
Murdoch, Lydia, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London*, 589  
Murdoch, Lydia (R), 1507  
Murdock, Michael G., *Disarming the Allies of Imperialism: Agitation, Manipulation, and the State during China's Nationalist Revolution, 1922–1929*, 1516  
Murphy, Larry G. (R), 1225  
Murphy, Michelle, *Sick Building Syndrome and the Problem of Uncertainty*, 1231  
Murray, David R. (R), 1524  
Murray, Sylvie (R), 1227  
*Musical Metropolis*, by Marcus, 217  
*A Muslim in Victorian America*, by Abd-Allah, 1190  
Musselman, Elizabeth Green, *Nervous Conditions: Science and the Body Politic in Early Industrial Britain*, 588  
Mussolini's *Propaganda Abroad*, by Williams, 475  
Musson, Anthony, and Gwilym Dodd, editors, *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives* (E), 634  
Myers, Andrew H., *Black, White and Olive Drab: Racial Integration at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, and the Civil Rights Movement*, 1214  
Myers, Andrew H. (R), 1213  
Myers, Kathleen (R), 1615  
*Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*, by Liverani, 621  
*Myth and Remembrance*, by Romsics, 1636  
*Myths of Modernity*, by Dore, 1584
- Nabers, Deak, *Victory of Law: The Fourteenth Amendment, the Civil War, and American Literature, 1852–1867*, 1182  
Nadan, Amos, *The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate: A Story of Colonial Bungling*, 1285  
Nadasen, Premilla, *Welfare Warriors: The Welfare Rights Movement in the United States*, 896  
*Nails in the Wall*, by Leonard, 291  
Naiman, Eric, and Christina Kiaer, editors, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside*, 309  
Nakamura, Ellen Gardner, *Practical Pursuits: Takano Chōei, Takahashi Keisaku, and Western Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, 832  
*Nakba*, edited by Sadi and Abu-Lughod (E), 1296  
*The Name of the Saint*, by Lifshitz, 913  
*The Nanking Atrocity, 1937–38*, edited by Wakabayashi (E), 1662  
Nasaw, David (R), 236  
Nash, Gary B., *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*, 502  
Nashel, Jonathan, *Edward Lansdale's Cold War*, 532  
*Nathan Mayer Rothschild and the Creation of a Dynasty*, by Kaplan, 266  
Nation, Richard F., *At Home in the Hoosier Hills: Agriculture, Politics, and Religion in Southern Indiana, 1810–1870*, 503  
*A Nation among Nations*, by Bender, 1123  
*A Nation by Design*, by Zolberg, 461  
*A Nation of Realtors*, by Hornstein, 1567  
*Nationalisierung der Religion und Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa*, edited by Wessel, 1278  
*Native America, Discovered and Conquered*, by Miller, 845  
*The Native Ground*, by DuVal, 839  
*Native Sons*, by Mann, 1657  
*Natural Visions*, by Dunaway, 249  
*Nature and the Godly Empire*, by Sivasundaram, 485  
*Nature's Altars*, by Schrepfer, 546  
*Naval Blockades in Peace and War*, by Davis and Engerman, 1505  
*The Nazi Conscience*, by Koonz, 609  
*Nazis in Pre-War London, 1930–1939*, by Barnes and Barnes, 596  
Neal, Larry (R), 266  
*The Needle's Eye*, by Miller, 847  
*Needs of the Heart*, by Serbin, 906  
*Negotiating for Georgia*, by Sweet, 496  
Neilson, Keith, *Britain, Soviet Russia and the Collapse of the Versailles Order, 1919–1939*, 1255  
Neilson, Keith (R), 955  
Nelson, Adam R., *The Elusive Ideal: Equal Educational Opportunity and the Federal Role in Boston's Public Schools, 1950–1985*, 892  
Nelson, Adam R. (R), 891  
Nelson, Lynn A., *Pharsalia: An Environmental Biography of a Southern Plantation, 1780–1880*, 1534  
Nelson, Scott Reynolds, *Steel Drivin' Man: John Henry, the Untold Story of an American Legend*, 1199  
Nemec, Mark R., *Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds: Universities, Leadership, and the Development of the American State*, 515  
Nemes, Robert (R), 1637  
*Nervous Conditions*, by Musselman, 588  
Nesbitt, Francis Njubi (R), 1220  
Nesvig, Martin Austin, editor, *Religious Culture in Modern Mexico* (E), 1294  
*Networking Europe*, edited by van der Vleuten and Kaijser (E), 634  
*Never One Nation*, by Frost, 853  
*The New Cambridge History of India*, by Eaton, 178  
*New Orleans on Parade*, by Souther, 1234  
*New Religions and the Nazis*, by Poewe, 608  
*The New Suburban History*, edited by Kruse and Sugrue, 1133  
*The New Victorians*, by Pimpare, 252  
Newcomer, Daniel (R), 1239  
Newman, Lance (R), 1141



- Newman, William R., *Atoms and Alchemy: Chymistry and the Experimental Origins of the Scientific Revolution*, 266
- News of Paris*, by Weber, 820
- Ng, Franklin (R), 486
- Nicolaou-Konnari, Angel, and Chris Schabel, editors, *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, 1248
- Nirenberg, David (R), 562
- No Party Now*, by Smith, 1178
- Noble, David W. (R), 1577
- Nolan, Janet (R), 1544
- Nolan, Maura (R), 898
- Noll, Mark A., *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*, 1177
- Nordstrom, Justin, *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era*, 1559
- Norgren, Jill (R), 883
- Norris, Stephen M., *A War of Images: Russian Popular Prints, Wartime Culture, and National Identity, 1812–1945*, 1281
- Not Quite White*, by Wray, 1553
- Nott, James J. (R), 278
- Nubola, Cecilia, and Andreas Würzler, editors, *Operare la resistenza: Suppliche, gravamina e rivolte in Europa (secoli XV–XIX)/Praktiken des Widerstands: Suppliken, Gravamina und Revolten in Europa (15.–19. Jahrhundert)* (E), 1295
- Numbered Days*, by Garbarini, 1498
- Nurse-Midwifery*, by Ettinger, 888
- Nuttall, Jeremy, *Psychological Socialism: The Labour Party and Qualities of Mind and Character, 1931 to the Present*, 1613
- Nye, Robert A., “Western Masculinities in War and Peace,” 417
- Oberdeck, Kathryn J. (R), 1563
- O’Brien, Michael, *Henry Adams and the Southern Question*, 1184
- O’Brien, Patty (R), 485
- Occleshaw, Michael, *Dances in Deep Shadows: The Clandestine War in Russia, 1917–20*, 955
- Oddie, Geoffrey A., *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Missionary Constructions of Hinduism, 1793–1900*, 482
- O’Driscoll, Mervyn (R), 597
- Ogborn, Miles (R), 1259
- Ogilvie, Brian W., *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe*, 571
- O’Hara, David A., *English Newsbooks and Irish Rebellion 1641–1649*, 924
- Old Potions, New Bottles*, by Sivaramakrishnan, 1150
- Old World Colony*, by Dickson, 279
- Oldenburg, Veena Talwar, *Dowry Murder: The Imperial Origins of a Cultural Crime*, 484
- Olson, James S. (R), 229
- Olson, Robert (R), 965
- On the Edge of the Future*, edited by Kripal and Shuck (E), 633
- O’Neill, Colleen, *Working the Navajo Way: Labor and Culture in the Twentieth Century*, 1551
- Onuf, Peter S. (R), 1170
- Operare la resistenza*, edited by Nubola and Würzler (E), 1295
- An Opportunity Lost*, by Dean, 528
- Oram, Gerard (R), 1612
- Ordinary Springboks*, by Roos, 1292
- The Ore Docks*, by Hudelson and Ross, 1198
- The Origins of Freemasonry*, by Jacob, 574
- The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Ford and McCafferty, 923
- The Origins of the Cuban Revolution Reconsidered*, by Farber, 554
- Origins of the Dred Scott Case*, by Allen, 1175
- Origins of the Other*, by Moyn, 295
- Orleck, Annelise (R), 896
- Orsi, Richard J. (R), 251
- Osborn, Emily Lynn, Benjamin N. Lawrance, and Richard L. Roberts, editors, *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (E), 1297
- Osborne, Robin, and Margaret Atkins, editors, *Poverty in the Roman World* (E), 633
- Osgood, Josiah, *Caesar’s Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*, 910
- Osgood, Josiah (R), 559, 1588
- Osgood, Kenneth, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*, 890
- Osheim, Duane J. (R), 916
- Osler, Margaret J. (R), 1484
- The OSS and Ho Chi Minh*, by Bartholomew-Feis, 821
- Out of Due Time*, by Scotti, 594
- Out of the Cloister*, by Halperin, 826
- Outside America*, by Moos, 206
- “Overcoming the ‘Contagion of Mimicry,’” by Williams, 69
- Overmyer-Velázquez, Mark, *Visions of the Emerald City: Modernity, Tradition, and the Formation of Porfirian Oaxaca, Mexico*, 1237
- Overmyer-Velázquez, Mark (R), 1582
- Owen, Roger (R), 1262
- Owens, J. B. (R), 1264
- Padrón, Ricardo (R), 1529
- Painting Women*, by Phillippy, 264
- The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate*, by Nadan, 1285
- Palk, Deirdre, *Gender, Crime and Judicial Discretion, 1780–1830*, 1609
- Palladino, Grace, *Skilled Hands, Strong Spirits: A Century of Building Trades History*, 1565
- Palmer, Colin A., *Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean*, 1235
- Palmer, Scott W., *Dictatorship of the Air: Aviation Culture and the Fate of Modern Russia*, 956
- The Pan-African Nation*, by Apter, 1658
- Panic! Markets, Crises, and Crowds in American Fiction*, by Zimmerman, 857
- Panossian, Razmik, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*, 1654
- Pansters, Wil, and Alan Knight, editors, *Caciquismo in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, 1239
- The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust*, by Coppa, 616
- Papailias, Penelope, *Genres of Recollection: Archival Poetics and Modern Greece*, 160
- Paradox and Perseverance*, by Bustin, 1607
- Paradoxes of Desegregation*, by Baker, 891
- Paret, Peter (R), 1489

- Parish, Susan Scott, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*, 1138
- Park, John S. W. (R), 199
- Park, Katherine, and Lorraine Daston, editors, *The Cambridge History of Science; Volume 3, Early Modern Science*, 1484
- Parker, Geoffrey (R), 930
- Parker, John, and Jean Allman, *Tongvaab: The History of a West African God*, 1656
- Parkin, Katherine J., *Food Is Love: Food Advertising and Gender Roles in Modern America*, 542
- Parmet, Robert D., *The Master of Seventh Avenue: David Dubinsky and the American Labor Movement*, 237
- Parson, Don, *Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare, and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles*, 1568
- Parsons, Jotham (R), 602
- Past Impersonal*, by Binion, 1131
- The Path Not Taken*, by Horn, 1267
- Patler, Nicholas, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration: Protesting Federal Segregation in the Early Twentieth Century*, 522
- Patterson, Catherine F. (R), 268
- Patterson, Sara M., and Fay Bothman, editors, *Race, Religion, Region: Landscapes of Encounter in the American West*, 863
- Payne, Stanley G., *The Collapse of the Spanish Republic, 1933–1936: Origins of the Civil War*, 1616
- Pederasts and Others*, by Peniston, 286
- Pedersen, Susan, "Back to the League of Nations," 1091
- Pedersen, Susan, *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience*, 595
- Pedersen, Susan (R), 1614
- Pelt, Mogens, *Tying Greece to the West: US-West German-Greek Relations 1949–74*, 170
- Pendas, Devin O., *The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963–1965: Genocide, History, and the Limits of the Law*, 1630
- Pendas, Devin O. (R), 1629
- Peniston, William A., *Pederasts and Others: Urban Culture and Sexual Identity in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, 286
- Penn, Nigel, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the Eighteenth Century*, 970
- Penningroth, Dylan C., "The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison," 1039
- Pennock, Pamela E. (R), 550
- Perception and Action in Medieval Europe*, by Kleinschmidt, 566
- Perils of Dominance*, by Porter, 1216
- Permeable Border*, by Bukowczyk, et al., 835
- Peters, Rudolph (R), 965
- Peterson, Derek R. (R), 629
- Peterson, Jon A. (R), 1161
- Petreu, Marta, *An Infamous Past: E. M. Cioran and the Rise of Fascism in Romania*, 1643
- Petruionis, Sandra Herbert, *To Set This World Right: The Antislavery Movement in Thoreau's Concord*, 851
- Petrusewicz, Marta (R), 617
- Pets in America*, by Grier, 899
- Pfaff, Steven, *Exit-Voice Dynamics and the Collapse of East Germany: The Crisis of Leninism and the Revolution of 1989*, 944
- Pharsalia*, by Nelson, 1534
- Phelan, Craig (R), 897
- Phillippy, Patricia, *Painting Women: Cosmetics, Canvases, and Early Modern Culture*, 264
- Phillips, Michael, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841–2001*, 859
- Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism, by Critchlow, 1227
- Pickowicz, Paul G., Joseph W. Esherick, and Andrew G. Walder, editors, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* (E), 632
- Pickus, Noah, *True Faith and Allegiance: Immigration and American Civic Nationalism*, 209
- Pierce, Richard B., *Polite Protest: The Political Economy of Race in Indianapolis, 1920–1970*, 223
- Pierce, Steven, *Farmers and the State in Colonial Kano: Land Tenure and the Legal Imagination*, 968
- Piker, Joshua (R), 839
- Pimpare, Stephen, *The New Victorians: Poverty, Politics, and Propaganda in Two Gilded Ages*, 252
- Pinch, William R., *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires*, 177
- Pintando el mundo de azul*, by Fernández Molina, 904
- Pippidi, Andrei, *Byzantines, Ottomans, Roumains: Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales*, 951
- Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands*, by Lunsford, 936
- Pisani, Michael V., *Imagining Native America in Music*, 1196
- Place and Politics*, by Aaslestad, 293
- Plague and Fire*, by Mohr, 486
- Plague Ports*, by Echenberg, 1143
- Plank, Geoffrey (R), 925
- Planters' Progress*, by Morgan, 198
- Planting a Capitalist South*, by Downey, 195
- Platt, Kevin M. F., and David Brandenberger, editors, *Epic Revisionism: Russian History and Literature and Stalinist Propaganda*, 620
- The Playful Crowd*, by Cross and Walton, 171
- Playing for Their Nation*, by Bullock, 885
- Poewe, Karla, *New Religions and the Nazis*, 608
- Pohl, Walter (R), 912
- Poland's Threatening Other*, by Michlic, 619
- Policing Paris*, by Rosenberg, 1271
- Polite Protest*, by Pierce, 223
- Political Indoctrination in the U.S. Army from World War II to the Vietnam War*, by DeRosa, 1215
- Political Violence and the Construction of National Identity in Latin America*, edited by Fowler and Lambert (E), 1663
- Politics and Power in Victorian Ireland*, edited by Swift and Kinealy (E), 973
- Politics and Religion in the White South*, edited by Feldman, 203
- "Politics of Colonial Sensation," by Epstein, 712
- The Politics of Commonwealth*, by Withington, 582
- Polletta, Francesca (R), 1222
- Pollock, Sheldon, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*, 480
- The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, by Unowsky, 1275
- Ponder, Stephen (R), 1185
- Poole, Mary, *The Segregated Origins of Social Security: African Americans and the Welfare State*, 881

- Poole, Stafford, and Susan Schroeder, editors, *Religion in New Spain* (E), 1663
- Poor People's Medicine, by Engel, 247
- The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254, by Fonnesberg-Schmidt, 1592
- Popular Eugenics, edited by Currell and Cogdell (E), 633
- Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan, by Rubinger, 1521
- The Popularization of Malthus in Early Nineteenth-Century England, by Huzel, 926
- Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia, by Kontogiorgi, 1644
- Porch, Douglas (R), 287
- Porter, Bernard, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*, 587
- Porter, Gareth, *Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam*, 1216
- Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800, edited by Bethencourt and Curto (E), 1660
- Postwar, by Judt, 465
- Poverty and Charity in the Jewish Community of Medieval Egypt, by Cohen, 312
- Poverty in the Roman World, edited by Atkins and Osborne (E), 633
- Power and Progress, by McCartney, 204
- The Power of Projections, by Klinghoffer, 471
- Powers, Madelon (R), 217
- Practical Pursuits, by Nakamura, 832
- Prêcher la paix et discipliner la société, edited by Dessì, 916
- Der Preis der deutschen Einheit, by Ritter, 1274
- Premo, Bianca, and Ondina E. González, editors, *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America* (E), 1660
- Prescott, Heather Munro (R), 247
- Presidential Temples, by Hufbauer, 1221
- Preston, Andrew, *The War Council: McGeorge Bundy, the NSC, and Vietnam*, 1217
- Price, Roger (R), 1267
- The Price of Whiteness, by Goldstein, 233
- Printer's Devil, by Michelson, 1185
- Prior, Charles W. A., *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603–1625*, 1606
- Prior, Charles W. A. (R), 1606
- The Prison and the Gallows, by Gottschalk, 551
- Prisoners of the Home Front, by Auger, 179
- Private and Public Enterprise in Europe, by Millward, 576
- Proctor, Tammy M. (R), 276
- Propaganda, Censorship and Irish Neutrality in the Second World War, by Cole, 597
- Prophets of Protest, edited by McCarthy and Stauffer, 1177
- Prophets of the Great Spirit, by Cave, 1163
- Protestant Theology and the Rise of the Modern German University, by Howard, 604
- Prushankin, Jeffery S., *A Crisis in Confederate Command: Edmund Kirby Smith, Richard Taylor, and the Army of the Trans-Mississippi*, 510
- Psychological Socialism, by Nuttall, 1613
- "Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England," by Withington, 1016
- Public Men, edited by McCormack (E), 1295
- Pubs and Progressives, by Gutzke, 592
- Pullan, Brian (R), 1633
- Pulma, Panu, *Suljetut ovet: Pohjoismaiden romanpolitiikka 1500-luvulta EU-aikaan*, 936
- Pulsipher, Jenny Hale (R), 837
- Purcell, Sarah J. (R), 1526
- The Pursuit of Fairness, by Anderson, 241
- Pybus, Cassandra (R), 502
- Quataert, Donald, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: The Zonguldak Coalfield, 1822–1920*, 314
- Quataert, Donald (R), 964
- Quinn, Dermot (R), 594
- Quinn-Judge, Sophie (R), 821
- Quinn-Judge, Sophie, and Odd Arne Westad, editors, *The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam and Cambodia, 1972–1979* (E), 320
- The Rabbi's Wife, by Schwartz, 884
- Rabe, Stephen G. (R), 823
- Rabe, Stephen G. (C), 1316
- Raber, Karen (R), 1144
- Rabinovitz, Lauren (R), 521
- Race after Hitler, by Fehrenbach, 169
- Race and the Making of American Liberalism, by Horton, 882
- "Race, Racism, and Antiracism," by Brattain, 1386
- Race, Religion, Region, edited by Bothman and Patterson, 863
- Race Work, by Whitaker, 537
- Rachamimov, Alon (R), 1635
- Radical Pacifism in Modern America, by Mollin, 1222
- Raeburn, John, *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography*, 1564
- Raina, Dhruv, and S. Irfan Habib, editors, *Social History of Science in Colonial India* (E), 1662
- Raising an Empire, edited by González and Premo (E), 1660
- Raising Consumers, by Jacobson, 1194
- Raitt, Jill (R), 1272
- Rakove, Jack N. (R), 1528
- Ramsey, by DeWindt and DeWindt, 567
- Ramseyer, Valerie, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape: Medieval Southern Italy 850–1150*, 1246
- Rape and Sexual Power in Early America, by Block, 848
- Rasmussen, Susan J., *Those Who Touch: Tuareg Medicine Women in Anthropological Perspective*, 625
- Rath, Richard Cullen (R), 194
- Rauchway, Eric, *Blessed among Nations: How the World Made America*, 494
- Rawnsley, Gary D. (R), 890
- Ray, Jonathan, *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia*, 915
- Raymond, Joad (R), 1604
- Reading and Riding, by DeMarco, 285
- Reading Germany, by Reuveni, 607
- Reading Palestine, by Ayalon, 624
- Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century, by Harvey, 270
- Reality Fictions, by Stein, 1247
- Recasting the Machine Age, by Segal, 524
- Reckless Rites, by Horowitz, 1502
- Reconstructing American Historical Cinema, by Smyth, 1195
- Reconstructing the Commercial Republic, by Elkin, 1159

- Reconstructing the Fourth Amendment*, by Taslitz, 1181  
 Redinger, Matthew A., *American Catholics and the Mexican Revolution, 1924–1936*, 215  
 Redlich, Shimon (R), 959  
*Rednecks, Redeemers, and Race*, by Cresswell, 870  
*Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*, edited by Goldschmidt, Johnson, and Salmoni, 1652  
*Reforming Philosophy*, by Snyder, 1260  
 Reichard, Gary W. (R), 1204  
 Reid, Donald Malcolm (R), 1506  
 Reid, John Phillip, *The Ancient Constitution and the Origins of Anglo-American Liberty*, 809  
*The Reign of Edward II*, edited by Dodd and Musson (E), 634  
 Reiman, Richard A. (R), 224  
 Reinbold, Markus, *Jenseits der Konfession: Die frühe Frankreichpolitik Philipps II. von Spanien 1559–1571*, 930  
*Reins of Liberation*, by Xiaoyuan, 1519  
 Re-Inventing “The People”, by Stromquist, 1560  
*Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, edited by Brakke, Satlow, and Weitzman, 962  
*Une religion des livres (1640–1850)*, by Martin, 602  
*Religion in New Spain*, edited by Schroeder and Poole (E), 1663  
*Religious Culture in Modern Mexico*, edited by Nesvig (E), 1294  
*The Religious History of American Women*, edited by Brekus (E), 972  
*Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, edited by Fincham and Lake (E), 634  
*Reluctant Heroes*, by Fung, 830  
*Remaking France*, by McKenzie, 289  
*The Remarkable Life of John Murray Spear*, by Buescher, 1536  
*Remembering and Imagining the Holocaust*, by Bigsby, 1497  
*Remembering War*, by Winter, 1132  
 Remmert, Volker, *Widmung, Welterklärung und Wissenschaftslegitimierung: Titelbilder und ihre Funktionen in der Wissenschaftlichen Revolution*, 265  
*The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, by D’Elia, 300  
 Renkama, Jukka, *Ideology and Challenges of Political Liberalisation in the USSR, 1957–1961: Otto Kuusinen’s “Reform Platform,” the State Concept, and the Path to the 3rd CPSU Programme*, 961  
 Renkama, Jukka (C), 1317  
 “Reopening the ‘Opening of Japan,’” by Konishi, 101  
*Représentation et pouvoir*, edited by Scholz and Schröer (E), 1664  
*Republican Beijing*, by Dong, 1517  
*The Rescue of Joshua Glover*, by Baker, 1540  
 “Rethinking the Socialist Construction and International Career of the Concept ‘Bourgeois Feminism,’” by Boxer, 131  
 Reuveni, Gideon, *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933*, 607  
*Revel with a Cause*, by Kercher, 1207  
*Revolution in the Highlands*, by Averill, 1518  
*Reworking Race*, by Jung, 1202  
 Reynolds, E. Bruce (R), 1523  
 Reynolds, John F., *The Demise of the American Convention System, 1880–1911*, 856  
 Reynolds, Matthew, *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich c.1560–1643*, 268  
 Riasanovsky, Nicholas V., *Russian Identities: A Historical Survey*, 305  
 Richard Hofstadter, by Brown, 1125  
 Richards, Michael, and Chris Ealham, editors, *The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939*, 599  
 Richardson, Brian W., *Longitude and Empire: How Captain Cook’s Voyages Changed the World*, 163  
 Richardson, David, David Eltis, and Philip Morgan, “Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas,” 1329  
 Riello, Giorgio, *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century*, 1599  
*La riforma agraria in Italia e gli Stati Uniti*, by Bernardi, 617  
 Riggsby, Andrew M., *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words*, 559  
*Right Turn*, by Moser, 238  
*Righteous Indignation*, by Creech, 866  
 Righter, Robert W., *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America’s Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism*, 249  
 Righter, Robert W. (R), 546  
 Riney-Kehrberg, Pamela, *Childhood on the Farm: Work, Play, and Coming of Age in the Midwest*, 225  
 Riney-Kehrberg, Pamela (R), 519  
*The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race*, by Baum, 814  
 Riskin, Jessica (R), 187  
 Ritter, Gerhard A., *Der Preis der deutschen Einheit: Die Wiedervereinigung und die Krise des Sozialstaates*, 1274  
 Ritter, Gretchen, *The Constitution as Social Design: Gender and Civic Membership in the American Constitutional Order*, 543  
*Ritual Imports*, by Sponsler, 898  
*The River Flows On*, by Rucker, 1171  
 Roa-de-la-Carrera, Cristián A., *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism*, 1615  
 Roa-de-la-Carrera, Cristián (R), 902  
*Roads to Glory*, by Bobroff, 954  
 Roberson, Houston Bryan, *Fighting the Good Fight: The Story of the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, 1865–1977*, 1225  
 Roberts, Brian (R), 856  
 Roberts, Priscilla, editor, *Behind the Bamboo Curtain: China, Vietnam, and the World beyond Asia* (E), 632  
 Roberts, Richard, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in the French Soudan, 1895–1912*, 967  
 Roberts, Richard (R), 968  
 Roberts, Richard L., Benjamin N. Lawrance, and Emily Lynn Osborn, editors, *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (E), 1297  
 Robertson, Stephen, *Crimes against Children: Sexual Violence and Legal Culture in New York City, 1880–1960*, 516  
 Robinson, Edward J., *To Save My Race from Abuse: The Life of Samuel Robert Cassius*, 1546  
 Robinson, Eric (R), 1244  
 Robinson, Michael F., *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture*, 545



- Rocchi, Fernando, *Chimneys in the Desert: Industrialization in Argentina during the Export Boom Years, 1870–1930*, 256
- Rock, Howard B. (R), 499
- Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada, by Brison, 489
- Rockefeller Money, the Laboratory, and Medicine in Edinburgh, 1919–1930, by Lawrence, 277
- Rockel, Stephen J., *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa*, 1288
- Rodogno, Davide, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, 949
- Rodriguez, Julia (R), 907
- Rodriguez, Marc S., and Anthony T. Grafton, editors, *Migration in History: Human Migration in Comparative Perspective* (E), 1661
- Roemer, Nils H., *Jewish Scholarship and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Between History and Faith*, 294
- Roemer, Nils, Neil Gregor, and Mark Roseman, editors, *German History from the Margins*, 810
- Rogers, William Warren, Jr. (R), 511
- "Le roi doit vivre du sien," by Scordia, 262
- Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius, by Errington, 560
- The Roman Predicament*, by James, 825
- Romsics, Gergely, *Myth and Remembrance: The Dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in the Memoir Literature of the Austro-Hungarian Political Elite*, 1636
- Roodenburg, Herman, *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic*, 1617
- Roos, Neil, *Ordinary Springboks: White Servicemen and Social Justice in South Africa, 1939–1961*, 1292
- Roosevelt, the Great Depression, and the Economics of Recovery, by Rosen, 235
- Rosales, F. Arturo (R), 1504
- Roseman, Mark, Neil Gregor, and Nils Roemer, editors, *German History from the Margins*, 810
- Rosen, Deborah A. (R), 845
- Rosen, Elliott A., *Roosevelt, the Great Depression, and the Economics of Recovery*, 235
- Rosen, Stanley (R), 804
- Rosenberg, Clifford, *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars*, 1271
- Rosenberg, Clifford (R), 819
- Rosenberg, Emily S. (R), 494
- Rosenberg, Jonathan, *How Far the Promised Land? World Affairs and the American Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam*, 1220
- The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, by Hoffschwelle, 890
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. (C), 1313
- Rosman, Moshe (R), 619, 950
- Ross, Carl, and Richard Hudelson, *The Ore Docks: A Working People's History of Duluth*, 1198
- Ross, Chad (R), 608
- Ross, Heidi (R), 1148
- Rossmann, Jeffrey J., *Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor*, 958
- Rotberg, Robert I., editor, *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix* (E), 635
- Roth, Benita (R), 1226
- Rothwell, Victor (R), 596
- Rotter, Andrew J. (R), 1216
- Rowe, John Carlos (R), 817
- Rowe, William T. (R), 828
- Roxborough, Ian (R), 806
- Roy, Lyse, *L'université de Caen aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Identité et représentation*, 917
- Rozman, Gilbert, Charles K. Armstrong, Samuel S. Kim, and Stephen Kotkin, editors, *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*, 176
- Rubin, Hyman, III, *South Carolina Scalawags*, 511
- Rubinger, Richard, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*, 1521
- Rucker, Walter C., *The River Flows On: Black Resistance, Culture, and Identity Formation in Early America*, 1171
- Rudin, Ronald (R), 488
- Rudolph, John L. (R), 1230
- Rudy, Jarrett, *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity*, 487
- Ruff, Julius R. (R), 931
- Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, by Kelly, 912
- Runciman, David (R), 1147
- Rusnock, Andrea (R), 1600
- Russell, Camilla, *Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies of Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 1634
- Russell, James R. (R), 1654
- Russian Identities*, by Riasanovsky, 305
- Ryan, Barbara, *Love, Wages, Slavery: The Literature of Servitude in the United States*, 1174
- Ryden, Kent C. (R), 202
- Sachs, Aaron, *The Humboldt Current: Nineteenth-Century Exploration and the Roots of American Environmentalism*, 1141
- Sacred Bonds of Solidarity*, by Leff, 1269
- Sacred Stories*, edited by Steinberg and Coleman (E), 1296
- Sadi, Ahmad H., and Lila Abu-Lughod, editors, *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (E), 1296
- Sadowsky, Jonathan (R), 1658
- The Sage of Sugar Hill*, by Ferguson, 874
- The Sainly Politics of Catherine of Siena*, by Luongo, 1594
- Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*, edited by Cormack (E), 632
- Saller, Richard (R), 256
- Salmon, Patrick (R), 937
- Salmoni, Barak A., Arthur Goldschmidt, and Amy J. Johnson, editors, *Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*, 1652
- Salzmann, Ariel (R), 1653
- Sammond, Nicholas (R), 549
- Samuels, Albert L. (R), 892
- The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880–1940*, by Bokovoy, 207
- Sanders, Paula (R), 312
- Santamarina, Xiomara, *Belabored Professions: Narratives of African American Working Womanhood*, 852
- Sarasohn, Lisa T. (R), 1598
- Sarfatti, Michele, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*, 948
- Sarris, Jonathan Dean, *A Separate Civil War: Communities in Conflict in the Mountain South*, 509
- Saskatchewan*, by Waiser, 180
- Satlow, Michael L., David Brakke, and Steven Weitzman, editors, *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, 962
- Saul, Mahir (R), 1656

- Saul, Norman E., *Friends or Foes? The United States and Soviet Russia, 1921–1941*, 234
- Sauter, Michael J., "Clockwatchers and Stargazers: Time Discipline in Early Modern Berlin," 685
- Sayre, Gordon M., *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero: Native Resistance and the Literatures of America, from Moctezuma to Tecumseh*, 161
- Scafi, Alessandro, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*, 1482
- The Scandal of Empire*, by Dirks, 471
- Scarlett's Sisters*, by Jabour, 1538
- Schabel, Chris, and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, editors, *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, 1248
- Schechter, Patricia A. (R), 1186
- Scheck, Raffael, *Hitler's African Victims: The German Army Massacre of Black French Soldiers in 1940*, 611
- Schleiner, Winfried (R), 1257
- Schmelz, Peter (R), 1650
- Schmidt, Elizabeth (R), 289
- Schneewind, Sarah, *Community Schools and the State in Ming China*, 477
- Schneider, James C. (C), 1317
- Schneller, Robert J., Jr., *Breaking the Color Barrier: The U.S. Naval Academy's First Black Midshipmen and the Struggle for Racial Equality*, 240
- Schocket, Andrew M., *Founding Corporate Power in Early National Philadelphia*, 1532
- Schoenfeldt, Michael (R), 1617
- Schoenhals, Michael, and Roderick MacFarquhar, *Mao's Last Revolution*, 804
- Scholz, Natalie, and Christina Schröer, editors, *Représentation et pouvoir: La politique symbolique en France (1789–1830)* (E), 1664
- School Choice and School Governance*, by Herbst, 818
- School for Citizens*, by Frame, 1646
- Schools of Democracy*, by Sinyai, 897
- Schrag, Zachary M., *The Great Society Subway: A History of the Washington Metro*, 1210
- Schrepfer, Susan R., *Nature's Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism*, 546
- Schroeder, Susan, and Stafford Poole, editors, *Religion in New Spain* (E), 1663
- Schröer, Christina, and Natalie Scholz, editors, *Représentation et pouvoir: La politique symbolique en France (1789–1830)* (E), 1664
- Schultz, Celia E., *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic*, 256
- Schultz, Constance B., and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, editors, *Clio's Southern Sisters: Interviews with Leaders of the Southern Association for Women Historians*, 469
- Schultz, Kirsten (R), 601
- Schuster, Klaus, *Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, Sozialstruktur und biologischer Lebensstandard in München un dem südlichen Bayern im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1273
- Schutte, Anne Jacobson (R), 263
- Schütz, Erhard, and Wolfgang Hardtwig, editors, *Geschichte für Leser: Populäre Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert*, 1631
- Schuyler, Lorraine Gates, *The Weight of Their Votes: Southern Women and Political Leverage in the 1920s*, 1562
- Schwartz, Marie Jenkins, *Birthing a Slave: Motherhood and Medicine in the Antebellum South*, 506
- Schwartz, Robert M. (R), 1621
- Schwartz, Shuly Rubin, *The Rabbi's Wife: The Rebbetzin in American Jewish Life*, 884
- Schwartz, Shuly Rubin (R), 231
- Schweber, Libby, *Disciplining Statistics: Demography and Vital Statistics in France and England, 1830–1885*, 1600
- Schweninger, Loren (R), 193
- Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation*, by Carroll, 1259
- Science Has No Sex*, by Tuchman, 228
- Science in the Service of Children, 1893–1935*, by Smuts, 225
- The Science of Describing*, by Ogilvie, 571
- A Science on the Scales*, by Hubbard, 1525
- Scordia, Lydwine, "Le roi doit vivre du sien": *La théorie de l'impôt en France (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, 262
- Scott, Hamish, and Brendan Simms, editors, *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century* (E), 1664
- Scott, Jamie S., and Alwyn Austin, editors, *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, 1154
- Scott, Rebecca J., *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery*, 166
- Scotti, Dom Paschal, *Out of Due Time: Wilfrid Ward and the Dublin Review*, 594
- The Scratch of a Pen*, by Calloway, 184
- Sea Change at Annapolis*, by Gelfand, 1213
- Sea la Luz*, by Martínez, 1192
- The Search for Neofascism*, by Gregor, 1498
- Searls, Paul M., *Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity, 1865–1910*, 202
- Seaver, Paul S. (R), 269
- The Seduction of Culture in German History*, by Lepenies, 802
- Seeff, Adele, and Joan E. Hartman, editors, *Structures and Subjectivities: Attending to Early Modern Women* (E), 973
- Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World*, by Denery, 1249
- Seeking Refuge*, by García, 1146
- Segal, Howard P., *Recasting the Machine Age: Henry Ford's Village Industries*, 524
- The Segregated Origins of Social Security*, by Poole, 881
- Seidman, Michael (R), 599
- Seigel, Jerrold, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century*, 575
- Self, Senility, and Alzheimer's Disease in Modern America*, by Ballenger, 1229
- Seligman, Amanda I., *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side*, 222
- Selling Jerusalem*, by Wharton, 966
- Selling Songs and Smiles*, by Goodwin, 1520
- Selunskaiia, Natal'ia, and Rolf Torstendahl, *Zarozhdenie demokraticeskoi kul'tury: Rossiia v nachale XX veka (The Birth of a Democratic Culture: Russia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century)*, 305
- The Sentinels of Culture*, by Bhattacharya, 483
- A Separate Civil War*, by Sarris, 509
- The Sephardic Frontier*, by Ray, 915
- Serbin, Kenneth P., *Needs of the Heart: A Social and Cultural History of Brazil's Clergy and Seminaries*, 906
- Sesame Street and the Reform of Children's Television*, by Morrow, 549
- Seth, Michael J. (R), 1522
- 1715, by Szechi, 925

- Sex among the Rabble*, by Lyons, 501
- Shackelford, Jole (R), 266
- Shadle, Brett L., "Girl Cases": *Marriage and Colonialism in Gusiiland, Kenya, 1890–1970*, 1289
- Shamdasani, Sonu (R), 1610
- The Shame and the Sorrow*, by Merwick, 837
- Shamir, Milette, *Inexpressible Privacy: The Interior Life of Antebellum American Literature*, 850
- Shankman, Andrew (R), 1532
- Shapers of Southern History*, edited by Boles, 469
- Shaping a Monastic Identity*, by Boynton, 259
- Shaping the Ideal Child*, by Bai, 1148
- Sharp, Buchanan, and Mark Charles Fissel, editors, *Law and Authority in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to Thomas Garden Barnes* (E), 972
- Sharp, James Roger (R), 841
- Sharpe, James (R), 1604
- Sharpless, Rebecca (R), 527
- Sharrer, Terry (R), 1534
- Shaw, James E., *The Justice of Venice: Authorities and Liberties in the Urban Economy 1550–1700*, 615
- The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795–1870*, by Warren, 1164
- Shea, William R. (R), 1253
- Sheinin, David (R), 824
- Sheinin, David M. K., *Argentina and the United States: An Alliance Contained*, 1145
- Shelton, Anita (R), 1254
- Shenk, Gerald E., "Work or Fight!" *Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One*, 871
- Shenk, Gerald E. (R), 1561
- Shepard, Alexandra (R), 1258
- Shepkaru, Shmuel, *Jewish Martyrs in the Pagan and Christian Worlds*, 561
- Sherry, Michael (R), 1215
- Shilo, Margalit (R), 624
- Shin, Leo K., *The Making of the Chinese State: Ethnicity and Expansion on the Ming Borderlands*, 827
- Shining Path*, by Taylor, 1241
- The Shock of the Old*, by Edgerton, 1509
- Shockley, Megan Taylor (R), 536
- Shoemaker, Nancy (R), 846
- Shopkow, Leah (R), 1247
- Shore, Marci, *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918–1968*, 1641
- The Shotgun Method*, by Hansen, 1244
- Shternshis, Anna, *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*, 959
- Shuck, Glenn W., and Jeffrey J. Kripal, editors, *On the Edge of the Future: Esalen and the Evolution of American Culture* (E), 633
- Shuger, Debora, *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Language in Tudor-Stuart England*, 1604
- Shukla, Sandhya, and Heidi Tinsman, editors, *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame* (E), 1660
- Shuster, Richard J., *German Disarmament after World War I: The Diplomacy of International Arms Inspection 1920–1931*, 606
- Sick Building Syndrome and the Problem of Uncertainty*, by Murphy, 1231
- Siegmund, Stefanie B., *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community*, 302
- Siena, Kevin, editor, *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe*, 1252
- Siena, Kevin (R), 585
- Sienese Painting after the Black Death*, by Steinhoff, 1250
- Sievens, Mary Beth, *Stray Wives: Marital Conflict in Early National New England*, 1160
- Silbey, David (R), 1255
- Silverman, David J., *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600–1871*, 495
- Silverman, David J. (R), 836
- Simmons, Cynthia (R), 1649
- Simmons, Erica B., *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 1508
- Simmons, I. G. (R), 275
- Simms, Brendan, and Hamish Scott, editors, *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century* (E), 1664
- Simón Bolívar*, by Lynch, 905
- Simon, James F., *Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney: Slavery, Secession, and the President's War Powers*, 1176
- Simon, Jonathan, *Chemistry, Pharmacy and Revolution in France, 1777–1809*, 284
- Simon, Linda (R), 1157
- Simon, Reeve Spector (R), 1286
- Simonsen, Jane E., *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the West, 1860–1919*, 855
- Singer, Amy, Israel Gershoni, and Y. Hakan Erdem, editors, *Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth Century* (E), 321
- Sinha, Manisha, and Penny Von Eschen, editors, *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History* (E), 1662
- Sinke, Suzanne M., Bruce S. Elliott, and David A. Gerber, editors, *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (E), 1661
- Sins of the Flesh*, edited by Siena, 1252
- Sinyai, Clayton, *Schools of Democracy: A Political History of the American Labor Movement*, 897
- Sinyai, Clayton (R), 533
- Sitton, Sarah C. (R), 1168
- Siu, Helen F. (R), 173
- Sivaramakrishnan, Kavita, *Old Potions, New Bottles: Recasting Indigenous Medicine in Colonial Punjab (1850–1945)*, 1150
- Sivasundaram, Sujit, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795–1850*, 485
- Six Hundred Years of Reform*, by Hayden and Greenshields, 283
- Sizer, Lyde Cullen (R), 1174
- Sizgorich, Thomas, "Do Prophets Come with a Sword?" *Conquest, Empire, and Historical Narrative in the Early Islamic World*, 993
- Skilled Hands, Strong Spirits*, by Palladino, 1565
- Sklar, Kathryn Kish, and James Brewer Stewart, editors, *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (E), 1293
- Slade, Giles, *Made to Break: Technology and Obsolescence in America*, 549
- Slap, Andrew L., *The Doom of Reconstruction: The Liberal Republicans in the Civil War Era*, 1547
- Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730–1807*, by Christopher, 816
- Slavery and American Economic Development*, by Wright, 810

- Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic*, by Mason, 1172
- Slavery and South Asian History*, edited by Chatterjee and Eaton (E), 1293
- Slavery and the Commerce Power*, by Lightner, 1539
- Slawson, Douglas J., *The Department of Education Battle, 1918–1932: Public Schools, Catholic Schools, and the Social Order*, 210
- Slezkine, Yuri, *The Jewish Century*, 463
- Slotkin, Richard, *Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality*, 1561
- Small, Melvin, *At the Water's Edge: American Politics and the Vietnam War*, 244
- Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers*, by Woell, 1620
- Smil, Vaclav, *Creating the Twentieth Century: Technical Innovations of 1867–1914 and Their Lasting Impact*, 167
- Smith, Adam I. P., *No Party Now: Politics in the Civil War North*, 1178
- Smith, Adam I. P. (R), 508
- Smith, Duane A., *A Time for Peace: Fort Lewis, Colorado, 1878–1891*, 856
- Smith, Frederick H., *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History*, 553
- Smith, Hannah, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714–1760*, 584
- Smith, Helmut Walser (R), 942
- Smith, J. Douglas (R), 1562
- Smith, Jason Scott, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956*, 880
- Smith, Jay M. (R), 1266
- Smith, Joshua M., *Borderland Smuggling: Patriots, Loyalists, and Illicit Trade in the Northeast, 1783–1820*, 503
- Smith, Mark M., *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses*, 194
- Smith, Merril D. (R), 848
- Smith, Michael Stephen, *The Emergence of Modern Business Enterprise in France, 1800–1930*, 603
- Smith, R. Drew, editor, *Freedom's Distant Shores: American Protestants and Post-Colonial Alliances with Africa* (E), 632
- Smith, Sherry L. (R), 861
- Smith, Theresa Ann, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain*, 598
- Smook, Gregory E., *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century*, 1550
- Smuts, Alice Boardman, *Science in the Service of Children, 1893–1935*, 225
- Smyth, J. E., *Reconstructing American Historical Cinema: From Cimarron to Citizen Kane*, 1195
- Snowden, Frank M., *The Conquest of Malaria: Italy, 1900–1962*, 1276
- Snyder, Laura J., *Reforming Philosophy: A Victorian Debate on Science and Society*, 1260
- Soares, Benjamin F., *Islam and the Prayer Economy: History and Authority in a Malian Town*, 317
- Social Change in America*, by Clark, 181
- A Social History of Indian Football*, by Majumdar and Bandyopadhyay, 834
- Social History of Science in Colonial India*, edited by Habib and Raina (E), 1662
- Socolow, Susan Migden (R), 1242
- Sold American*, by McGovern, 1566
- Solomon, Susan Gross, editor, *Doing Medicine Together: Germany and Russia between the Wars*, 1601
- Something Happened*, by Berkowitz, 1576
- Sommerville, Johann (R), 922
- The Soul of Commerce*, by Beachy, 292
- The Sounds of Silence*, by Marques, 601
- South Carolina Scalawags*, by Rubin, 511
- Souther, J. Mark, *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City*, 1234
- The Southern Diaspora*, by Gregory, 220
- Southern Farmers and Their Stories*, by Walker, 1201
- The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade*, by Graham-Leigh, 261
- Southern Sons*, by Glover, 1537
- Southgate, Beverley, *What Is History For?*, 468
- Soviet and Kosher*, by Shternshis, 959
- The Soviet Pharmaceutical Business during Its First Two Decades (1917–1937)*, by Conroy, 957
- Sowell, David (R), 1579
- Spalding, Elizabeth Edwards, *The First Cold Warrior: Harry Truman, Containment, and the Remaking of Liberal Internationalism*, 1204
- Spanish King of the Incas*, by Lorandi, 557
- Spears, Timothy B. (R), 517
- Sperber, Jonathan (R), 292, 921
- The Spirit and the Shotgun*, by Wendt, 1572
- Spirits of Defiance*, by Drowne, 217
- The Splintering of Spain*, edited by Ealham and Richards, 599
- Sponsler, Claire, *Ritual Imports: Performing Medieval Drama in America*, 898
- Spreading the Word*, by Stillson, 1535
- Spring, Joel (R), 542
- Springer, Kimberly, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968–1980*, 1574
- Stadt und Kommunikation in bundesrepublikanischen Umbruchzeiten*, edited by von Saldern (E), 635
- A Staggering Revolution*, by Raeburn, 1564
- Stalin, by Kuromiya, 310
- Stalin, edited by Davies and Harris, 1648
- Standard of Living*, by Moskowitz, 877
- Stanonis, Anthony J., *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918–1945*, 526
- Staples, Amy L. S., *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945–1965*, 1513
- The State and the Subaltern*, edited by Atabaki (E), 1665
- State or Merchant?*, by Dunstan, 828
- "The Stateless as the Citizen's Other," by Kerber, 1
- States of Nature*, by Loo, 1153
- Statler, Kathryn C., and Andrew L. Johns, editors, *The Eisenhower Administration, the Third World, and the Globalization of the Cold War* (E), 972
- "Status without Rights," by Edwards, 365
- Stauffer, John, and Timothy Patrick McCarthy, editors, *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism*, 1177
- Stave, Bruce M. (R), 1133
- Steady the Buffs! A Regiment, a Region, and the Great War*, by Connelly, 1612
- Steel Drivin' Man*, by Nelson, 1199
- Steele, Ian K. (R), 800
- Stein, Robert M., *Reality Fictions: Romance, History and Governmental Authority, 1025–1180*, 1247
- Steinberg, Mark D., and Heather J. Coleman, editors,



- Sacred Stories: Religion and Spirituality in Modern Russia* (E), 1296
- Steinhoff, Judith B., *Sienese Painting after the Black Death: Artistic Pluralism, Politics, and the New Art Market*, 1250
- Stepenoff, Bonnie, *From French Community to Missouri Town: Ste. Genevieve in the Nineteenth Century*, 1533
- Stephanson, Anders (R), 204
- Sterba, Christopher M. (R), 1188
- Stern, Alexandra Minna, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*, 538
- Stern, Ludmila, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920–40: From Red Square to the Left Bank*, 1283
- Stern, Steve J., *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973–1988*, 1243
- Stewart, James Brewer, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, editors, *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (E), 1293
- Stewart, Larry (R), 1138
- Stewart, Mary Lynn (R), 476
- Stillson, Richard T., *Spreading the Word: A History of Information in the California Gold Rush*, 1535
- Stitzel, Judd, *Fashioning Socialism: Clothing, Politics, and Consumer Culture in East Germany*, 614
- Stock, Catherine McNicol (R), 866
- Stoltzfus, Nathan (R), 1628
- Stories of Independence*, by Messer, 500
- Stow, Kenneth, *Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters; Continuity in the Catholic-Jewish Encounter*, 562
- Stow, Kenneth (R), 302
- Strand, David (R), 830
- Strange, Julie-Marie (R), 589
- The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836–1981*, by Blanton, 212
- Strange, Inhuman Deaths*, by Bellamy, 1604
- Strangers Nowhere in the World*, by Jacob, 573
- Stray Wives*, by Sievens, 1160
- Street Meeting*, by Wild, 1568
- Striner, Richard, *Father Abraham: Lincoln's Relentless Struggle to End Slavery*, 507
- Striner, Richard (R), 1541
- Stroll, Mary (R), 259
- Stromquist, Shelton, *Re-Inventing "The People": The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism*, 1560
- Structures and Subjectivities*, edited by Hartman and Seeff (E), 973
- Struggle for Empire*, by Goldberg, 914
- Stuard, Susan Mosher, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy*, 570
- Stuard, Susan Mosher (R), 1250
- Stuart, Robert, *Marxism and National Identity: Socialism, Nationalism, and National Socialism during the French Fin de Siècle*, 934
- The Subject of Elizabeth*, by Montrose, 578
- Subject Siam*, by Loos, 1523
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640," 1359
- Sugrue, Thomas J., and Kevin M. Kruse, editors, *The New Suburban History*, 1133
- Sükösd, Miklós, and András Bozöki, *Anarchism in Hungary: Theory, History, Legacies*, 953
- Suljetut ovet*, by Pulma, 936
- Sumi, Geoffrey S. (R), 257
- Sumida, Jon (R), 593
- Summerhill, Thomas, *Harvest of Dissent: Agrarianism in Nineteenth-Century New York*, 200
- Summers, Gregory, *Consuming Nature: Environmentalism in the Fox River Valley, 1850–1950*, 865
- Sumner, Gregory (R), 1206
- Sundhaussen, Holm, Ulf Brunnbauer, and Michael G. Esch, editors, *Definitionsmacht, Utopie, Vergeltung: "Ethnische Säuberungen" im östlichen Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1602
- Sung Birds*, by Leach, 1596
- The Supreme Court and American Political Development*, edited by Kahn and Kersch, 843
- Surfacing Up*, by Jackson, 1290
- Sutherland, Gillian, *Faith, Duty and Power of Mind: The Cloughs and Their Circle, 1820–1960*, 1261
- Sutton, Donald S. (R), 828
- The Sutton Hoo Sceptre and the Roots of Celtic Kingship Theory*, by Enright, 565
- Suzuki, Akihito, *Madness at Home: The Psychiatrist, the Patient, and the Family in England, 1820–1860*, 1610
- Swanson, R. N. (R), 568
- Sweet, Julie Anne, *Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733–1752*, 496
- Sweets, John F. (R), 1625
- Swift, Roger, and Christine Kinealy, editors, *Politics and Power in Victorian Ireland* (E), 973
- Szalontai, Balázs, *Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era: Soviet-DPRK Relations and the Roots of North Korean Despotism, 1953–1964*, 1522
- Szechi, Daniel, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion*, 925
- Tacoma, Laurens E., *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-Century Roman Egypt*, 622
- Tallant, Harold D. (R), 1162
- Taslitz, Andrew E., *Reconstructing the Fourth Amendment: A History of Search and Seizure, 1789–1868*, 1181
- Taylor, Amy Murrell, *The Divided Family in Civil War America*, 196
- Taylor, Lewis, *Shining Path: Guerrilla War in Peru's Northern Highlands, 1980–1997*, 1241
- Teaching Mikadoism*, by Asato, 211
- Teaford, Jon C. (R), 219
- Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia*, by Fitzpatrick, 959
- Tebeau, Mark (R), 844
- Terpstra, Nicholas, *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance: Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna*, 301
- Teter, Magda, *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era*, 1640
- Texas, Cotton, and the New Deal*, by Volanto, 527
- The Texas Railroad Commission*, by Childs, 251
- Theobald, Paul (R), 225
- Theodore Roosevelt and World Order*, by Holmes, 206
- Ther, Philipp (R), 1602
- Thinking with Cases*, edited by Furth, Zeitlin, and Hsiung (E), 1293
- Thinking with Objects*, by Meli, 1253
- The Third Indochina War*, edited by Westad and Quinn-Judge (E), 320

- This Is Only a Test*, by Krugler, 1210  
*This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise*, by González, 255  
 Thomas, Christopher A. (R), 1221  
 Thomas, Hugh M. (R), 1591  
 Thompson, Andrew C., *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688–1756*, 1608  
 Thompson, Christopher S., *The Tour de France: A Cultural History*, 288  
 Thompson, Noel (R), 1613  
 Thompson, William R. (R), 1505  
 Thorsheim, Peter, *Inventing Pollution: Coal, Smoke, and Culture in Britain since 1800*, 275  
*Those Who Touch*, by Rasmussen, 625  
*The Thought War*, by Kushner, 175  
*A Thousand Pieces of Paradise*, by Heasley, 547  
 Thurston, Gary (R), 1646  
 Tignor, Robert L., *W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics*, 246  
 Tilchin, William N. (R), 206  
 Tilly, Charles (R), 1120  
*Tim Hector*, by Buhle, 1580  
*A Time for Peace*, by Smith, 856  
*Time's Visible Surface*, by Gubser, 1279  
 Timms, Edward, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: The Post-War Crisis and the Rise of the Swastika*, 299  
 Tinsman, Heidi, and Sandhya Shukla, editors, *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame* (E), 1660  
 Tittler, Robert (R), 567  
*To Intermix with Our White Brothers*, by Ingersoll, 846  
*To Save My Race from Abuse*, by Robinson, 1546  
*To Set This World Right*, by Petruionis, 851  
 Toch, Michael (R), 290  
 Todorova, Maria N., *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria*, 953  
 Tomoff, Kiril, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939–1953*, 1650  
 Tone, John Lawrence, *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895–1898*, 1236  
*Tongnaab*, by Allman and Parker, 1656  
 Torget, Andrew J., Edward L. Ayers, and Gary W. Gallagher, editors, *Crucible of the Civil War: Virginia from Secession to Commemoration*, 1542  
 Torp, Cornelius, *Die Herausforderung der Globalisierung: Wirtschaft und Politik in Deutschland 1860–1914*, 941  
 Torstendahl, Rolf, and Natal'ia Selunskaja, *Zarozhdenie demokraticheskoi kul'tury: Rossiia v nachale XX veka (The Birth of a Democratic Culture: Russia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century)*, 305  
*Total Cold War*, by Osgood, 890  
 Toth, Stephen A., *Beyond Papillon: The French Overseas Penal Colonies, 1854–1952*, 819  
 Toulouse, Mark G. (R), 1189  
*The Tour de France*, by Thompson, 288  
*Town House*, by Herman, 1161  
 Townsend, Camilla, *Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico*, 900  
 Townsend, Mary Lee (R), 939  
*Toxic Drift*, by Daniel, 250  
 Trachtenberg, Alan (R), 161  
 Tracy, James D. (R), 1265  
*Trading Roles*, by Mangan, 558  
 Trafton, Scott (R), 1190  
*Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere*, by Brickhouse, 817  
*Transatlantic Encounters*, by Vaughan, 1137  
*Transcending Capitalism*, by Brick, 1577  
 Transchel, Kate, *Under the Influence: Working-Class Drinking, Temperance, and Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1895–1932*, 308  
 Transchel, Kate (R), 958  
*The Transformation of a Religious Landscape*, by Ramseyer, 1246  
*Transmitting Knowledge*, edited by Kusakawa and Maclean (E), 320  
*Traveling Women*, by Imbarrato, 1165  
 Trees, Andrew S. (R), 191  
 Trentmann, Frank (R), 273  
 Trentmann, Frank, Kevin Grant, and Philippa Levine, editors, *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950* (E), 1661  
 Treviño, Robert R., *The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston*, 214  
 Treviño, Roberto R. (R), 860  
*The Trial in American Life*, by Ferguson, 1155  
*Trickster Travels*, by Davis, 459  
 Trotter, Joe William, Jr. (R), 222  
*The Trouble between Us*, by Breines, 1226  
*Troubling the Waters*, by Greenberg, 884  
 Trout, Dennis E. (R), 1588  
*True Faith and Allegiance*, by Pickus, 209  
 Truett, Samuel, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, 1504  
*The Truth Is Our Weapon*, by Tudda, 1209  
 Tuchman, Arleen Marcia, *Science Has No Sex: The Life of Marie Zakrzewska, M.D.*, 228  
 Tudda, Chris, *The Truth Is Our Weapon: The Rhetorical Diplomacy of Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles*, 1209  
 Turda, Marius (R), 1601  
*Turizm*, edited by Gorsuch and Koenker (E), 635  
 Turner, David M. (R), 1259  
 Turner, Elizabeth Hayes, and Constance B. Schultz, editors, *Clio's Southern Sisters: Interviews with Leaders of the Southern Association for Women Historians*, 469  
 Turner, Michael (R), 591  
 Turner, Richard Brent (R), 1226  
 Tusan, Michelle Elizabeth, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain*, 274  
 Tushnet, Mark (R), 1531  
 Tutino, John (R), 1583  
*Two Nations in Your Womb*, by Yuval, 562  
*Two Vermonts*, by Searls, 202  
*Tying Greece to the West*, by Pelt, 170  
 Tyrrell, Ian, *Historians in Public: The Practice of American History, 1890–1970*, 159  
 Ueberschär, Gerd R., *Für ein anderes Deutschland: Der deutsche Widerstand gegen den NS-Staat 1933–1945*, 608  
 Ugé, Karine, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*, 258  
 Umansky, Ellen M., *From Christian Science to Jewish Science: Spiritual Healing and American Jews*, 1557  
*Under the Influence*, by Transchel, 308  
*Understanding Canton*, by Ho, 1149  
*Underwriting*, by Wertheimer, 844

- Unequal Cures*, by Zulawski, 1587  
*The Unfinished Peace after World War I*, by Cohrs, 821  
*The Unfree French*, by Vinen, 1625  
*The United States and the European Right, 1945–1955*, by Kisatsky, 529  
*L'université de Caen aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, by Roy, 917  
*The Unknown Neighbour*, by Drews, 1245  
*Unlikely Environmentalists*, by Milazzo, 1228  
 Unowsky, Daniel L., *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916*, 1275  
*Up from the Mudsills of Hell*, by Lester, 201  
*Up South*, by Countryman, 536  
 Upchurch, Thomas Adams (R), 512  
*Useless to the State*, by Lipkin, 830
- Vally, Richard M. (R), 507  
 van der Veer, Peter (R), 177  
 van der Vleuten, Erik, and Arne Kaijser, editors, *Networking Europe: Transnational Infrastructures and the Shaping of Europe, 1850–2000* (E), 634  
 van Drenth, Annemieke (R), 1618  
 van Ess, Josef, *The Flowering of Muslim Theology*, 623  
 Van Nuys, Frank (R), 212  
 Vanderwood, Paul J. (R), 540  
 Vargas, Zaragosa, *Labor Rights Are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America*, 213  
 Varley, Paul (R), 174  
*Vaudeville Wars*, by Wertheim, 1563  
 Vaughan, Alden T., *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776*, 1137  
 Vaughan, Mary Kay, and Stephen E. Lewis, editors, *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920–1940*, 1238  
 Vaught, David (R), 1231  
 Vázquez de Prada, Valentín, *Felipe II y Francia (1559–1598): Política, Religión y Razón de Estado*, 930  
 Vecchio, Diane C., *Merchants, Midwives, and Laboring Women: Italian Migrants in Urban America*, 520  
 Vecsey, Christopher (R), 1163  
 Vega, Bernardo, editor, *Dominican Cultures: The Making of a Caribbean Society* (E), 1294  
*Venetians in Constantinople*, by Dursteler, 313  
*Venomous Tongues*, by Bardsley, 569  
*Vers l'armée nouvelle*, by Chanet, 287  
 Vessey, Mark (R), 1652  
 Vettel, Eric J., *Biotech: The Countercultural Origins of an Industry*, 1230  
 Vicinus, Martha (R), 286  
*Vicksburg's Long Shadow*, by Waldrep, 1180  
*Victory of Law*, by Nabers, 1182  
*Victory through Coalition*, by Greenhalgh, 1255  
 Vile, John R. (R), 1181  
 Ville, Simon (R), 576  
 Vincent, Mary (R), 1616  
 Vinen, Richard, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation*, 1625  
 Vinovskis, Maris A., *The Birth of Head Start: Preschool Education Politics in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations*, 893  
*Visions of Past Glory*, by Fewster, 937  
*Visions of the Emerald City*, by Overmyer-Velázquez, 1237
- Visser, Reidar, *Basra, the Failed Gulf State: Separatism and Nationalism in Southern Iraq*, 1286  
 Voekel, Pamela (R), 254  
 Vogel, Todd (R), 852  
*Les Voies de Dieu*, by Déloye, 1268  
 Volanto, Keith J., *Texas, Cotton, and the New Deal*, 527  
 Volkov, Shulamit, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation*, 942  
 von Germeten, Nicole, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans*, 1581  
 von Saldern, Adelheid, editor, *Stadt und Kommunikation in bundesrepublikanischen Umbruchszeiten* (E), 635
- W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics*, by Tignor, 246  
 Waddington, Keir (R), 277  
 Wagner-Pacifici, Robin (C), 328  
 Waiser, Bill, *Saskatchewan: A New History*, 180  
*Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, by Joseph, 1575  
 Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi, editor, *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937–38: Complicating the Picture* (E), 1662  
 Wakeman, Rosemary (R), 289  
 Walder, Andrew G., Joseph W. Esherick, and Paul G. Pickowicz, editors, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* (E), 632  
 Waldrep, Christopher, *Vicksburg's Long Shadow: The Civil War Legacy of Race and Remembrance*, 1180  
 Walker, Brett L., *The Lost Wolves of Japan*, 478  
 Walker, Brett L. (R), 832  
 Walker, Mark (R), 943  
 Walker, Melissa, *Southern Farmers and Their Stories: Memory and Meaning in Oral History*, 1201  
 Walker, Randi Jones (R), 1558  
 Wallace, Maurice (R), 1537  
 Walsh, Judith E. (R), 484  
 Walton, John (R), 865  
 Walton, John K. (R), 592  
 Walton, John K., and Gary S. Cross, *The Playful Crowd: Pleasure Places in the Twentieth Century*, 171  
 Wandel, Lee Palmer, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*, 1272  
 Wandel, Lee Palmer (R), 1595  
 Wang, Jessica (R), 1512  
 Wang, Xi (R), 1183  
*War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895–1898*, by Tone, 1236  
*The War Council*, by Preston, 1217  
*The War in the Empty Air*, by Barnouw, 1629  
*War of Annihilation*, by Megargee, 296  
*A War of Images*, by Norris, 1281  
 Ward, Lee (R), 271  
 Warde, Paul, *Ecology, Economy and State Formation in Early Modern Germany*, 1626  
*Warfare State Britain, 1920–1970*, by Edgerton, 593  
 Warner, Patricia Campbell, *When the Girls Came Out to Play: The Birth of American Sportswear*, 876  
 Warren, Stephen, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795–1870*, 1164  
 Warren, Stephen (R), 495  
*Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires*, by Pinch, 177  
 Warshauer, Matthew, *Andrew Jackson and the Politics of Martial Law: Nationalism, Civil Liberties, and Partisanship*, 1530

- Waselkov, Gregory A., *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813–1814*, 1530
- Watson, Robert N. (R), 1256
- Watts, Edward (R), 1533
- We Know Who We Are*, by Foster, 1155
- Weaver, Karol K., *Medical Revolutionaries: The Enslaved Healers of Eighteenth-Century Saint Domingue*, 1579
- Weaving the Past*, by Kellogg, 1578
- Webb, Stephen Saunders (R), 163
- Weben in schwerer Zeit*, by Clasen, 940
- Weber, Eugen (R), 288
- Weber, Jennifer L., *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North*, 508
- Weber, Ronald, *News of Paris: American Journalists in the City of Light between the Wars*, 820
- Webster, Tom (R), 1606
- Weeks, Theodore R. (R), 1277
- Wehrle, Edmund F., *Between a River and a Mountain: The AFL-CIO and the Vietnam War*, 533
- Wehrle, Edmund F. (R), 1203
- The Weight of Their Votes*, by Schuyler, 1562
- Weil, François, and Nancy L. Green, editors, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation* (E), 1661
- Weindling, Paul (R), 813
- Weiner, Amir (R), 959
- Weiner, Deborah R., *Coalfield Jews: An Appalachian History*, 1188
- Weiner, Mark S., *Americans without Law: The Racial Boundaries of Citizenship*, 883
- Weiner, Mark S. (R), 1545
- Weisberger, R. William (R), 574
- Weissbach, Lee Shai (R), 1269
- Weisz, George, *Divide and Conquer: A Comparative History of Medical Specialization*, 813
- Weitz, Eric D., *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation*, 168
- Weitz, Mark A., *The Confederacy on Trial: The Piracy and Sequestration Cases of 1861*, 197
- Weitzman, Steven, David Brakke, and Michael L. Satlow, editors, *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, 962
- Welch, David (R), 1627
- Welfare Warriors*, by Nadasen, 896
- A Well Regulated Militia*, by Cornell, 842
- Wendt, Simon, *The Spirit and the Shotgun: Armed Resistance and the Struggle for Civil Rights*, 1572
- Wertheim, Arthur Frank, *Vaudeville Wars: How the Keith-Albee and Orpheum Circuits Controlled the Big-Time and Its Performers*, 1563
- Wertheimer, Eric, *Underwriting: The Poetics of Insurance in America, 1722–1872*, 844
- Wessel, Martin Schulze, editor, *Nationalisierung der Religion und Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa*, 1278
- West, Harry G., and Tracy J. Luedke, editors, *Borders and Healers: Brokering Therapeutic Resources in Southeast Africa* (E), 321
- West, Michael Rudolph, *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations*, 513
- Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, 806
- Westad, Odd Arne, and Sophie Quinn-Judge, editors, *The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam and Cambodia, 1972–1979* (E), 320
- Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920–40*, by Stern, 1283
- "Western Masculinities in War and Peace," by Nye, 417
- "The Western Question," by Blaufarb, 742
- Wetherington, Mark V. (R), 198
- Wharton, Annabel Jane, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*, 966
- What Is a Nation? Europe 1789–1914*, edited by Baycroft and Hewitson, 921
- What Is History For?*, by Southgate, 468
- "What Is the History of Sensibilities?," by Wickberg, 661
- Whelan, Bernadette (R), 929
- Whelan, Irene, *The Bible War in Ireland: The "Second Reformation" and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800–1840*, 280
- Whelan, Kevin (R), 586
- When the Girls Came Out to Play*, by Warner, 876
- Whitaker, Matthew C., *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West*, 537
- White, Ed, *The Backcountry and the City: Colonization and Conflict in Early America*, 1527
- White Flight*, by Kruse, 1569
- The White House Looks South*, by Leuchtenburg, 241
- White Metropolis*, by Phillips, 859
- White Rising*, by Krikler, 1291
- Whitehead, John S., *Completing the Union: Alaska, Hawai'i, and the Battle for Statehood*, 239
- Whites, LeeAnn (R), 1541
- "Whither Family History?," by Milanich, 439
- Whitlock, Tammy C., *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*, 273
- Whitney, Robert (R), 1236
- Who Shall Take Care of Our Sick?*, by McCauley, 230
- "The Whole Wide World Without Limits," by McCune, 232
- Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*, by Cushner, 1139
- Wickberg, Daniel, "What Is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New," 661
- Wickberg, Daniel C. (C), 1314
- Widdig, Bernd (R), 607
- Widerstand in der Rosenstraße*, by Gruner, 1628
- Widmung, Welterklärung und Wissenschaftslegitimierung*, by Remmert, 265
- Widows and Orphans First*, by Kleinberg, 879
- Wierling, Dorothee (R), 297
- Wild, Mark, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*, 1568
- Wild, Mark (R), 537
- Wilder, Gary, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars*, 289
- Wilder, Gary (R), 626
- Wilkins, David E. (R), 1552
- William Dunlap and the Construction of an American Art History*, by Lyons, 190
- William Stanley Jevons and the Making of Modern Economics*, by Maas, 272
- Williams, Gerhild Scholz (R), 265
- Williams, Louise Blakeney, "Overcoming the 'Contagion of Mimicry': The Cosmopolitan Nationalism and Modernist History of Rabindranath Tagore and W. B. Yeats," 69
- Williams, Manuela A., *Mussolini's Propaganda Abroad:*

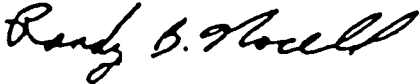


- Subversion in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, 1935–1940*, 475
- Williams, Megan, and Anthony Grafton, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*, 1651
- Williams, Megan Hale, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*, 1652
- Williams, Michael E., Sr., *Isaac Taylor Tichenor: The Creation of the Baptist New South*, 204
- Williams, Robert C., *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom*, 1169
- Williams-Forsen, Psyche A., *Building Houses out of Chicken Legs: Black Women, Food, and Power*, 876
- Williamson, Philip (R), 1263
- Williman, Daniel (R), 1593
- Wilson, George M. (R), 1521
- Wilson, Harold S. (R), 854
- Wilson, Mark R., *The Business of War: Military Mobilization and the State, 1861–1865*, 854
- Wilson, Renate (R), 188
- Wink, André (R), 178
- Winston, Diane (R), 867
- Winter, Jay, *Remembering War: The Great War and Historical Memory in the Twentieth Century*, 1132
- Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, Sozialstruktur und biologischer Lebensstandard in München und dem südlichen Bayern im 19. Jahrhundert, by Schuster, 1273
- Withington, Phil, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freeman in Early Modern England*, 582
- Withington, Phil, "Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England," 1016
- Wittmann, Rebecca, *Beyond Justice: The Auschwitz Trial*, 298
- Witwer, David (R), 237
- Wodźinski, Marcin, *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict*, 950
- Woell, Edward J., *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counterrevolution in Western France, 1774–1914*, 1620
- Wohl, Robert (R), 956
- Wolcott, David B., *Cops and Kids: Policing Juvenile Delinquency in Urban America, 1890–1940*, 226
- Wolfe, Michael (R), 932
- Wolfe, Thomas C., *Governing Soviet Journalism: The Press and the Socialist Person after Stalin*, 311
- Women Making News, by Tusan, 274
- Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic, by Schultz, 256
- Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation, edited by Sklar and Stewart (E), 1293
- Wonderful Blood, by Bynum, 1595
- Wood, Ian (R), 913
- Woods, Randall B., *LBJ: Architect of American Ambition*, 529
- Woodside, Alexander, *Lost Modernities: China, Vietnam, Korea, and the Hazards of World History*, 164
- Woodworth-Ney, Laura (R), 207
- "Work or Fight!" Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One, by Shenk, 871
- Worker Resistance under Stalin, by Rossman, 958
- Working the Navajo Way, by O'Neill, 1551
- World as Laboratory, by Lemov, 889
- The World of John Winthrop, edited by Bremer and Botelho, 1135
- The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy, by Gowland, 1257
- Worringer, Renée, editor, *The Islamic Middle East and Japan: Perceptions, Aspirations, and the Birth of Intra-Asian Modernity* (E), 1662
- The Worst of Evils, by Dormandy, 812
- Wou, Odoric Y. K. (R), 1518
- Wray, Matt, *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness*, 1553
- Wright, Gavin, *Slavery and American Economic Development*, 810
- Wright, Johnson Kent (R), 1632
- Wright, Robert E., *The First Wall Street: Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and the Birth of American Finance*, 192
- Wright, Robert E., and David J. Cowen, *Financial Founding Fathers: The Men Who Made America Rich*, 490
- Wright, Robert E. (R), 492
- Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250, edited by Bates, Crick, and Hamilton (E), 634
- Wu, Judy Tzu-Chun (R), 208
- Würgler, Andreas, and Cecilia Nubola, editors, *Operare la resistenza: Suppliche, gravamina e rivolte in Europa (secoli XV–XIX)/Praktiken des Widerstands: Suppliken, Gravamina und Revolten in Europa (15.–19. Jahrhundert)* (E), 1295
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram (R), 1542
- Wylie, Paula L., *Ireland and the Cold War: Diplomacy and Recognition, 1949–63*, 929
- Wynkoop, Mary Ann (R), 894
- Xiaoyuan, Liu, *Reins of Liberation: An Entangled History of Mongolian Independence, Chinese Territoriality, and Great Power Hegemony, 1911–1950*, 1519
- Yale Law School and the Sixties, by Kalman, 895
- Yavari, Neguin (R), 623
- Yıldırım, Onur, *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922–1934*, 965
- Yorubá Identity and Power Politics, edited by Falola and Genova, 1287
- Young, Alfred F., *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier*, 190
- Young Activists, by Graham, 894
- Your Death Would Be Mine, by Hanna, 1271
- Youth Politics in East Germany, by McDougall, 297
- Yuval, Israel Jacob, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 562
- Zaretsky, Eli (R), 889
- Zarozhdenie demokraticeskoi kul'tury, by Torstendahl and Selunskaja, 305
- Zeiler, Thomas W., *Ambassadors in Pinstripes: The Spalding World Baseball Tour and the Birth of the American Empire*, 1554
- Zeitlin, Judith T., Charlotte Furth, and Ping-chen Hsiung, editors, *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History* (E), 1293

- Zelin, Madeleine, *The Merchants of Zigong: Industrial Entrepreneurship in Early Modern China*, 1514
- Zelizer, Julian (R), 183
- Zeller, Suzanne (R), 1525
- Zietlow, Rebecca E., *Enforcing Equality: Congress, the Constitution, and the Protection of Individual Rights*, 1219
- Zimmerman, David A., *Panic! Markets, Crises, and Crowds in American Fiction*, 857
- Zimmermann, Susan (R), 304
- Zipperstein, Steven J. (R), 463
- Zolberg, Aristide R., *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*, 461
- Zuccotti, Susan (R), 616
- Zuckerman, Michael (R), 1527
- Zuckert, Michael P. (R), 189
- Zulawski, Ann, *Unequal Cures: Public Health and Political Change in Bolivia, 1900–1950*, 1587
- Zulawski, Ann (R), 1584
- Županov, Ines G., *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries)*, 481
- Županov, Ines G. (R), 482
- Zurndorfer, Harriet T. (R), 477

# STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

<p><b>1. Title of Publication:</b> <i>American Historical Review</i></p> <p><b>2. Publication No.:</b> ISSN 0002-8762</p> <p><b>3. Date of Filing:</b> September 21, 2007</p> <p><b>4. Frequency of Issue:</b> Five times per year—February, April, June, October, December</p> <p><b>5. Number of Issues Published Annually:</b> Five</p> <p><b>6. Annual Subscription Price:</b> Class I U.S. \$268/348 Class II U.S. \$294/375</p> <p><b>7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication:</b> American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889 (202) 544-2422 x109 Contact Person: Randy B. Norell</p> <p><b>8. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher:</b> American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889</p> <p><b>9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:</b> Publisher: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889 Editor: Robert A. Schneider, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405 Managing Editor: N/A</p> <p><b>10. Owner:</b> (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereafter the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) The American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889, has no ownership. It is a nonprofit membership corporation created by an Act of Congress on January 4, 1889, for the promotion of historical studies, etc.</p> <p><b>11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities:</b> None.</p> <p><b>12. Tax Status (For Completion by Nonprofit Organizations Authorized to Mail at Nonprofit Rates):</b> The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes has not changed during the preceding 12 months.</p> <p><b>13. Publication Name:</b> <i>American Historical Review</i></p> <p><b>14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below:</b> 6/07</p>	<p><b>15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:</b></p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Average No. Copies Each Issue Published during Preceding 12 Months</th> <th>No. Copies of Single Issue Published nearest to Filing Date</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td><b>A. TOTAL NO. OF COPIES (Net Press Run)</b></td> <td>17,029</td> <td>16,884</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Paid or Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions</td> <td>14,419</td> <td>14,417</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Paid In-County Subscriptions</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Other classes</td> <td>1,401</td> <td>1,385</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>C. TOTAL PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b></td> <td>15,820</td> <td>15,802</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL (samples, complimentary, and other free)</b></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Outside-County</td> <td>15</td> <td>16</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. In-County</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Other classes mailed through the USPS</td> <td>10</td> <td>13</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>E. FREE DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE THE MAIL</b></td> <td>10</td> <td>8</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>F. TOTAL FREE DISTRIBUTION</b></td> <td>35</td> <td>37</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>G. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION</b></td> <td>15,855</td> <td>15,839</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>H. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED</b></td> <td>1,174</td> <td>1,045</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>I. TOTAL</b></td> <td>17,029</td> <td>16,884</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation</td> <td>99%</td> <td>99%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p><b>16. Publication of Statement of Ownership.</b> Will be printed in the December issue of this publication.</p> <p><b>17. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete.</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;"> RANDY B. NORELL, CONTROLLER 9/21/2007</p>		Average No. Copies Each Issue Published during Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published nearest to Filing Date	<b>A. TOTAL NO. OF COPIES (Net Press Run)</b>	17,029	16,884	<b>B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b>			1. Paid or Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions	14,419	14,417	2. Paid In-County Subscriptions			3. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution			4. Other classes	1,401	1,385	<b>C. TOTAL PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b>	15,820	15,802	<b>D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL (samples, complimentary, and other free)</b>			1. Outside-County	15	16	2. In-County			3. Other classes mailed through the USPS	10	13	<b>E. FREE DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE THE MAIL</b>	10	8	<b>F. TOTAL FREE DISTRIBUTION</b>	35	37	<b>G. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION</b>	15,855	15,839	<b>H. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED</b>	1,174	1,045	<b>I. TOTAL</b>	17,029	16,884	Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	99%	99%
	Average No. Copies Each Issue Published during Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published nearest to Filing Date																																																					
<b>A. TOTAL NO. OF COPIES (Net Press Run)</b>	17,029	16,884																																																					
<b>B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b>																																																							
1. Paid or Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions	14,419	14,417																																																					
2. Paid In-County Subscriptions																																																							
3. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution																																																							
4. Other classes	1,401	1,385																																																					
<b>C. TOTAL PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b>	15,820	15,802																																																					
<b>D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL (samples, complimentary, and other free)</b>																																																							
1. Outside-County	15	16																																																					
2. In-County																																																							
3. Other classes mailed through the USPS	10	13																																																					
<b>E. FREE DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE THE MAIL</b>	10	8																																																					
<b>F. TOTAL FREE DISTRIBUTION</b>	35	37																																																					
<b>G. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION</b>	15,855	15,839																																																					
<b>H. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED</b>	1,174	1,045																																																					
<b>I. TOTAL</b>	17,029	16,884																																																					
Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	99%	99%																																																					

---

# American Historical Association

---

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

Office: 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003

President: Barbara Weinstein, *New York University*

President-Elect: Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Johns Hopkins University*

Executive Director: Arnita A. Jones

Controller: Randy Norell

**MEMBERSHIP:** Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

**MEETINGS:** The Association's next annual meeting will take place January 3–6, 2008, in Washington, D.C. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

**PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES:** The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and is sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes *Perspectives* (a newsmagazine with classified listings) and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

**BOOK PRIZES:** The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize*, awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada since 1492. The *Paul Birdsall Prize*, awarded biennially for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history since 1870. The *James Henry Breasted Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 A.D. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations, administered jointly with the Canadian Historical Association. The *John H. Dunning Prize*, awarded biennially for a book on any subject in U.S. history. The *John E. Fagg Prize*, awarded annually for the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America. The *John K. Fairbank Prize*, awarded annually for East Asian history substantially after the year 1800. The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize*, awarded annually to the best book in

British, British imperial, or British Commonwealth history. The *Leo Gershey Award*, given annually for outstanding work in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century western European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize*, awarded every five years for Latin American history by a Latin American. The *J. Franklin Jameson Award*, given every five years for outstanding editorial achievement. The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in women's history. The *Waldo G. Leland Prize*, awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize*, awarded annually for the best work on the history of American law and society. The *J. Russell Major Prize*, awarded annually for the best work in English on any aspect of French history. The *Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize*, awarded annually for Italian or Italian-U.S. history. The *George L. Mosse Prize*, awarded annually for European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance. The *Premio del Rey Prize*, awarded biennially for early Spanish history and culture (500–1516 A.D.). The *James A. Rawley Prize in Atlantic History*, awarded annually for an outstanding book in the history of the Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize*, awarded biennially for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history. The *Wesley-Logan Prize*, awarded annually in African Diaspora history by the AHA and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. Book prizes are awarded at each AHA annual meeting.

**DUES:** For Contributing Members, \$177; for incomes over \$70,000, \$141; over \$55,000, \$117; over \$45,000, \$105; over \$35,000, \$89; over \$20,000, \$77; under \$20,000, \$42; for students, \$37; for teachers of K–12 (AHA/OHT/SHE) without the *AHR*, \$64; for K–12 with the *AHR*, \$92; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$42; for emeritus and retired historians, \$52; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$52. A life membership is \$2,600. Non-U.S. members add \$20 for postage. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives*, and the program of the annual meeting.

**CORRESPONDENCE:** Inquiries should be addressed to Executive Director, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Our e-mail address is [aha@historians.org](mailto:aha@historians.org). Our web address is <http://www.historians.org>.



---

# American Historical Review

---

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription.

The basic print + electronic subscription rate for institutions is \$315. Additional taxes and/or postage for non-U.S. subscriptions may apply. For additional tiered subscription rates, including those for print only and electronic only, please visit <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/subs.html>.

Single copies of the *AHR* are available through The University of Chicago Press at \$30 per copy for issues in volume 110 (2005) through volume 112 (2007). Issues published prior to 2005 may be purchased from Periodical Services Company, 11 Main St., Germantown, NY 12526.

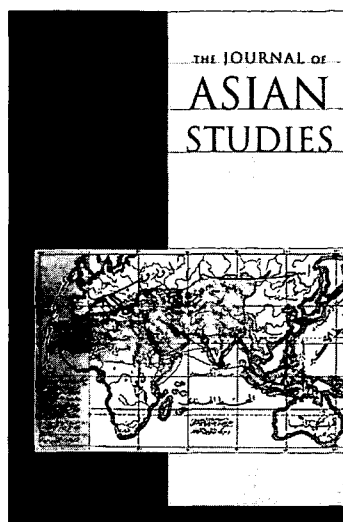
Institutional subscribers now have full access to the online version of the *American Historical Review*. Access is made available through the University of Chicago Press. Access is enabled through the use of institutional IP numbers. To activate access for your institution, please visit <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/AHR/order.html>.

Because of rising publication, storage, postage, and handling costs, we must limit the number of copies published for each publication. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Manager of the Association within three months of the date of publication for domestic addresses and five months for foreign. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Manager by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. For further information on the submission of manuscripts, see page ii at the front of this issue.

CAMBRIDGE

JOURNALS



# *The Journal of Asian Studies*

Editor:

Kenneth M. George, *University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

Published for the Association for Asian Studies

*The Journal of Asian Studies (JAS)* has played a defining role in the field of Asian studies for over 65 years. *JAS* publishes the very best empirical and multidisciplinary work on Asia, spanning the arts, history, literature, the social sciences, and cultural studies. Experts around the world turn to this quarterly journal for the latest in-depth scholarship on Asia's past and present, for its extensive book reviews, and for its state-of-the-field essays on established and emerging topics. With coverage reaching from South and Southeast Asia to China, Inner Asia, and Northeast Asia, *JAS* welcomes broad comparative and transnational studies as well as essays emanating from fine-grained historical, cultural, political, or literary research and interpretation. The journal also publishes clusters of papers representing new and vibrant discussions on specific themes and issues.

*Recommend The Journal of Asian Studies to your Librarian -  
FREE online access for you when your library subscribes!*

Quarterly. Volume 67, 2008.  
ISSN 0021-9118. E-ISSN 1752-0401.  
Subscriptions, Print + Online: \$194 / £110  
Subscriptions, Online only: \$185 / £105

Customers in the U.S., Canada, or Mexico,  
please contact:

Journals Marketing Department  
Cambridge University Press  
32 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10013-2473, USA  
Phone: 800-872-7423 or 845-353-7500  
Fax: 845-353-4141  
Email: [subscriptions\\_newyork@cambridge.org](mailto:subscriptions_newyork@cambridge.org)

Elsewhere in the world, please contact:

Cambridge University Press  
Journals Customer Services Department  
Edinburgh Building  
Shaftesbury Road  
Cambridge CB2 2RU UK  
Phone: +44 (0) 1223 326070  
Fax: +44 (0) 1223 325150  
Email: [journals@cambridge.org](mailto:journals@cambridge.org)

[www.journals.cambridge.org/jid\\_JAS](http://www.journals.cambridge.org/jid_JAS)

 CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

# Great Minds Come

## The Early Modern Ottomans Remapping the Empire

Edited by Virginia H. Aksan and  
Daniel Goffman

\$80.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-81764-6: 376 pp.  
\$27.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-52085-0

## The English Wool Market, c. 1230–1327

Adrian R. Bell, Chris Brooks, and  
Paul R. Dryburgh

\$99.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-85941-7: 232 pp.

## Nuclear Weapons

What You Need to Know

Jeremy Bernstein

\$27.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-88408-2: 312 pp.

## Exiles and Pioneers

Eastern Indians in the  
Trans-Mississippi West

John P. Bowes

*Studies in North American Indian History*

\$70.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-85755-0: 288 pp.  
\$22.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-67419-5

## Kennedy in Berlin

Andreas Daum

*Publications of the German Historical Institute*

\$70.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-85824-3: 250 pp.  
\$23.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-67497-3

## The American Mission and the "Evil Empire"

The Crusade for a Free Russia since 1881

David S. Foglesong

\$85.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-85590-7: 368 pp.  
\$34.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-67183-5

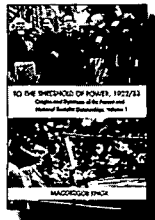
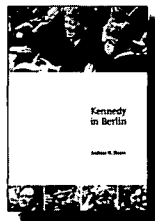
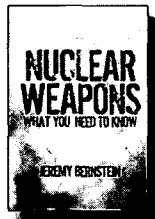
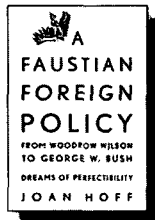
## American Sovereigns

The People and America's Constitutional  
Tradition Before the Civil War

Christian G. Fritz

*Cambridge Studies on the American Constitution*

\$80.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-88188-3: 440 pp.



## Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585–1660

Linda M. Heywood and  
John K. Thornton

\$75.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-77065-1: 336 pp.  
\$22.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-77922-7

## A Faustian Foreign Policy from Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush

Dreams of Perfectibility

Joan Hoff

\$80.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-87905-7: 320 pp.  
\$24.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-71404-4

## Church and State in Early America

From the Colonial Period to  
the Age of Jackson

James H. Hutson

*Cambridge Essential Histories*

\$70.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-86493-0: 224 pp.  
\$21.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-68343-2

Second Edition!

## Africans

The History of a Continent

John Iliffe

*African Studies*

\$75.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-86438-1: 384 pp.  
\$24.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-68297-8

## To the Threshold of Power, 1922/33

Volume 1: Origins and  
Dynamics of the Fascist and  
National Socialist Dictatorships

MacGregor Knox

\$75.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-87860-9: 448 pp.  
\$22.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-70329-1

Prices subject to change.

[www.cambridge.org/us](http://www.cambridge.org/us)



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

# from Great Books...

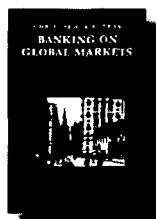
## Banking on Global Markets

Deutsche Bank and the United States,  
1870 to Present

Christopher Kobrak

*Cambridge Studies in the  
Emergence of Global Enterprise*

\$45.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-86325-4: 624 pp.



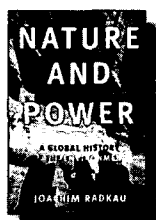
## The Byzantine Economy

Angeliki E. Laiou and  
Cécile Morrisson

*Cambridge Medieval Textbooks*

\$85.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-84978-4: 284 pp.

\$32.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-61502-0



## Global Brands

The Evolution of Multinationals in  
Alcoholic Beverages

Teresa da Silva Lopes

*Cambridge Studies in the  
Emergence of Global Enterprise*

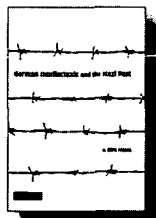
\$50.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-83397-4: 272 pp.



## Royalists and Royalism during the English Civil Wars

Edited by Jason McElligott and  
David L. Smith

\$99.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-87007-8: 266 pp.



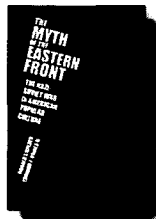
## An Environmental History of Latin America

Shawn William Miller

*New Approaches to the Americas*

\$65.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-84853-4: 272 pp.

\$22.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-61298-2



## German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past

A. Dirk Moses

\$80.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-86495-4: 304 pp.

## The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

A Corpus

Volume 3: The City of Jerusalem

Denys Pringle

*The Churches of the  
Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*

\$195.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-39038-5: 532 pp.

Now in paperback!

## In Search of Empire

The French in the Americas,  
1670-1730

James Pritchard

\$29.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-71111-1: 512 pp.

## Nature and Power

A Global History of the Environment

Joachim Radkau

*Publications of the German Historical Institute*

\$80.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-85129-9: 100 pp.

\$24.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-61673-7

## Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London

Frank Rexroth and

Pamela Selwyn

*Past and Present Publications*

\$115.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-84730-8: 432 pp.

## Ockham and Political Discourse in the Late Middle Ages

Takashi Shogimen

*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and  
Thought: Fourth Series*

\$99.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-84581-6: 320 pp.

## The Myth of the Eastern Front

The Nazi-Soviet War in  
American Popular Culture

Ronald Smelser and

Edward J. Davies II

\$75.00: Hardback: 978-0-521-83365-3: 344 pp.

\$21.99: Paperback: 978-0-521-71231-6

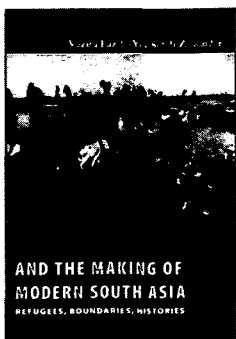
Prices subject to change.

www.cambridge.org/us



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS





## The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia

Refugees, Boundaries, Histories

*Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali*

*Zamindar*

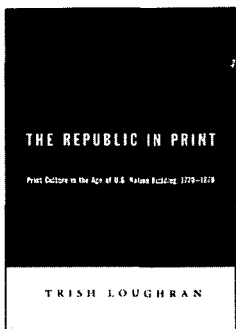
978-0-231-13846-8 - cloth - \$50.00 - Cultures of History

## The Republic in Print

Print Culture in the Age of  
U.S. Nation Building, 1770 - 1870

*Trish Loughran*

978-0-231-13908-3 - cloth - \$45.00



## Contested Democracy

Freedom, Race, and Power  
in American History

*Edited by Manisha Sinha  
& Penny Von Eschen*

978-0-231-14110-9 - cloth - \$34.50

## The Columbia Sourcebook of Muslims in the United States

*Edited by Edward E. Curtis IV*

978-0-231-13956-4 - cloth - \$75.00 - JANUARY 2008



## American Environmental History

An Introduction

*Carolyn Merchant*

978-0-231-14035-5 - paper - \$24.50

978-0-231-14034-8 - cloth - \$74.50

## Memories of Life in Lhasa Under Chinese Rule

*Tubten Khétsun*

Translated and with an Introduction by  
Matthew Akester

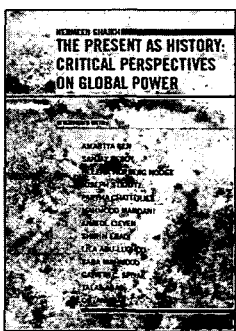
978-0-231-14286-1 - cloth - \$32.50 - FEBRUARY 2008

## Changing Clothes in China

Fashion, Modernity, Nation

*Antonia Finnane*

978-0-231-14350-9 - cloth - \$35.00



## The Present as History

Critical Perspectives on Global Power

*Nerveen Shaikh*

978-0-231-14299-1 - paper - \$24.50

978-0-231-14298-4 - cloth - \$74.50

## Sources of East Asian Tradition

Premodern Asia, Volume 1

978-0-231-14305-9 - paper - \$32.50

978-0-231-14304-2 - cloth - \$99.50

The Modern Period, Volume 2

978-0-231-14323-3 - paper - \$32.50

978-0-231-14322-6 - cloth - \$99.50

*Wm. Theodore de Bary*

Introduction to Asian Civilizations

## Religion, Culture, and Politics in the Twentieth-Century United States

*Mark Hulsether*

978-0-231-14403-2 - paper - \$24.50

978-0-231-14402-5 - cloth - \$74.50

Columbia Series in Religion and Politics

## Angola

The Weight of History

*Edited by*

*Patrick Chabal & Nuno Vidal*

978-0-231-70015-3 - cloth - \$50.00 - Columbia/Hurst

## Elusive Compromise

A History of Interwar Yugoslavia

*Dejan Djokic*

978-0-231-70020-7 - paper - \$32.50 - Columbia/Hurst

978-0-231-70019-1 - cloth - \$79.50 - Columbia/Hurst

## Struggling with History

Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the  
Western Indian Ocean

*Edited by*

*Edward Simpson & Kai Kresse*

978-0-231-70024-5 - paper - \$32.50 - Columbia/Hurst

978-0-231-70023-8 - cloth - \$79.50 - Columbia/Hurst

## The British Consul

Heir to a Great Tradition

*John Dickie*

978-0-231-70017-7 - cloth - \$45.00 - Columbia/Hurst

JANUARY 2008

## A Postcolonial People

South Asians in Britain

*Edited by*

*V.S. Kalra & S. Sayyid*

978-0-231-70012-2 - paper - \$32.50 - Columbia/Hurst

978-0-231-70011-5 - cloth - \$84.50 - Columbia/Hurst

JANUARY 2008

**C O L U M B I A, Refer to us**

Read book excerpts at [www.columbia.edu/cu/cup](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/cup)

# NEW BOOKS IN HISTORY FROM CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

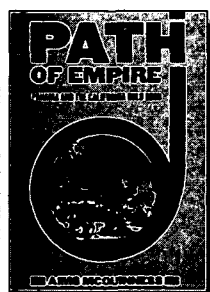


**CONTESTED RITUALS**  
*Circumcision, Kosher Butchering, and Jewish Political Life in Germany, 1843-1933*  
ROBIN JUDD

"Judd brilliantly illuminates German politics, the identities of German Jews, Jewish self-defense strategies, and antisemitism."

—Paula E. Hyman,  
Yale University

296 PAGES • \$45.00 CLOTH



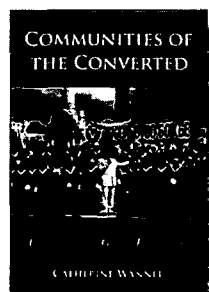
**THE MAKING OF MINJUNG**  
*Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*  
NAMHEE LEE

"A pathbreaking book on an important movement in Korea's contemporary social and political history."

—Joseph Wong,

University of Toronto

368 PAGES • \$39.95 CLOTH



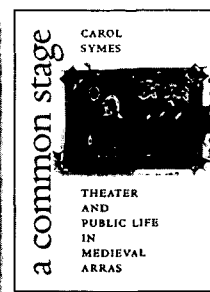
**PATH OF EMPIRE**  
*Panama and the California Gold Rush*  
AIMS MCGUINNESS

"McGuinness offers a fascinating example of 'connected histories.' Offers an international history and a tale of historical detective work."

—Donna R. Gabaccia,  
University of Minnesota

272 PAGES • \$35.00 CLOTH

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD



**NEW IN PAPERBACK**  
**EMOTIONAL COMMUNITIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES**

BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN

"Rosenwein opens doors to a completely new understanding of past emotions. The book opens fascinating new ways of access to a 'dark age'."

—Walter Pohl,  
University of Vienna

248 PAGES • \$19.95 PAPER

**A COMMON STAGE**  
*Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras*  
CAROL SYMES

"On every page the author offers new and penetrating insights into the history of medieval drama and theatrical culture in thirteenth-century France."

—William Chester Jordan,  
Princeton University

360 PAGES • \$49.95 CLOTH  
CONJUNCTIONS OF RELIGION AND  
POWER IN THE MEDIEVAL PAST

**COMMUNITIES OF THE CONVERTED**  
*Ukrainians and Global Evangelism*  
CATHERINE WANNER

"Wanner discusses not only how religious communities adapted to changes in their political, cultural, and religious environment but also how they affected and changed that environment."

—Serhii Plokhy,  
University of Alberta

304 PAGES • \$24.95 PAPER  
CULTURE AND SOCIETY AFTER SOCIALISM

**NEW IN PAPERBACK**  
**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF VIRTUE**  
*Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution*

JOHN SHOVLIN

"Explores how French elites sought to balance their interests and values with the need to regenerate a nation that had seemingly entered a period of decline."

—*Journal of Economic Literature*  
280 PAGES • \$24.95 PAPER

**LAUGHING MATTERS**  
*Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France*  
SARA BEAM

"Beam illuminates a series of important topics in French history, and she shows how these apparently separate histories interacted to shape one another."

—Jonathan Dewald, University at Buffalo  
280 PAGES • \$55.00 CLOTH

WWW.CORNELLPRESS.CORNELL.EDU 1-800-666-2211

# INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

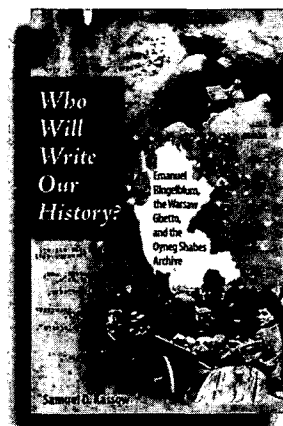
## WHO WILL WRITE OUR HISTORY?

*Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive*

**Samuel D. Kassow**

The gripping story of a clandestine archive in the Warsaw ghetto and its heroic founder.

*The Helen and Martin Schwartz  
Lectures in Jewish Studies*  
cloth \$34.95



## THE UNKNOWN BLACK BOOK

*The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories*

**Edited by Joshua Rubenstein  
and Ilya Altman**

Powerful testimonies by survivors of the Final Solution in the Nazi-occupied USSR.

*Published in association with the  
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*  
cloth \$34.95

## ANTISEMITISM, CHRISTIAN AMBIVALENCE, AND THE HOLOCAUST

**Edited by Kevin P. Spicer,  
C.S.C.**

Examines the history of antisemitism in the European Christian churches.

*Published in association with the  
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*  
cloth \$29.95

## ANTISEMITIC MYTHS

*A Historical and Contemporary  
Anthology*

**Edited by Marvin Perry and  
Frederick M. Schweitzer**

Presents primary texts that document the demonization of Jews since antiquity.

paper \$24.95 • cloth \$65.00

## DYING IN THE LAW OF MOSES

*Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in  
the Iberian World*

**Miriam Bodian**

A new interpretation of crypto-Jewish martyrdom in Iberian lands during the Inquisition.

*Modern Jewish Experience*  
cloth \$35.00

## JOACHIM PRINZ, REBELLIOUS RABBI

*An Autobiography—the German  
and Early American Years*

**Edited and introduced by  
Michael A. Meyer**

Revealing self-portrayal of a provocative and influential German-American rabbi.

cloth \$34.95

## THE NAZI ANCESTRAL PROOF

*Genealogy, Racial Science,  
and the Final Solution*

**Eric Ehrenreich**

Traces the origins and implementation of the method by which one proved "racial acceptability" in Nazi Germany.

cloth \$34.95

## RUSSIAN EMPIRE

*Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*

**Edited by Jane Burbank,  
Mark von Hagen, and  
Anatolyi Remnev**

Presents a new conception of the Russian empire.

*Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and  
East European Studies*  
paper \$27.95 • cloth \$75.00

## THE BOLSHEVIKS IN POWER

*The First Year of Soviet Rule in  
Petrograd*

**Alexander Rabinowitch**

The dramatic story of the Bolsheviks' struggle to consolidate power and create a new government in Russia after the Revolution of 1917.

cloth \$34.95

## FROM ALL POINTS

*America's Immigrant West,  
1870s–1952*

**Elliott Robert Barkan**

A magisterial history of immigrant groups and their contributions to the making of the modern American West.

*American West in the Twentieth Century*  
cloth \$39.95

## New and expanded third edition! TRANS-APPALACHIAN FRONTIER

*People, Societies, and Institutions,  
1775–1850*

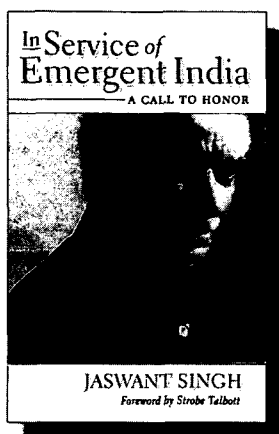
**Malcolm J. Rohrbough**

A thorough revision of a classic book about America's first frontier. *A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier*

paper \$27.95 • cloth \$75.00

# INDIANA

# INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS



## CLOTHING GANDHI'S NATION

*Homespun and Modern India*

**Lisa Trivedi**

How an ordinary country cloth became  
a symbol of the Indian nation.  
cloth \$29.95

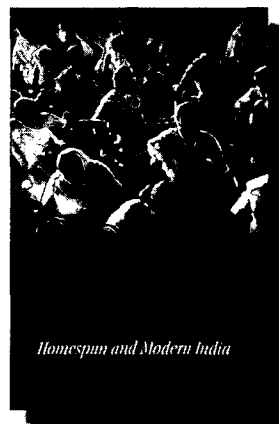
## IN SERVICE OF EMERGENT INDIA

*A Call to Honor*

**Jaswant Singh**

**Foreword by Strobe Talbott**

A memoir of an Indian diplomat that  
sheds light on a critical period in  
India's history.  
cloth \$29.95



## EVERYDAY LIFE IN CENTRAL ASIA

*Past and Present*

**Edited by Jeff Sahadeo and  
Russell Zanca**

A lively reader on the peoples and  
cultures of Central Asia.  
paper \$24.95 • cloth \$65.00

## IMAGES OF A JOURNEY

*India in Diaspora*

**Steve Raymer**

**Foreword by Nayan Chanda**

An award-winning photographer  
chronicles Indian migration around  
the world.  
cloth \$44.95

## ENCOUNTERS OF THE SPIRIT

*Native Americans and European  
Colonial Religion*

**Richard W. Pointer**

Explores how Native Americans  
influenced the Christianity of their  
colonizers.

*Religion in North America*  
cloth \$39.95

## OPERATION ALBION

*The German Conquest of the  
Baltic Islands*

**Michael B. Barrett**

An engrossing account of a little-  
known but dramatic World War I  
battle for control of the Baltic.  
*Twentieth-Century Battles*  
cloth \$29.95

## MIDWAY INQUEST

*Why the Japanese Lost the Battle  
of Midway*

**Dallas Woodbury Isom**

The definitive account of Midway  
and the causes for the Japanese  
defeat.

*Twentieth-Century Battles*  
cloth \$29.95

## SLINGING DOUGHNUTS FOR THE BOYS

*An American Woman in World  
War II*

**James H. Madison**

A remarkable Red Cross Clubmo-  
bile Captain on the job in wartime  
England and France.  
cloth \$24.95

## THE MELODRAMATIC THREAD

*Spectacle and Political Culture in  
Modern France*

**James R. Lehning**

Traces the "melodramatic thread"  
that runs through modern French  
political culture.

*Interdisciplinary Studies in History*  
paper \$24.95 • cloth \$65.00

## THE MAN-LEOPARD MURDERS

*History and Society in Colonial  
Nigeria*

**David Pratten**

A series of mysterious murders  
surrounding colonial resistance  
and social change in Africa.  
cloth \$49.95

## THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE SECRET BALLOT

**Edited by Romain Bertrand,  
Jean-Louis Briquet, and  
Peter Pels**

Provocative essays reveal the  
complex history of democracy,  
voting procedures, and individual  
political freedom.

paper \$24.95 • cloth \$65.00

800-842-6796 • IUPRESS.INDIANA.EDU



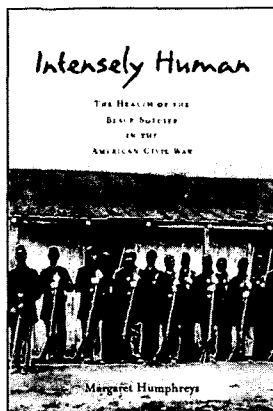
### Intensely Human

The Health of the Black Soldier in the American Civil War

Margaret Humphreys

Black soldiers in the American Civil War were far more likely to die of disease than were white soldiers. Humphreys explores why this uneven mortality occurred and how it was interpreted at the time.

\$40.00 hardcover



### Our Present Complaint

American Medicine,

Then and Now

Charles E. Rosenberg

"Rosenberg offers a historian's perspective on how society came to be in its current medical predicament. Deeply informed and informative, this work illustrates why Rosenberg is rightly regarded as the dean of American medical historians."

—Harvey V. Fineberg, President, Institute of Medicine

\$19.95 paperback

### Faith in the Great Physician

Suffering and Divine Healing in American Culture, 1860–1900

Heather D. Curtis

Tells the story of how participants in the evangelical divine healing movement of the late nineteenth century transformed the ways Americans coped with physical affliction and pursued bodily health.

*Lived Religions: David D. Hall and Robert A. Orsi, Series Editors*

\$49.95 hardcover

New from The Johns Hopkins University Press

### The Mantra of Efficiency

From Waterwheel to Social Control

Jennifer Karns Alexander

"Her work is most impressive in its tracing of efficiency from its origins as an obscure philosophical concept through the present, as a popular social and personal ideal."

—Howard Segal, author of *Technology in America: A Brief History*

\$49.95 hardcover

### Closed Captioning

Subtitling, Stenography, and the Digital Convergence of Text with Television

Gregory J. Downey

"An impressive and ambitious account of the history of the technology, geography, labor, and politics of three speech-to-text systems—subtitling, closed captioning for television, and court reporting."

—Ron Kline, Cornell University  
*Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology: Merritt Roe Smith, Series Editor*

\$52.00 hardcover

### American Catholics in the Protestant Imagination

Rethinking the Academic Study of Religion

Michael P. Carroll

"Carroll is insightful in illuminating discrepancies between actual historical fact and (Protestant) theological assumptions in regard to both the definition and understanding of God and that of religion."

—William D. Dinges, Catholic University of America

\$49.95 hardcover

### Tribe, Race, History

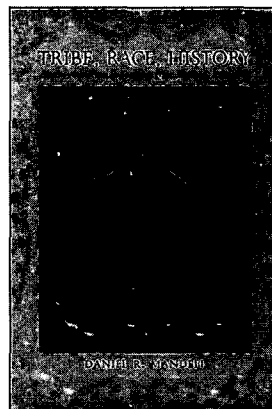
Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780–1880

Daniel R. Mandell

"A detailed, richly textured social history of Native people."

—Joseph A. Conforti, author of *Saints and Strangers: New England in British North America*

\$55.00 hardcover



### Horse People

Thoroughbred Culture in Lexington and Newmarket

Rebecca Cassidy

Demystifies the complex world of Thoroughbred racing by comparing centers of excellence in Britain and North America.

*Animals, History, Culture: Harriet Ritvo, Series Editor*

\$49.95 hardcover

### Shipwrecks, Sea Raiders, and Maritime Disasters along the Delmarva Coast, 1632–2004

Donald G. Shomette

Claiming more than 2,300 vessels since 1632, the Delmarva Peninsula's Atlantic coast rivals North Carolina's Outer Banks for the infamous title "The Graveyard of the Atlantic."

\$60.00 hardcover



### Robots in Space

Technology,  
Evolution, and  
Interplanetary  
Travel

*Roger D. Launius  
and Howard E.  
McCurdy*

Two leading scholars of space exploration inquire into the human fascination with manned adventures, raise new questions that support the near-term use of robotics, and offer a case for "human cyborgs" in a "post-biological universe."

*New Series in NASA History:*  
*Steven J. Dick, Series Editor*  
\$35.00 hardcover

### The Papers of Thomas A. Edison

Volume 6: Electrifying  
New York and Abroad,  
April 1881–March 1883  
*edited by Paul B. Israel,  
Louis Carlat, David Hochfelder,  
Theresa M. Collins, and  
Brian C. Shipley*

This volume chronicles Edison's central role in the enormous effort to manufacture, market, and install electric lighting systems in the United States and abroad.

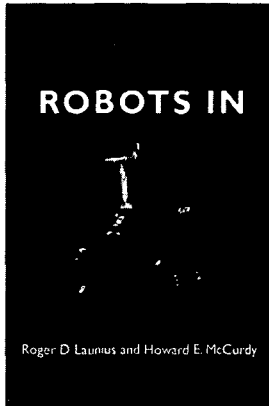
\$90.00 hardcover

### Computers

The Life Story of a Technology  
*Eric G. Swedin and David L. Ferro*

An accessible short history of the computer, covering its central themes from ancient times to the present day.

\$19.95 paperback



### Rockets and Missiles

The Life Story of a  
Technology  
*A. Bowdoin  
Van Riper*

Beginning with the origins of rocketry in Asia, Van Riper traces the history of the technology that led to both the great fear of global warfare and the great excitement of the Space Age.

\$19.95 paperback

### American Military Technology

The Life Story of a Technology  
*Barton C. Hacker*  
*with the assistance of Margaret Vining*

"A straightforward and jargon-free introduction to the complex relationship existing between the American military and its tools (and toolmakers) of war."

—*Journal of Military History*

\$19.95 paperback

### Electronics

The Life Story of a Technology  
*David L. Morton Jr. and  
Joseph Gabriel*

"A fresh perspective on how silk purses (such as iPods) can indeed be made from sows' ears (such as ICBM guidance systems)."

—*School Science Review*

\$19.95 paperback

Now in paperback

### The Artisan of Ipswich

Craftsmanship and Community  
in Colonial New England

*Robert Tarule*

\$25.00 paperback

### From Traveling Show to Vaudeville

Theatrical Spectacle in America,  
1830–1910

*edited by Robert M. Lewis*

\$35.00 paperback

### Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945–1965

*Linda Eisenmann*

\$30.00 paperback

### The Comic Worlds of Peter Arno, William Steig, Charles Addams, and Saul Steinberg

*Iain Topliss*

\$29.95 paperback

### The Space Station Decision

Incremental Politics and  
Technological Choice

*Howard E. McCurdy*

*New Series in NASA History:*  
*Steven J. Dick, Series Editor*

\$25.00 paperback

### Manufacturing Revolution

The Intellectual Origins of  
Early American Industry

*Lawrence A. Peskin*

*Studies in Early American Economy and  
Society from the Library Company of  
Philadelphia: Cathy Matson, Series Editor*

\$25.00 paperback

### Civil War Ironclads

The U.S. Navy and Industrial  
Mobilization

*William H. Roberts*

*Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of  
Technology: Merritt Roe Smith, Series  
Editor*

\$25.00 paperback

The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • [www.press.jhu.edu](http://www.press.jhu.edu)

**Harriet Tubman**

Myth, Memory, and History

**MILTON C. SERNETT**

424 pages, 88 illustrations (incl. 9 in color), paper, \$24.95

**The Postcolonial Careers  
of Santha Rama Rau****ANTOINETTE BURTON***Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies*

216 pages, 6 illustrations, paper, \$21.95

**In from the Cold**

Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War

**GILBERT M. JOSEPH and****DANIELA SPENSER, editors***American Encounters/Global Interactions*

456 pages, 17 illustrations, paper, \$26.95

**The Unpredictability of the Past**

Memories of the Asia-Pacific War

in U.S.-East Asian Relations

**MARC GALLICCHIO, editor***American Encounters/Global Interactions*

352 pages, 7 illustrations, paper, \$23.95

**A Discontented Diaspora**

Japanese Brazilians and the Meanings

of Ethnic Militancy, 1960-1980

**JEFFREY LESSER**

256 pages, 30 illustrations, paper, \$22.95

**A Revolution for Our Rights**

Indigenous Struggles for Land and

Justice in Bolivia, 1880-1952

**LAURA GOTKOWITZ**

376 pages, 30 illustrations, paper, \$23.95

**Looking Past the Screen**

Case Studies in American Film History and Method

**JON LEWIS and ERIC SMOODIN, editors**

400 pages, 26 illustrations, paper, \$24.95

**Subject Lessons**

The Western Education of Colonial India

**SANJAY SETH***Politics, History, and Culture*

280 pages, paper, \$23.95

**Finding the Movement**

Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism

**ANNE ENKE***Radical Perspectives*

376 pages, paper, \$23.95

**FDR and the Spanish Civil War**

Neutrality and Commitment in the

Struggle That Divided America

**DOMINIC TIERNEY***American Encounters/Global Interactions*

240 pages, 4 illustrations, paper, \$21.95

*History in Perspective***Selling Modernity**

Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany

**PAMELA E. SWETT, S. JONATHAN WIESEN,**and **JONATHAN R. ZATLIN, editors**

384 pages, 59 illustrations, paper, \$24.95

**Grand Designs**

Labor, Empire, and the Museum

in Victorian Culture

**LARA KRIEDEL***Radical Perspectives*

296 pages, 74 illustrations (incl. 8 in color), paper, \$23.95

**Class and the Color Line**

Interracial Class Coalition in the Knights

of Labor and the Populist Movement

**JOSEPH GERTEIS***Politics, History, and Culture*

288 pages, 7 illustrations, paper, \$23.95

**Avant-Garde Fascism**

The Mobilization of Myth, Art,

and Culture in France, 1909-1939

**MARK ANTLIFF**

376 pages, 67 illustrations, paper, \$23.95

**The Art of the Network**

Strategic Interaction and Patronage

in Renaissance Florence

**PAUL D. MCLEAN***Politics, History, and Culture*

296 pages, 5 illustrations, paper, \$22.95

**DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS**

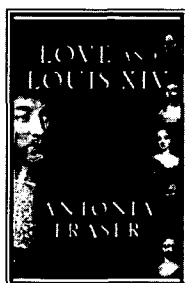
www.dukeupress.edu

toll-free 1-888-651-0122



# KNOPF

ALFRED A. KNOPF • VINTAGE • ANCHOR BOOKS  
PANTHEON • SCHOCKEN • EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY



*Antonia Fraser*

## LOVE AND LOUIS XIV

*The Women in the Life of  
the Sun King*

"A wonderfully rounded portrait of the philandering king. . . . Fraser has evoked a world by exercising the gifts that make her one of the most brilliant biographers of our time: her scholarship and her great humanity. Precise details bring the past to life." —*The Daily Telegraph*

ANCHOR | PAPER | 432 PAGES | \$16.95

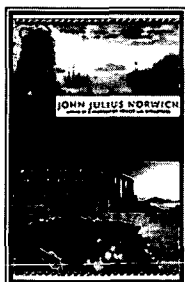


*Victor Sebestyen*  
**TWELVE DAYS**

*The Story of the  
1956 Hungarian Revolution*

"Wielding a vast array of totally new archives and totally new eyewitness testimony, Victor Sebestyen has written a magisterial but also totally gripping, fresh account of the noble, violent, and doomed Hungarian revolution . . . a story of courage and decency amongst ordinary Hungarians: the result is a tour de force." —Simon Sebag Montefiore, author of *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar*

VINTAGE | PAPER | 384 PAGES | \$15.95



*John Julius Norwich*

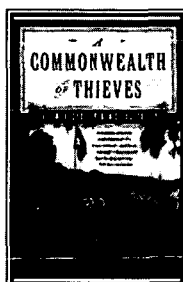
## THE MIDDLE SEA

*A History of  
the Mediterranean*

This lively, beautifully illustrated history of the civilizations that rose and fell on the lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea represents the culmination of a great historian's unparalleled art, eye, and scholarship.

"As colorful as history can get. . . . He spices his narrative liberally with entertaining anecdotes, deft portraits, and brisk judgments. . . . Lord Norwich's control of his vast and complex subject matter is masterly." —*The Economist*

VINTAGE | PAPER | 720 PAGES | \$20.00



*Thomas Keneally*  
**A  
COMMONWEALTH  
OF THIEVES**

*The Improbable Birth of  
Australia*

"In the style of the best historians [Keneally] allows the intrinsic power of the tales he tells and the people who populate his pages to draw the reader into a fully elaborated universe."

—*New York Times*

"Keneally is joyfully inquisitive. . . . He enters naturally and sympathetically into the hearts of his protagonists—his own prose takes on the flavour of the period he invokes."

—*Times Literary Supplement*

VINTAGE | PAPER | 432 PAGES | \$16.95

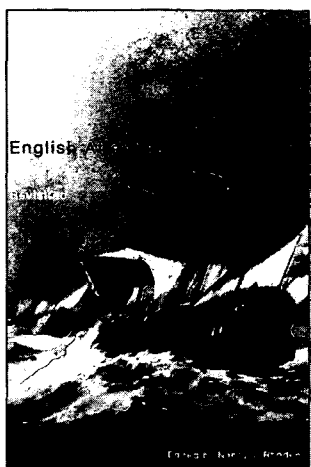
### FOR EXAMINATION AND DESK COPIES:

VISIT: [WWW.RANDOMHOUSE.COM/ACADEMIC](http://WWW.RANDOMHOUSE.COM/ACADEMIC)

E-MAIL: [ACMART@RANDOMHOUSE.COM](mailto:ACMART@RANDOMHOUSE.COM)

WRITE: KNOPF ACADEMIC • RANDOM HOUSE, INC. • 1745 BROADWAY, 20-2 • NEW YORK, NY 10019

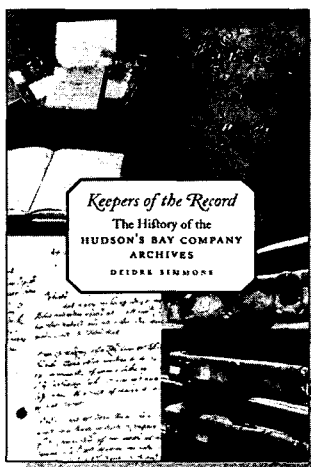




# MQUP History

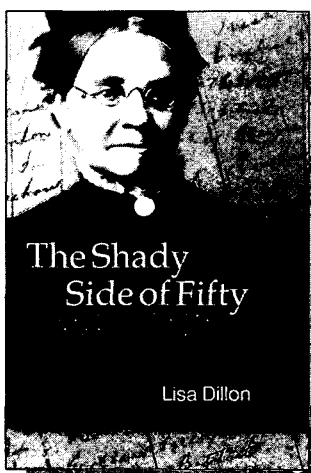
**English Atlantic Revisited**  
*Essays Honoring Ian K. Steele*  
Edited by Nancy L. Rhoden  
978-0-7735-3219-9 \$85.00 cloth

Leading scholars and emerging historians offer new perspectives on the English Atlantic from the early seventeenth century to the American Revolution.



**Keepers of the Record**  
*The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives*  
Deidre Simmons  
978-0-7735-3291-5 \$80.00 cloth

"This densely and carefully documented work with much contextual information is an unprecedented history of the HBCA and an important reference work on a body of archival material of the highest importance to North American history."  
— Laura Peers, Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford



**The Shady Side of Fifty**  
*Age and Old Age in Late Victorian Canada and the United States*  
Lisa Dillon  
978-0-7735-3323-3 \$75.00 cloth

"This work suggests a fresh, new approach to the study of old age and demography in North America. Dillon takes on the censuses and historiographic literature of both Canada and the United States to more fully inform our knowledge of the continental society as well as the two discrete national societies."  
— James Snell, history, University of Guelph



McGILL-QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY PRESS  
[www.mqup.ca](http://www.mqup.ca)



**Certain Other Countries**  
Homicide, Gender, and National Identity in Late  
Nineteenth-Century  
England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales  
Carolyn A. Conley

Even though England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were under a common Parliament in the nineteenth century, cultural, economic, and historical differences led to very different values and assumptions about crime and punishment. For example, though the Scots were the most likely to convict accused killers, English, Welsh, and Irish killers were two and a half times more likely to be executed for their

crimes. In *Certain Other Countries*, Carolyn A. Conley explores how the concepts of national identity and criminal violence influenced each other in the Victorian-era United Kingdom. It also addresses the differences among the nations as well as the ways that homicide trials illuminate the issues of gender, ethnicity, family, privacy, property, and class. Homicides reflect assumptions about the proper balance of power in various relationships. For example, Englishmen were ten times more likely to kill women they were courting than were men in the Celtic nations.

\$49.95 cloth 978-0-8142-1051-2

\$9.95 CD 978-0-8142-9131-3

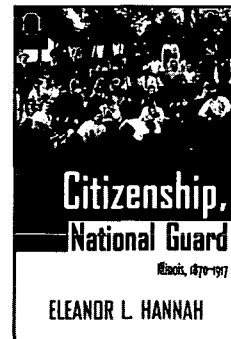
History of Crime and Criminal Justice

David R. Johnson and Jeffrey S. Adler, Series Editors

**Manhood, Citizenship, and the National  
Guard**  
Illinois, 1870–1917  
Eleanor L. Hannah

The National Guard of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is best interpreted as one of a host of associations and organizations that American men of those eras devised to help them negotiate their location and purpose in the strange new world of industrial capitalism. The National Guard brought men from a wide array of regions, ethnicities, races, and economic backgrounds together in a single organization. These men were united by a shared understanding of ideal manhood and civic responsibility that could be expressed through membership in a state militia.

Once committed to the power of the word and the image evoked by the term "soldier" to bring diverse men together in one common bond, the men who volunteered their time and money had to give soldiering their serious attention. By 1900 a commitment to soldiering that was founded on shared social needs took on a life of its own and refocused National Guard members on an individualized, technical, professional military training—on a new kind of manhood for a new age.



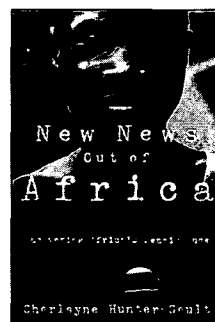
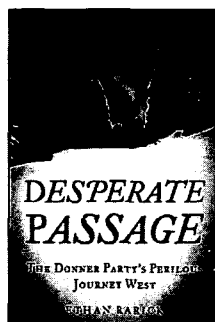
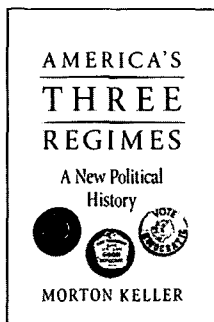
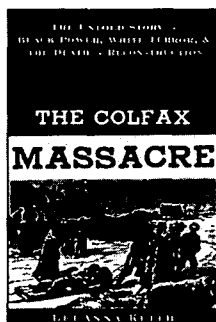
\$42.95 cloth 978-0-8142-1045-1

\$9.95 CD 978-0-8142-9125-2



**The Ohio State University Press**  
[www.ohiostatepress.org](http://www.ohiostatepress.org) 800-621-2736

# New From OXFORD



## ENVIRONMENT AND EMPIRE

WILLIAM BEINART and LOTTE HUGHES

(Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series)

January 2008 320 pp.; 13 in-text halftones & maps \$63.00

## CATALONIA

A Cultural History

MICHAEL EAUDE

(Landscapes of the Imagination)

2007 304 pp.; 10 halftones \$25.00

## ZAGREB

A Cultural History

CELIA HAWKESWORTH

(Cityscapes)

2007 272 pp.; 10 halftones cloth \$60.00 paper \$15.00

## NEW IN PAPERBACK!

## NEW NEWS OUT OF AFRICA

Uncovering Africa's Renaissance

CHARLAYNE HUNTER-GAULT

2006 (paper 2007) 192 pp.; 1 map cloth \$23.00 paper \$14.95

## THE COLFAX MASSACRE

The Untold Story of Black Power, White Terror  
and the Death of Reconstruction

LEEANNA KEITH

February 2008 256 pp.; 19 halftones, 18 line illustrations \$24.95

## AMERICA'S THREE REGIMES

A New Political History

MORTON KELLER

2007 384 pp. \$27.95

## DESPERATE PASSAGE

The Donner Party's Perilous Journey West

ETHAN RARICK

January 2008 304 pp.; 15 halftones \$28.00

## RELIGION IN AMERICAN LIFE

### SISTERS AND SAINTS

Women and American Religion

ANN BRAUDE

2007 144 pp.; 12 halftones paper \$12.95

### NEW WORLD FAITHS

Religion in Colonial America

JON BUTLER

2007 200 pp.; 12 halftones paper \$12.95

### RELIGION IN AMERICAN LIFE

A Short History

Updated edition

JON BUTLER, GRANT WACKER,  
and RANDALL BALMER

2007 496 pp.; 36 halftones paper \$19.95

### ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS IN AMERICA

A Short History

JOHN H. ERICKSON

2007 144 pp.; 2 halftones paper \$12.95

### COMMUNION OF IMMIGRANTS

A History of Catholics in America

Updated Edition

JAMES T. FISHER

2007 176 pp.; 12 halftones paper \$12.95

### A PARADE OF FAITHS

Immigration and American Religion

JENNA WEISSMAN JOSELIT

2007 144 pp.; 12 halftones paper \$12.95

### BUDDHISTS, HINDUS AND SIKHS

IN AMERICA

A Short History

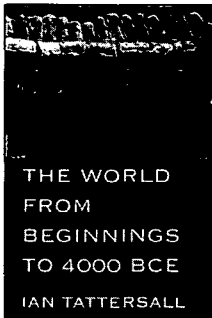
GURINDER SINGH MANN, PAUL NUMRICH,  
and RAYMOND WILLIAMS

2007 168 pp.; 12 halftones paper \$12.95

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Prices are subject to change and apply only in the US. To order, please contact customer service at: 1-866-445-8685, or visit us online at [www.oup.com/us](http://www.oup.com/us)

# New From OXFORD



## THE WORLD FROM BEGINNINGS TO 4000 BCE

IAN TATTERSALL

(New Oxford World History)

2008 160 pp; 3 maps, 27 halftones cloth \$60.00 paper \$19.95

## INVENTING THE "AMERICAN WAY"

The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement

WENDY L. WALL

2007 384 pp; 15 halftones \$35.00

## THE BASQUE COUNTRY

A Cultural History

PADDY WOODWORTH

(Landscapes of the Imagination)

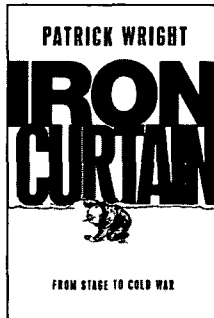
2007 320 pp; 10 halftones \$25.00

## IRON CURTAIN

From the Stage to Cold War

PATRICK WRIGHT

January 2008 416 pp; 25 halftones \$34.95



## NATURE'S NEW DEAL

The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement

NEIL M. MAHER

2007 328 pp. \$35.00

## SENECA FALLS AND THE ORIGINS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

SALLY McMILLEN

(Pivotal Moments in American History)

February 2008 288 pp; 20 halftones cloth \$28.00

## GORBACHEV

Man of the Twentieth Century?

MARK SANDLE

(Reputations Series)

(A Hodder Arnold Publication)

2007 224 pp. paper \$19.95

## THE OXFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WOMEN IN WORLD HISTORY

4-Volume Set

Edited by BONNIE G. SMITH

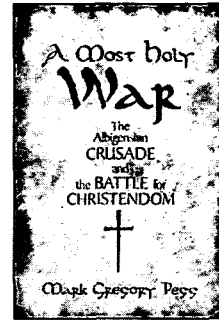
January 2008 2040 pp; 650 line illus \$495.00

## SUFFRAGISTS IN AN IMPERIAL AGE

U.S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929

ALLISON L. SNEIDER

January 2008 240 pp; 4 maps cloth \$99.00 paper \$19.95



## PIVOTAL MOMENTS IN WORLD HISTORY

### AMERICANOS

Latin America's Struggle for Independence

JOHN CHARLES CHASTEEN

January 2008 240 pp; 41 halftones \$28.00

### A MOST HOLY WAR

The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom

MARK GREGORY PEGG

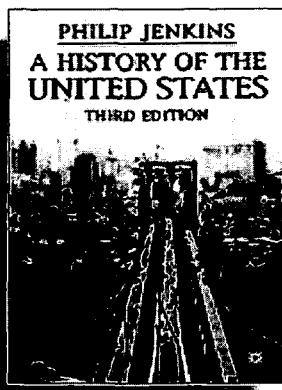
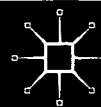
January 2008 288 pp; 20 halftones \$25.00

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Prices are subject to change and apply only in the US. To order, please contact customer service at: 1-866-445-8685, or visit us online at [www.oup.com/us](http://www.oup.com/us)



# New from Palgrave Macmillan



## PAN-ASIANISM AND JAPAN'S WAR 1931-1945

Eri Hotta  
Palgrave Macmillan Series in Transnational History  
ISBN: 0-230-60103-0 / \$69.95 hc.

## A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, THIRD EDITION

Philip Jenkins  
Palgrave Essential Histories  
ISBN: 0-230-50677-1 / \$81.00 hc.  
ISBN: 0-230-50678-X / \$27.95 pb.

## PARADIGMS AND METHODS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Edited by Celia Chazelle and Felice Lifshitz  
The New Middle Ages  
ISBN: 1-4039-6942-6 / \$74.95 hc.

## THE KING AND THE WHORE

The Two Koreas since 1989  
Elizabeth Drayson  
The New Middle Ages  
ISBN: 1-4039-7436-5 / \$79.95 hc.

## BIPOLAR ORDERS

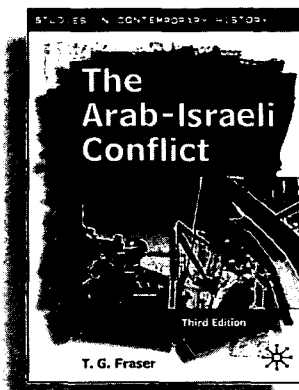
The Two Koreas since 1989  
Hyung Gu Lynn  
Global History of the Present  
ISBN: 1-84277-742-4 / \$80.00 hc.  
ISBN: 1-84277-743-2 / \$22.50 pb.  
Zed Books

## THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Third Edition  
T. G. Fraser  
Studies in Contemporary History  
ISBN: 0-230-00468-7 / \$93.95 hc.  
ISBN: 0-230-00469-5 / \$32.95 pb.

## ASSASSINATIONS AND MURDER IN MODERN ITALY

Transformations in Society and Culture  
Edited by Stephen Gundle and Lucia Rinaldi  
Italian & Italian American Studies  
ISBN: 1-4039-8391-7 / \$74.95 hc.



## BRADLEY

Alan Axelrod; Foreword by Gen. Wesley K. Clark  
Great Generals  
ISBN: 0-230-60018-2 / \$21.95 hc.

## CONSERVATIVE SUFFRAGISTS

The Women's Vote and the Tory Party  
Mitzi Auchterlonie  
International Library of Political Studies  
ISBN: 1-84511-485-X / \$85.00 hc.  
Tauris Academic Studies

## SURGEONS, MANUFACTURERS AND PATIENTS

A Transatlantic History of Total Hip Replacement  
Julie Anderson, Francis Neary and John V. Pickstone  
Science, Technology and Medicine in Modern History  
ISBN: 0-230-55314-1 / \$69.95 hc.

## GERMANY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Jonathan Wright  
ISBN: 0-333-49555-1 / \$93.50 hc.  
ISBN: 0-333-49556-X / \$34.95 pb.

## THE DEBATE ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Gwenda Morgan  
Issues in Historiography  
ISBN: 0-7190-5241-6 / \$79.95 hc.  
ISBN: 0-7190-5242-4 / \$24.95 pb.  
Manchester University Press

## ROMAN BARBARIANS

The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West  
Yitzhak Hen  
Medieval Culture and Society  
ISBN: 0-333-78665-3 / \$69.95 hc.

## CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

Medieval History, Modern Mythistory  
Gary Dickson  
ISBN: 1-4039-9989-9 / \$35.00 hc.

## THE HISTORY OF ARMENIA

Simon Payaslian  
Palgrave Essential Histories  
ISBN: 0-230-60064-6 / \$69.95 hc.  
ISBN: 1-4039-7467-5 / \$18.95 pb.

## THE HOLY SEE AND HITLER'S GERMANY

Gerhard Besier and Francesca Piombo  
ISBN: 1-4039-8831-5 / \$35.00 hc.

## ARTISANS OF THE BODY IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

Identities, Families and Masculinities  
Sandra Cavallo  
Gender and History  
ISBN: 0-7190-7662-5 / \$84.95 hc.  
Manchester University Press

## ADLAI STEVENSON'S LASTING LEGACY

Edited by Alvin Liebbling  
ISBN: 1-4039-8195-7 / \$45.00 hc.

## THE UNQUIET NISEI

An Oral History of the Life of Sue Kunitomi Embrey  
Diana Meyers Bahr  
Palgrave Studies in Oral History  
ISBN: 0-230-60067-0 / \$69.95 hc.

## THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

Caroline Kennedy-Pipe  
ISBN: 0-230-53550-X / \$93.50 hc.  
ISBN: 0-230-53551-8 / \$32.95 pb.

## HITLER AND NAZI GERMANY

Paul Bookbinder  
Histories and Controversies  
ISBN: 0-333-77366-7 / \$68.00 hc.  
ISBN: 0-333-77367-5 / \$22.95 pb.

## MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity to the Thirteenth Century  
Second Edition  
Michael Haren  
ISBN: 0-333-57354-4 / \$29.95 pb.

## COPPER EMPIRE

Mining and the Colonial State in Northern Rhodesia, c. 1930-64  
Larry Butler  
Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies  
ISBN: 0-230-55526-8 / \$95.00 hc.

## THE CASE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A Story of Adultery, Murder, and the Making of a Great President  
Julie M. Fenster; Foreword by Douglas Brinkley  
ISBN: 1-4039-7635-X / \$24.95 hc.

## THE HISPANIC WORLD AND AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL LIFE, 1820-1880

Iván Jaksic  
Studies of the Americas  
ISBN: 1-4039-8079-9 / \$74.95 hc.

## ARIEL SHARON

An Intimate Portrait  
Uri Dan  
ISBN: 1-4039-8497-2 / \$16.95 pb.

palgrave  
macmillan

Distributor of Berg Publishers, I.B.Tauris, Manchester University Press, and Zed Books  
(888) 330-8477 • Fax: (800) 672-2054 • www.palgrave-usa.com

## NEW IN WORLD HISTORY FROM PENGUIN GROUP



J. M. Roberts

**THE NEW PENGUIN  
HISTORY OF THE WORLD***Fully Updated and Revised Fifth Edition*

"A stupendous achievement...."

Unrivalled world history for our day...  
it is unbelievable in its facts and almost  
incontestable in its judgments."—A. J. P. Taylor, *The Observer* (London).

Penguin 1,264 pp. 978-0-14-103042-5 \$22.00

Niall Ferguson

**THE WAR OF THE WORLD  
Twentieth-Century Conflict  
and the Descent of the West**"A heartbreaking, serious and  
thoughtful survey of human evil that is  
utterly fascinating and dramatic."—*The New York Times Book Review*.

Penguin 880 pp. 978-0-14-311239-6 \$18.00

David Nasaw

**ANDREW CARNEGIE**"The definitive work on Carnegie  
for the foreseeable future, and it fully  
deserves to be."—*The New York Times*.  
"A vivid history of nineteenth-century  
capitalism."—*Fortune*.

Penguin 896 pp. 978-0-14-311244-0 \$20.00

Harvey Green

**WOOD****Craft, Culture, History**"In this carefully constructed, engrossing  
cultural history, Harvey Green tells us  
something new about wood on almost  
every page."—Howard Mansfield,  
author of *The Same Axe, Twice*.

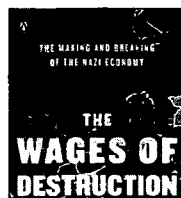
Penguin 496 pp. 978-0-14-311269-3 \$16.00

Dan Koeppl

**BANANA****The Fate of the Fruit  
That Changed the World**A gripping biological detective story  
that uncovers the myth, mystery, and  
endangered fate of the world's most  
humble fruit.

Hudson Street Press 288 pp.

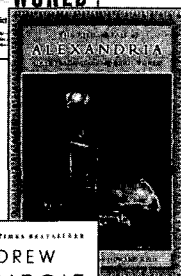
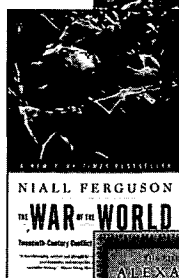
978-1-59463-038-5 \$23.95



Adam Tooze

**THE WAGES OF  
DESTRUCTION****The Making and Breaking  
of the Nazi Economy**"One of the most important and  
original books to be published about  
the Third Reich in the past twenty years.  
A tour de force."—Niall Ferguson.

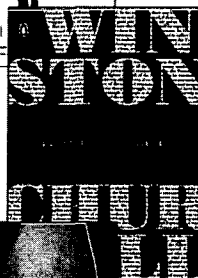
Viking 832 pp. 978-0-670-03826-8 \$32.95



Justin Pollard and Howard Reid

**THE RISE AND  
FALL OF ALEXANDRIA  
Birthplace of  
the Modern World**"A marvelous work, a sweeping narra-  
tive....Pollard and Reid breathe life into  
the dust of philosophers and kings."—Barry Strauss, author of  
*The Trojan War*.

Penguin 352 pp. 978-0-14-311251-8 \$16.00

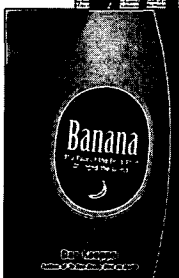


John Keegan

**WINSTON CHURCHILL**"Masterfully covers nearly all aspects  
of Churchill's illustrious career with  
knowledgeable insight and sympathy."  
—*Forbes*.

Penguin 208 pp. 978-0-14-311264-8 \$13.00

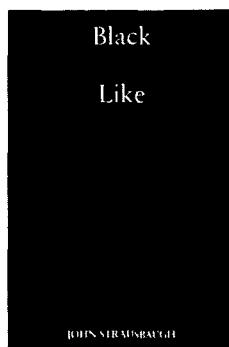
Also of Interest:

**Winston Churchill  
BLOOD, TOIL,  
TEARS, AND SWEAT  
Winston Churchill's  
Famous Speeches***Edited with an Introduction  
by David Cannadine*Penguin Classics 416 pp.  
978-0-14-144206-8 \$16.00

Andrea Mitchell

**TALKING BACK****... to Presidents, Dictators,  
and Assorted Scoundrels**"Smart, feisty and irreverent."  
—Tim Russert.Penguin 480 pp.  
978-0-14-303873-3 \$15.00Penguin Group (USA) Academic Mktg. Dept. 375 Hudson St. NY, NY 10014 [www.penguin.com/academic](http://www.penguin.com/academic)

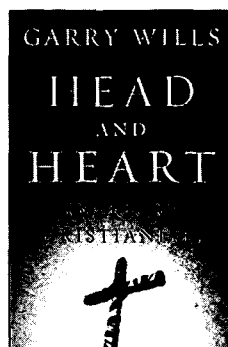
# New history titles from



**JOHN STRAUSBAUGH**  
**BLACK LIKE YOU**  
 Blackface, Whiteface, Insult  
 & Imitation in American Popular Culture

Foreword by Darius James. "An all-encompassing, breezily written summary of an aspect of American popular culture usually swept under the rug."  
 —*The Washington Post Book World*.

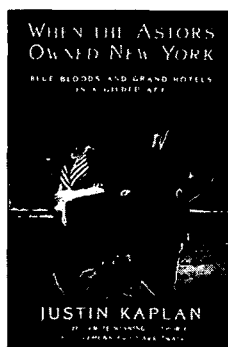
Tarcher 384 pp. 978-1-58542-593-8 \$15.95



**GARRY WILLS**  
**HEAD AND HEART**  
 American Christianities

An examination of Christianity's place in American life across the broad sweep of this country's history.

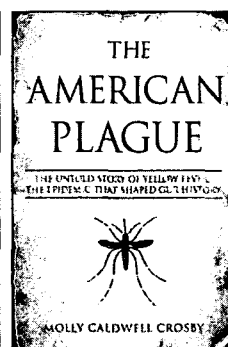
Penguin Press 512 pp. 978-1-59420-146-2 \$29.95



**JUSTIN KAPLAN**  
**WHEN THE ASTORS**  
**OWNED NEW YORK: Blue Bloods**  
 and Grand Hotels in a Gilded Age

"Proves more revealing of the nature of American democracy than many hefty social and political histories."—*The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Plume 208 pp. 978-0-452-28858-4 \$15.00



**MOLLY CALDWELL CROSBY**  
**THE AMERICAN PLAGUE**  
 The Untold Story of Yellow Fever,  
 the Epidemic that Shaped Our History

"Seamlessly blends history and science to tell us how yellow fever haunted the nation."

—Hampton Sides, author of *Ghost Soldiers*.

Berkley 384 pp. 978-0-425-21775-7 \$15.00

## THE PENGUIN LIBRARY OF AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

**THEDA PERDUE & MICHAEL D. GREEN**  
**THE CHEROKEE NATION AND THE TRAIL OF TEARS**

"Lift[s] the story beyond a mere recitation of facts and recount[s] a human story, not only tragic but also unbelievably heroic."

—*Los Angeles Times*.

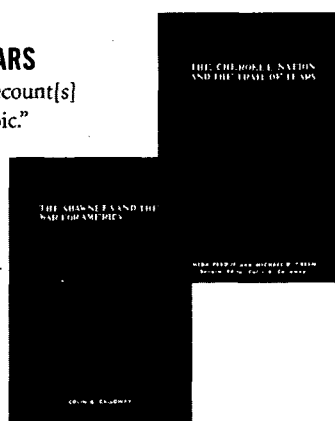
Viking 208 pp. 978-0-670-03150-4 \$19.95

**COLIN G. CALLOWAY**  
**THE SHAWNEES AND THE WAR FOR AMERICA**

"Vividly illustrates the important role played by the Shawnee people in the history of both the Ohio Valley and the new American nation."

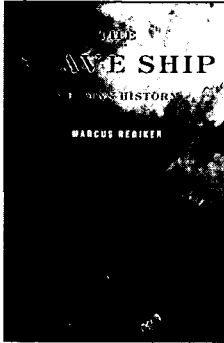
—R. David Edmunds, University of Texas at Dallas.

Viking 208 pp. 978-0-670-03862-6 \$19.95



PENGUIN GROUP (USA) Academic Marketing Department 375 Hudson Street New York, NY 10014

# PENGUIN GROUP



**MARCUS REDIKER**  
**THE SLAVE SHIP**  
A Human History

"Truly a magnificent and disturbing book."

—Robin D. G. Kelley, author of *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*.

Viking 448 pp. 978-0-670-01823-9 \$27.95

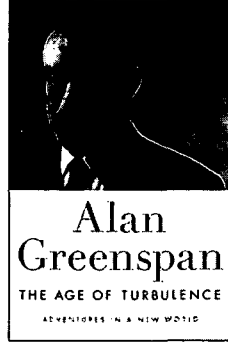


**BRUCE WATSON**  
**SACCO AND VANZETTI**  
The Men, The Murders,  
and the Judgment of Mankind

"Does a great service in rescuing fact from the haze of legend and disentangling Sacco and Vanzetti from the symbols they all too quickly became."

—*The New York Times*.

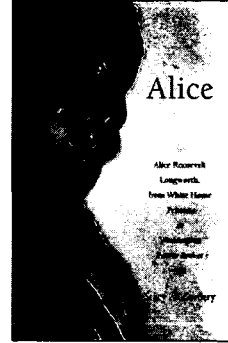
Viking 448 pp. 978-0-670-06353-6 \$25.95



**ALAN GREENSPAN**  
**THE AGE OF TURBULENCE**  
Adventures in a New World

Part memoir, part analysis of the global economy from the ultimate insider—an unprecedented look at the recent history and imminent future of the constantly evolving economy.

Penguin Press 640 pp. 978-1-59420-131-8 \$35.00



**STACY A. CORDERY**

**ALICE: Alice Roosevelt Longworth, from White House Princess to Washington Power Broker**

"A wondrously vibrant portrait of one of America's most complicated and intriguing women."

—David Nasaw.

Viking 608 pp. 978-0-670-01833-8 \$32.95

**RONALD BROWNSTEIN**  
**THE SECOND CIVIL WAR**  
How Extreme Partisanship Has Paralyzed  
Washington and Polarized America

"Masterful...a unique blending of first-rate historical writing with penetrating contemporary analysis."—Doris Kearns Goodwin.

Penguin Press 400 pp. 978-1-59420-139-4 \$27.95

**ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr.**  
**JOURNALS: 1952–2000**

Revelatory, never-before-seen journals from one of America's finest public historians and most admired intellectuals—a landmark event in the history of American letters.

Penguin Press 928 pp. 978-1-59420-142-4 \$40.00

**JIM NEWTON**  
**JUSTICE FOR ALL**  
Earl Warren and the Nation He Made

"Newton's comprehensive and balanced political history usefully cuts through the technical details and casts fresh light on Warren's legacy."

—*The Washington Post*.

Riverhead 624 pp. 978-1-59448-270-0 \$17.95

**CRAIG NELSON**  
**THOMAS PAINE**  
Enlightenment, Revolution,  
and the Birth of Modern Nations

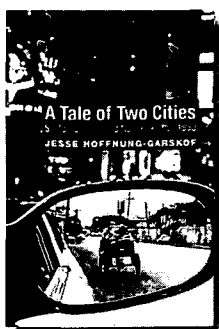
"Brings Paine to life with all the flaws and foibles flaming away amidst the greatness."

—Joseph J. Ellis, author of *His Excellency: George Washington*.

Penguin 432 pp. 978-0-14-311238-9 \$16.00

[www.penguin.com/academic](http://www.penguin.com/academic)





### A Tale of Two Cities

Santo Domingo and New York after 1950

*Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof*

"*A Tale of Two Cities* recreates the history of Dominican migration from the perspective of lower-class Dominicans—portraying the human face of Dominican migration while still keeping track of the big picture."

—Ernesto Sagás, Southern New Hampshire University

Cloth \$35.00 978-0-691-12338-7

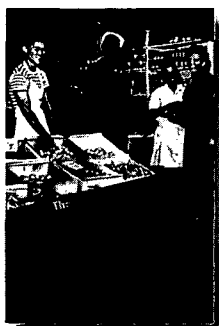


### Greece—a Jewish History

*K. E. Fleming*

K. E. Fleming's *Greece—a Jewish History* is the first comprehensive English-language history of Greek Jews, and the only history that includes material on their diaspora in Israel and the United States. The book tells the story of a people who for the most part no longer exist and whose identity is a paradox in that it wasn't fully formed until after most Greek Jews had emigrated or been deported and killed by the Nazis.

Cloth \$35.00 978-0-691-10272-6 Due January



### The Shifting Grounds of Race

Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles

*Scott Kurashige*

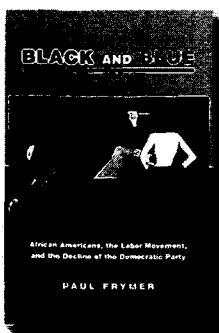
"By offering a comparative and relational history of African Americans and Japanese Americans in Los Angeles and their respective struggles against racial segregation, Scott Kurashige extends our historical knowledge about race relations and civil rights to the West."

—Mae Ngai, author of *Impossible Subjects*

*Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America*

William Chafe, Gary Gerstle, Linda Gordon & Julian Zelizer, series editors

Cloth \$35.00 978-0-691-12639-5 Due January



### Black and Blue

African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party

*Paul Frymer*

"Institutional structures matter. Paul Frymer shows how misleading it is to see 'the national government' as an undifferentiated whole. Instead, its division into separate branches, cabinet departments, agencies, and commissions has profound consequences for the actualities of public policy."

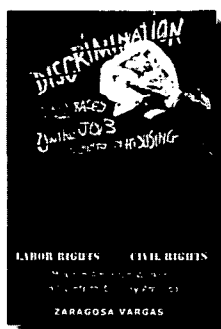
—Sanford Levinson, author of *Our Undemocratic Constitution*

*Princeton Studies in American Politics: Ira Katznelson, Martin Shefter & Theda Skocpol, series editors*

Paper \$24.95 978-0-691-13465-9 Cloth \$50.00 978-0-691-13081-1 Due January 2008

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

800.777.4726  
press.princeton.edu



*New in paperback*

## **Labor Rights Are Civil Rights**

Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America

*Zaragosa Vargas*

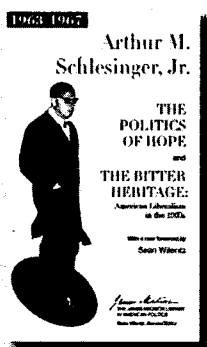
"Vargas does much to chronicle the role of Mexican American workers in the turbulent decades of the 1930s and 1940s and to document their important role in the labor struggles and political controversies of those years."

—Robert H. Zieger, *Labor History*

*Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America*

William Chafe, Gary Gerstle, Linda Gordon & Julian Zelizer, series editors

Paper \$22.95 978-0-691-13402-4



*New in paperback*

*With a foreword by Sean Wilentz*

## **The Politics of Hope and The Bitter Heritage**

American Liberalism in the 1960s

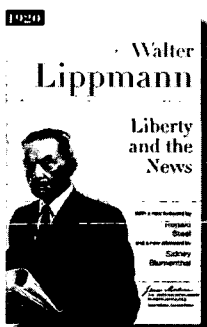
*Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.*

With a new foreword by Sean Wilentz, the James Madison Library edition of *The Politics of Hope* and *The Bitter Heritage* situates liberalism in the convulsive 1960s—and illuminates the challenges that still face liberalism today.

*The James Madison Library in American Politics*

Sean Wilentz, General Editor

Paper \$24.95 978-0-691-13475-8



*New in paperback*

*With a new foreword by Ronald Steel,*

*a new introduction by Sean Wilentz, and a new afterword by Sidney Blumenthal*

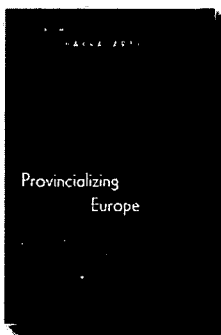
## **Liberty and the News**

*Walter Lippmann*

*Liberty and the News* is Walter Lippmann's classic account of how the press threatens democracy whenever it has an agenda other than the free flow of ideas. A brilliant essay on a persistent problem of American democracy, *Liberty and the News* is still powerfully relevant.

*The James Madison Library in American Politics: Sean Wilentz, General Editor*

Paper \$16.95 978-0-691-13480-2



*A new paperback edition*

*With a new preface by the author*

## **Provincializing Europe**

Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference

*Dipesh Chakrabarty*

"Chakrabarty's work gives us a richer, more penetrating language to deal with modernity and the colonial encounter. . . . It is the ambiguity of Chakrabarty's own position as both a critic and archivist of modernity that gives his study its poetic undertow and its intelligent irresponsibility."—Amit Chaudhuri, *London Review of Books*

*Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History*

Paper \$18.95 978-0-691-13001-9



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

800.777.4726

press.princeton.edu

# Rethinking History

## On Deep History and the Brain

DANIEL LORD SMAIL

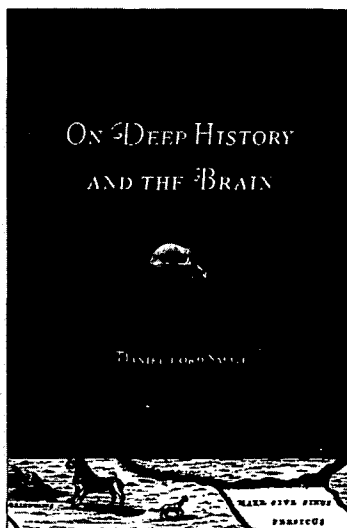
"So accessible, so groundbreaking, so stimulating, so important that I imagine the next generation of historians will be deeply influenced by what Smail has to say here. Simply dazzling."

—LYNN HUNT, author of *Inventing Human Rights*

"This is surely a new paradigm for the study of history that will be regarded as revolutionary but which is also well justified. To my knowledge, no other book integrates the study of human history with principles of biological and cultural evolution on such an ambitious scale."

—DAVID SLOAN WILSON, author of *Darwin's Cathedral and Evolution for Everyone*

\$21.95 hardcover

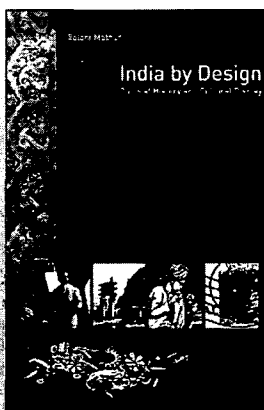


## India by Design

Colonial History and Cultural Display

SALONI MATHUR

"With the subtle, searching eye of an expert curator, and the analytic skills of a fine scholar, Mathur explores the diverse scales and conflicting values of colonial design and discourse, arts and



crafts....This remarkable work is deeply engaged in the mechanics and mediations of Imperial authority and its visual signs."

—HOMI BHABHA, Harvard University  
\$50.00 hardcover,  
\$19.95 paperback

## Embattled Avant-Gardes

Modernism's Resistance to Commodity Culture in Europe

WALTER L. ADAMSON

"Adamson leads his readers through intricate debates with care and skill. Even the non-specialist reader will come away with an understanding of the stakes in modernist studies."

—MARY GLUCK, author of *Popular Bohemia*  
\$45.00 hardcover



At bookstores or order (800) 822-6657 • [www.ucpress.edu](http://www.ucpress.edu)



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

# New in Paperback

## Cinderella's Sisters

A Revisionist History of Footbinding  
DOROTHY KO

"Ko has splendidly achieved her goal to write a history of footbinding which has never been attempted...focusing on its interaction with private and social history."—MING QING YANJIU

Winner of the Joan Kelly Memorial Prize, American Historical Association  
\$18.95 paperback

## A Concise History of the Third Reich

WOLFGANG BENZ

Translated by Thomas Dunlap

"A readable, critical, and comprehensive history of the Third Reich, which reflects the current standard of academic research."

—RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism  
\$19.95 paperback

## The Spice Route

A History  
JOHN KEAY

"A colorful and detailed portrait of the astonishing impact man's love for flavor had on the earliest stages of globalization....Nothing short of zesty." —PUBLISHERS WEEKLY

California Studies in Food and Culture  
\$16.95 paperback

## Retrying Galileo, 1633–1992

MAURICE A. FINOCCHIARO

"A comprehensive and ambitious historical account....Finocchiaro turns time's telescope backwards, to great effect."

—TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

\$27.50 paperback

## Japan in Print

Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period

MARY ELIZABETH BERRY

"Learned, lucid, and lively, it has much to teach students of premodern societies in Europe and elsewhere."

—ANTHONY GRAFTON,

Henry Putnam University Professor of History, Princeton University

Asia: Local Studies / Global Themes  
\$24.95 paperback

## The Social Sciences in Modern Japan

The Marxian and Modernist Traditions

ANDREW E. BARSHAY

"A stunning achievement as the first full account of social science in a non-Western society."

—ROBERT BELLAH, University of California, Berkeley, and author of *Tokugawa Religion and Imagining Japan*

Twentieth Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power  
\$24.95 paperback

## Japan before Perry

A Short History

CONRAD TOTMAN

25TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION

In this authoritative survey, Totman examines the origins of Japanese civilization and explores in detail the classical, medieval, and early-modern epochs, weaving interpretations of the major themes in Japan's cultural and political development into a rich historical narrative.  
\$21.95 paperback

Art from Japan in Print

At bookstores or order (800) 822-6657 • [www.ucpress.edu](http://www.ucpress.edu)

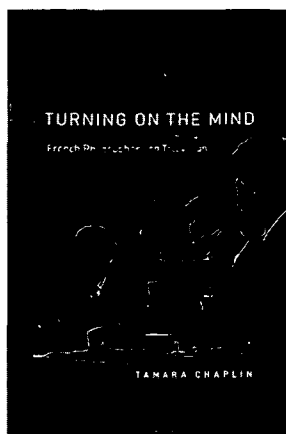


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS



# New Books in History

New from  
CHICAGO



## Turning On the Mind

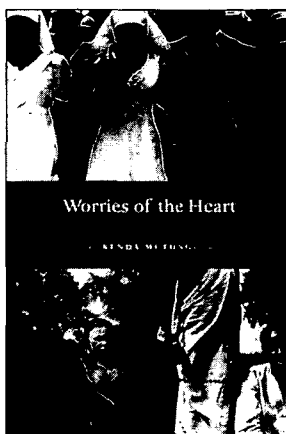
*French Philosophers on Television*  
Tamara Chaplin

"By painstakingly reconstructing the complex interaction of philosophy, national identity, state policy, and television over a half century of French history, Tamara Chaplin provides a stunningly original account of a previously unexplored corner of modern culture."—Martin Jay, University of California, Berkeley  
"Anyone who wants to understand the unique role that philosophy continues to play in contemporary France can now read Tamara Chaplin's superbly documented study of philosophy on French TV."—Alice Kaplan, author of *French Lessons*  
Paper \$24.00

## Magical Criticism

*The Recourse of Savage Philosophy*  
Christopher Bracken

"Bracken argues that, despite our denial, savage philosophy is very much with us today, and in an extraordinary whirl through many of today's canonized thinkers, he uncovers and explicates its strands. What is quite extraordinary is the depth and breadth of Bracken's purview. . . . I was enchanted by it."  
—Vincent Crapanzano, CUNY Graduate Center  
Paper \$20.00



## Worries of the Heart

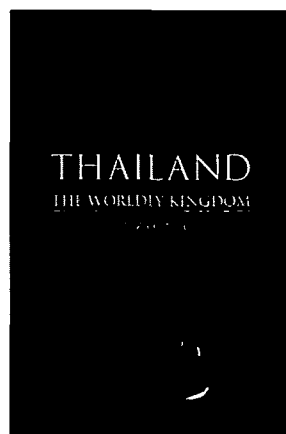
*Widows, Family, and Community in Kenya*  
Kenda Mutongi

"This captivating book evokes the human experience of living under colonialism in rural East Africa better than any other study I can think of. Widows and their families are Mutongi's focus, but this is less a history of widows than it is a history of the twentieth century in the Maragoli district of western Kenya through widows' eyes."—Charles Ambler, University of Texas at El Paso  
"It is at once a literary and academic achievement."—Binyavanga Wainaina, winner of the Caine Prize for African Writing  
Paper \$20.00

## Travels with Tooy

*History, Memory, and the African American Imagination*  
Richard Price

"A tour de force—a tightly argued, incisive contribution to the newly rekindled debate about the role of Africa in the history and social imaginary of African American societies. A major achievement."—Stephan Palmié, University of Chicago  
"A model of politically engaged historical ethnography and sustained transcultural dialogue."—John Collins, Queens College, CUNY  
Paper \$24.00



## New from Reaktion Books

### Thailand

*The Worldly Kingdom*  
Maurizio Peleggi

*Thailand* argues that the development of Thai nationhood was a long-term process shaped by interactions with the outside world, its pursuit of civilization, and, more recently, globalization. Maurizio Peleggi's original account investigates, among other issues, the evolution of the geographical and linguistic landscapes, changes in class and gender relations, the role of institutions and ideologies, modern cultural expressions, social memory, and the conception of the Thai national self as contrasted against the racial and cultural Others of Burmese, Chinese, and Westerners.  
Paper \$30.00

NOW IN PAPERBACK

### Everlasting Flower

*A History of Korea*  
Keith Pratt

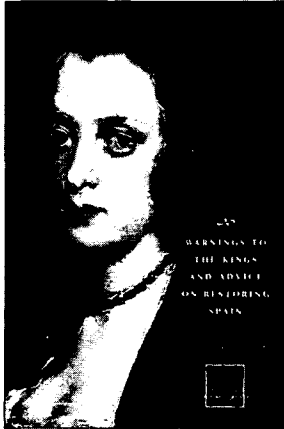
"Pratt's book is a very solidly researched, well-balanced, and enjoyable read peppered with glimpses of wit and personal observation. It will be a valuable introduction to Korean history for undergraduates, non-academics and more specialist readers alike—and one that will hopefully inspire further reading."—*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*  
Paper \$27.00

The University of Chicago Press

[www.press.uchicago.edu](http://www.press.uchicago.edu)

# European History

New from  
CHICAGO



## The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe

### Warnings to the Kings and Advice on Restoring Spain

*A Bilingual Edition*

**María de Guevara**

Edited and Translated by  
**Nieves Romero-Díaz**

This annotated bilingual edition reproduces the polemics of de Guevara (?–1683) for the first time and includes two extraordinary essays that appealed for strong leadership, protested political corruption, and demanded the inclusion of women in the court's decision making.

Paper \$16.00

### Selected Poems and Translations

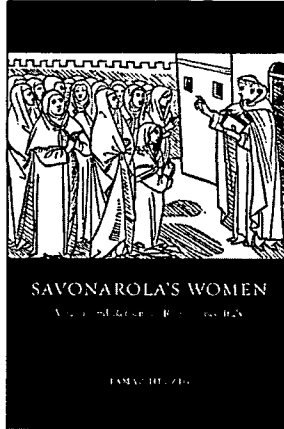
*A Bilingual Edition*

**Madeleine de l'Aubespine**

Edited and Translated by  
**Anna Kłosowska**

Unavailable in English until now, this volume presents the poems and literary works of Madeleine de l'Aubespine (1546–96), the toast of courtly and literary circles in sixteenth-century Paris who penned love poems to the famous women of her day.

Paper \$20.00



### Savonarola's Women

*Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy*

**Tamar Herzog**

"A lively account of religion in the era of the Italian Wars that reconstructs an important episode in the relationship between gender, faith, and politics and brings to life a religious community that has since been obscured."

—Paula Findlen, Stanford University  
Cloth \$35.00

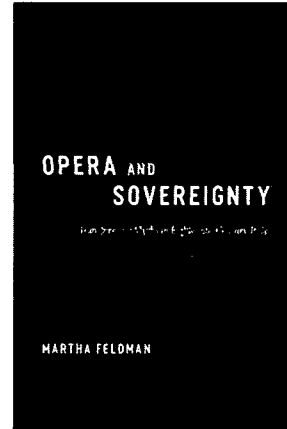
### A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audience and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada

**Francisco Núñez Muley**

Edited and Translated by  
**Vincent Barletta**

"The *Memorandum* is one of the most important witnesses to the century-long cultural and religious struggle that resulted in Spain's expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. This accurate and fluent translation emphasizes how much this text has to tell the modern reader about the interpenetration of supposedly irreconcilable 'Eastern' and 'Western' elements in the Spain of the period."—Consuelo López-Morillas, Indiana University

Cloth \$25.00



### Opera and Sovereignty

*Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy*

**Martha Feldman**

"Martha Feldman wields her vast array of sources with great intensity and imagination, virtually propelling the reader into a memorable one-on-one experience with the previously unfathomable eighteenth-century world of opera seria in performance."

—Marita Petzoldt McClymonds, University of Virginia  
Cloth \$55.00

From Liverpool University Press

### The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon

Translated and with an Introduction by  
**Richard Price and Michael Gaddis**

*The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* is an exceptional and rare work, a verbatim record of the proceedings that features illuminating arguments between bishops and imperial court officials as they grapple with issues ranging from ecclesiastical discipline to episcopal corruption.

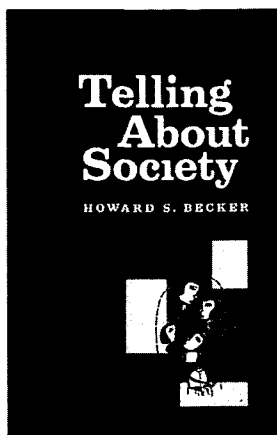
3 volume set  
Paper \$50.00

The University of Chicago Press

[www.press.uchicago.edu](http://www.press.uchicago.edu)

# New and Classic Works in History

New from  
CHICAGO



## Two by Howard S. Becker

### Telling About Society

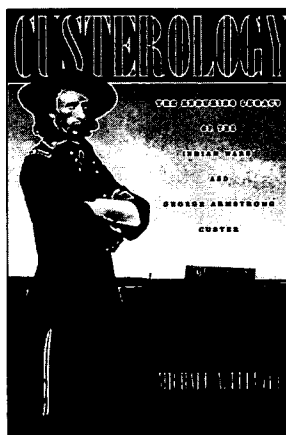
"As with all of Becker's work, this new book is deceptively simple. The writing is quiet and clear. You are lulled into thinking you are reading a good story, as indeed you are. However, after reading a chapter or two, you realize that you have begun to think of the world differently. This is both a good read and profound theory. . . . A tour de force from a writer whose work has shaped the social sciences for decades."—Susan Leigh Star, Santa Clara University  
Paper \$15.00

### Writing for Social Scientists

*How to Start and Finish Your Thesis, Book, or Article*  
Second Edition

"This little book is must reading for any would-be writer, social scientist or not, who has sat in front of a blank piece of paper . . . and wondered whether the plants have been watered lately."—Jane Delano Brown, *Journalism Quarterly*  
Paper \$12.00

Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing



### Custerology

*The Enduring Legacy of the Indian Wars and George Armstrong Custer*  
Michael A. Elliott

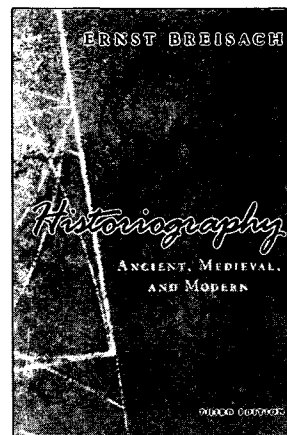
"Custerology is vivid, trenchant, engrossing, and important."  
—Larry McMurtry

"That any writer could find a fresh approach to George Armstrong Custer and the Battle of the Little Bighorn is a phenomenon. Yet Michael Elliott presents a fresh approach by relating the public obsession that has flourished for 131 years to its continuing resonance in the present and, almost certainly, the future."  
—Robert Utley, author of *Custer and Me: A Historian's Memoir*  
Cloth \$25.00

NOW IN PAPERBACK

**Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University**  
William Clark

"[Clark] makes his case with analytic shrewdness, an exuberant love of archival anecdote, and a wry sense of humor. It's hard to resist a writer who begins by noting, 'Befitting the subject, this is an odd book.'"  
—Anthony Grafton, *New Yorker*  
Paper \$22.50



### Historiography

*Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*  
Third Edition  
Ernst Breisach

This up-to-date third edition narrates and interprets the development of historiography from its origins in Greek poetry to the present, with sections on postmodernism, African American history, women's history, microhistory, and more.

"Breisach's comprehensive coverage of the subject and his clear presentation of the issues and the complexity of an evolving discipline easily make his work the best of its kind."  
—*American Historical Review* (on the first edition)  
Paper \$25.00

**Instructions for American Servicemen in Iraq during World War II**

*United States Army*  
With a Foreword by Lieutenant Colonel John A. Nagl

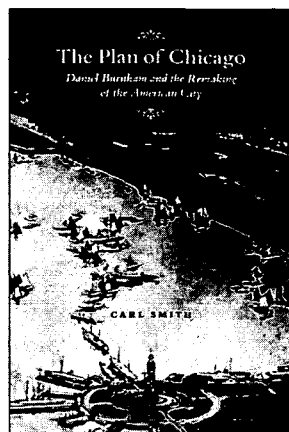
"The essential message is to show respect. . . . Why wasn't this the 'commander's intent' when Americans returned to Iraq sixty years later?"  
—George Packer, *New Yorker* online  
Cloth \$10.00

The University of Chicago Press

[www.press.uchicago.edu](http://www.press.uchicago.edu)

# American History

New from  
CHICAGO



## Two from Carl Smith

Now in Paperback

### The Plan of Chicago

*Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City*

"Smith takes up where [Pierce's *History of Chicago*] left off, and his work may stand alongside hers as the starting point for numerous inquiries into the fascinating city of Chicago."

—Elaine Lewinnek, *Urban History*  
Paper \$12.00

### Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief

*The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman*  
Second Edition

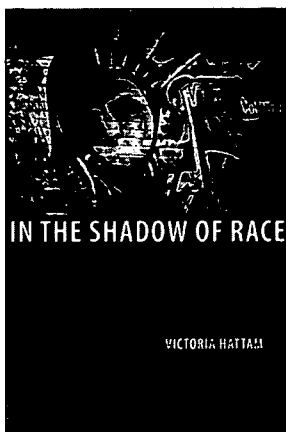
With a new Foreword by the Author

"*Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief* is at once a classic and as contemporary as this morning's newspaper. By recounting the complicated attempts to find meaning in urban catastrophes, Carl Smith distills wisdom from the past that enthalls as it educates."

—Mary P. Ryan, Johns Hopkins University

"Cultural history at its finest."  
—Robin F. Bachin, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*

Paper \$24.00



## In the Shadow of Race

*Jews, Latinos, and Immigrant Politics in the United States*  
Victoria Hattam

"This is a deeply researched, highly original, and passionately committed study of an important set of topics. It impressively brings together history and social science (and indeed hard science) to offer a dramatically revisionist account of the ways in which the concepts of race and ethnicity became distinct in U.S. intellectual and political life."

—David R. Roediger, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
Paper \$19.00

## Beautiful Democracy

*Aesthetics and Anarchy in a Global Era*  
Russ Castronovo

"*Beautiful Democracy* is a highly original and mind-expanding critique of American literature, art, philosophy, and cultural criticism from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century that demonstrates as never before the profoundly disquieting admixture of idealism and violence that has tended to shape—and misshape—initiatives undertaken in the name of the aesthetic."—Lawrence Buell, Harvard University

Paper \$24.00



## Queering the Underworld

*Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History*  
Scott Herring

"Scott Herring's bravely searching book deserves wide and careful attention. At once a compelling account of modern U.S. slumming literatures and a persuasive polemical intervention in contemporary queer studies, *Queering the Underworld* is original in conception, efficient in execution, and consistently engaging."—Christopher Looby, University of California, Los Angeles  
Paper \$25.00

Now in Paperback

## The Postal Age

*The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America*  
David M. Henkin

"*The Postal Age* is engagingly written, rich with anecdotes and observations that dramatize and illuminate the manifold facets of 'postal culture' in the antebellum United States. Americans took advantage of a growing and increasingly accessible postal system to exchange money, news, seeds, daguerreotypes, love letters, and anonymous valentines (not to mention the earliest forms of spam and junk mail), transforming courtship, commerce, and civic life."—Geoffrey Nunberg, author of *Going Nucular*  
Paper \$20.00

The University of Chicago Press  
[www.press.uchicago.edu](http://www.press.uchicago.edu)



# New from Stanford University Press

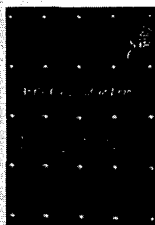


## **Caught in the Machinery** *Workplace Accidents and Injured Workers in Nineteenth-Century Britain*

JAMIE L. BRONSTEIN

*Caught in the Machinery* examines the social, legal, cultural, and political history of workplace accidents and injured workers in nineteenth-century Britain and in the broader Anglo-American context.

\$55.00 cloth



## **A Political History of the House of Lords, 1811-1846** *From the Regency to Corn Law Repeal*

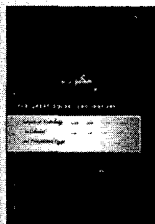
RICHARD W. DAVIS

"The House of Lords is a monumentally understudied and under-evaluated part of Britain's political polity, and Davis shows us the prime importance of the role the Lords actually played in this period in setting the agenda for the political nation."

—James Sack,

University of Illinois at Chicago

\$60.00 cloth



## **At the Crossroads of Empires** *Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-Building in Republican Shanghai*

Edited by NARA DILLON and  
JEAN C. OI

Republican Shanghai was a heterogeneous city with no central institutions. Yet somehow it functioned coherently. What held the city together? The authors argue that networks of middlemen with boundless connections provided the glue.

\$50.00 cloth



## **Citizenship and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Germany**

Edited by GEOFF ELEY and  
JAN PALMOWSKI

This book is one of the first to use citizenship as a lens through which to understand German history in the twentieth century. By considering how Germans defined themselves and others, the book explores how nationality and citizenship rights were constructed, and how Germans defined—and contested—their national community over the century.

\$27.95 paper \$65.00 cloth

## **Guarding Life's Dark Secrets** *Legal and Social Controls over Reputation, Propriety, and Privacy*

LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN

This book investigates the elements that have developed as part of the definition of propriety and good behavior, and how the law has acted to protect respectable people and their reputations.

\$29.95 cloth

## **Spying on the Nuclear Bear** *Anglo-American Intelligence and the Soviet Bomb*

MICHAEL S. GOODMAN

"This is an important book on a little-known subject which, in its day, was of critical importance. Dr. Goodman describes, in meticulous detail, the extensive intelligence effort mounted to track Soviet development of nuclear weapons in the 1940s and 50s."

—Sir Colin McColl,

Former Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6)

Stanford Nuclear Age Series  
\$50.00 cloth



## **Our Friend "The Enemy"** *Elite Education in Britain and Germany before World War I*

THOMAS WEBER

"Weber's argument poses real problems for the theory of an inevitable Anglo-German antagonism culminating in World War I. He shows that, contrary to what proponents of the German *Sonderweg* thesis have long assumed, there was far more social and political conservatism—including anti-Semitism and even militarism—at the British university than at the German."

—Niall Ferguson

\$65.00 cloth



## **The Great Social Laboratory** *Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt*

OMNIA EL SHAKRY

"*The Great Social Laboratory* is a brilliant study of the tension between imperial projects and nationalist imaginings. Examining the ways in which colonial Egypt became a site and object of social scientific knowledge, Omnia El Shakry offers a seminal contribution to debates about the place of colonialism in the development of modern science."

—Timothy Mitchell,  
New York University

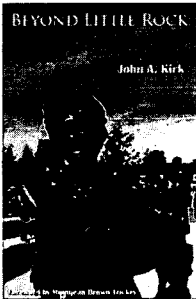
\$55.00 cloth

 **Stanford**  
University Press

800.621.2736 [www.sup.org](http://www.sup.org)

# • The University of Arkansas Press •

## Little Rock Central Integration - 50th Anniversary



### **Beyond Little Rock**

*The Origins and Legacies of the Central High Crisis*

John A. Kirk

Foreword by Minnijean Brown Trickey

\$19.95 Paper; \$59.95 Cloth

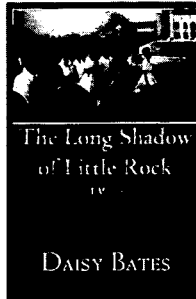


### **Race, Politics, and Memory**

*A Documentary History of the Little Rock School Crisis*

Edited by Catherine M. Lewis and J. Richard Lewis

\$19.95 Paper; \$59.95 Cloth



### **The Long Shadow of Little Rock**

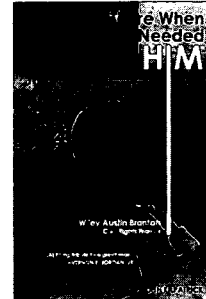
*A Memoir*

Daisy Bates

Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt

With an Afterword by Clayborne Carson

\$17.95 Paper

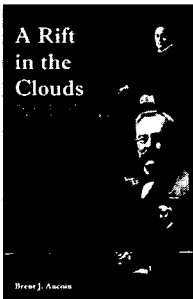


### **There When We Needed Him**

*Wiley Austin Branton, Civil Rights Warrior*

Judith Kilpatrick

\$29.95 Cloth

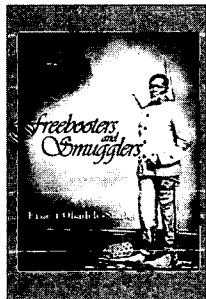


### **A Rift in the Clouds**

*Race and the Southern Federal Judiciary, 1900-1910*

Brent J. Aucoin

\$34.95 cloth



### **Freebooters and Smugglers**

*The Foreign Slave Trade in the United States after 1808*

Ernest Obadele-Starks

\$34.95 cloth



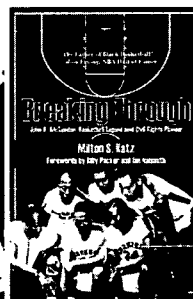
### **New Deal / New South**

*An Anthony J. Badger Reader*

Anthony J. Badger

Foreword by James C. Cobb

\$19.95 paper



### **Breaking Through**

*John B. McLendon, Basketball Legend and Civil Rights Pioneer*

Milton S. Katz

Forewords by Billy Packer and Ian Naismith

\$29.95 cloth



### **The Blood of Abraham**

*Insights into the Middle East*

Jimmy Carter

Third Edition, with a Revised

Afterword by the Author

\$21.95 paper

800-626-0090 • [www.uapress.com](http://www.uapress.com)



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

## THE ORIGINS OF THE WELFARE STATE

Women, Work, and  
the French Revolution

Lisa DiCaprio

### The Origins of the Welfare State

Women, Work, and the  
French Revolution

LISA DICAPRIO

Looking backward to the Old Regime and forward to the nineteenth century, this study explores the interventionist spirit that characterized liberalism in the eighteenth century and serves as a bridge to the history of entitlements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Illus. Cloth, \$40.00

### Women in American History

#### "Swing the Sickle for the Harvest Is Ripe"

Gender and Slavery  
in Antebellum Georgia  
DAINA RAMEY BERRY

"Makes a tremendous contribution to the field, as it makes important connections between labor, skill and gender, forced breeding, and the informal economy."

—Deborah Gray White, author of *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Antebellum South*

Illus. Cloth, \$40.00

### The Working Class in American History

#### Black Workers' Struggle for Equality in Birmingham

Edited by HORACE HUNTLEY  
and DAVID MONTGOMERY

Afterword by Odessa Woolfolk

"There is perhaps no better place to start for an insight into the specifics of white supremacy and the harsh struggle for economic justice and freedom that has characterized working-class and black life in the South and America." —*Journal of Southern History*

Cloth, \$35.00; Paper, \$20.00

#### Glass Towns

Industry, Labor, and Political  
Economy in Appalachia,  
1890–1930s

KEN FONES-WOLF

This deft combination of labor and business history looks closely at the glass industry's potential to improve West Virginia's political economy by establishing a base of value-added manufacturing, complementing the state's abundance of natural resources.

Illus. Cloth, \$65.00; Paper, \$25.00

#### James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890–1928

BRYAN D. PALMER

"One of the most inspiring leaders of the early United States Communist movement has at long last found a biographer worthy to recount the first four decades of his life." —*Against the Current*

Illus. Cloth, \$50.00

#### Wobblies on the Waterfront

Interracial Unionism in  
Progressive-Era Philadelphia  
PETER COLE

"Local 8 deserves the in-depth treatment that Peter Cole gives it, for it stood out as a rather unique example of militant, interracial unionism in an age in which exclusion or segregation was the rule in the labor movement."

—Eric Arnesen, editor of  
*The Black Worker: Race, Labor,  
and Civil Rights since Emancipation*

Illus. Cloth, \$40.00

#### The Women's Joint Congressional Committee and the Politics of Maternalism, 1920–30

JAN DOOLITTLE WILSON

This is the first comprehensive history of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC), a large umbrella organization founded by former suffrage leaders in 1920 in order to coordinate organized women's reform.

Illus. Cloth, \$40.00

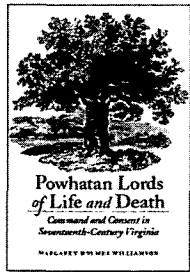
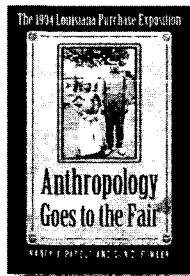
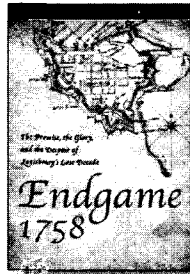
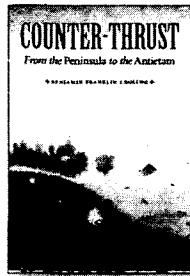
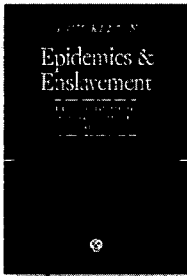
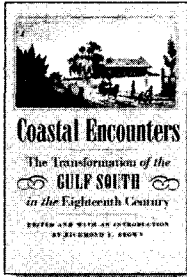
#### Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906–46

NANCY MARIE ROBERTSON

"Provides one of the most sensitive and nuanced accounts to date of black and white women's collaboration in the name of progress." —Sarah Deutsch, author of *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940*

Cloth, \$45.00

www.press.uillinois.edu • 800-621-2736



### **Coastal Encounters**

The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century  
EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION  
BY RICHMOND F. BROWN  
**\$35.00 paper**

### **Counter-Thrust**

From the Peninsula to the Antietam  
BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COOLING  
**\$45.00 cloth**  
GREAT CAMPAIGNS OF THE CIVIL WAR SERIES

### **Policing the Great Plains**

Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875-1910  
BY ANDREW R. GRAYBILL  
**\$24.95 paper**

### **Endgame 1758**

The Promise, the Glory, and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade  
BY A.J.B. JOHNSTON  
**\$19.95 paper**  
FRANCE OVERSEAS SERIES

### **Epidemics and Enslavement**

Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715  
BY PAUL KELTON  
**\$50.00 cloth**  
INDIANS OF THE SOUTHEAST SERIES

### **Anthropology Goes to the Fair**

The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
BY NANCY J. PAREZO  
AND DON D. FOWLER  
**\$55.00 cloth**  
CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY SERIES

NOW IN PAPER

**Powhatan Lords of Life and Death**  
Command and Consent in Seventeenth-Century Virginia  
BY MARGARET HOLMES WILLIAMSON  
**\$19.95 paper**

\*For complete descriptions and to read excerpts, visit us online!

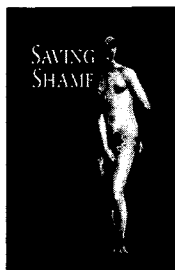


**University of Nebraska Press**

800.755.1105 | [www.nebraskapress.unl.edu](http://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu) | publishers of Bison Books



## NEW FROM PENN PRESS

**SAVING SHAME***Martyrs, Saints, and Other Abject Subjects*

Virginia Burrus

Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion

2007 | 208 pages | Cloth | \$45.00

NEW IN PAPERBACK

**rites and passages***The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Culture in France, 1650–1860*

Jay R. Berkovitz

Jewish Culture and Contexts

2007 | 344 pages | Paper | \$22.50

**THE ARISTOCRACY IN THE COUNTY OF CHAMPAGNE, 1100–1300**

Theodore Evergates

The Middle Ages Series

2007 | 432 pages | 3 illus. | Cloth | \$95.95

**THE GOOD WOMEN OF THE PARISH***Gender and Religion After the Black Death*

Katherine L. French

The Middle Ages Series

2007 | 336 pages | 19 illus. | Cloth | \$69.95

NEW IN PAPERBACK

**colonial botany***Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*

Edited by Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan

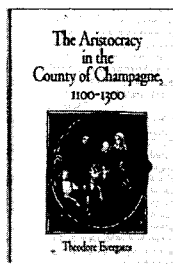
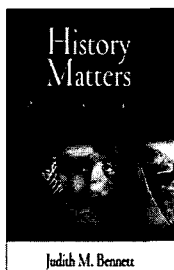
2007 | 352 pages | 54 illus. | Paper | \$22.50

**CULTURE FRONT***Representing Jews in Eastern Europe*

Edited by Benjamin Nathans and Gabriella Safran

Jewish Culture and Contexts

2007 | 344 pages | Cloth | \$65.00



NEW IN PAPERBACK

**HISTORY MATTERS***Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*

Judith M. Bennett

2007 | 224 pages | Paper | \$19.95

**THE CRUSADES AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD OF THE EAST***Rough Tolerance*

Christopher MacEvitt

The Middle Ages Series

2007 | 248 pages | 3 illus. | Cloth | \$49.95

**READING WOMEN***Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800*

Edited by Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly

Material Texts

2007 | 280 pages | 11 illus. | Cloth | \$59.95

**USED BOOKS***Marking Readers in Renaissance England*

William H. Sherman

Material Texts

2007 | 280 pages | 36 illus. | Cloth | \$45.00

**VAUX AND VERSAILLES***The Appropriations, Erasures, and Accidents That Made Modern France*

Claire Goldstein

2007 | 288 pages | 24 illus. | Cloth | \$55.00

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
PRESSwww.pennpress.org  
800-537-5487

# KANSAS

## The Supreme Court An Essential History

Peter Charles Hoffer, Williamjames Hull Hoffer, and N.E.H. Hull

"A clear and comprehensive overview of the nation's most important court and the justices who have served on it. . . . Essential reading for anyone concerned with the history of this fascinating institution."—Lawrence Friedman, author of *A History of American Law*

"The single most readable and reliable narrative history of the U.S. Supreme Court yet written."  
—Stanley N. Katz, editor of the *Encyclopedia of Legal History*

494 pages, 25 photographs, Cloth \$34.95

## Bush, the Detainees, and the Constitution

**The Battle over Presidential Power in  
the War on Terror**

Howard Ball

"President Bush's treatment of enemy combatants in the 'war on terror' is the most important constitutional story of our time, and Howard Ball tells it with a deft sense for detail, an impressive field of vision, and a sharply critical eye."—David Cole, author of *Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism*

320 pages, Cloth \$34.95

## Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President

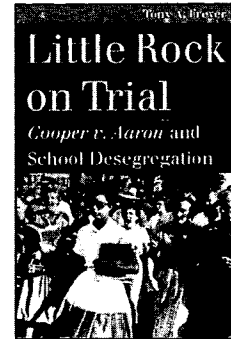
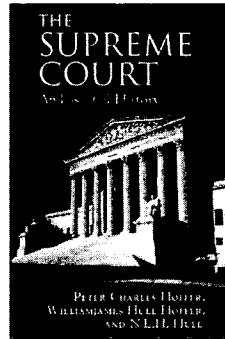
**Fifth Edition, Revised**

Louis Fisher

New material in this edition includes the post-9/11 wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, military tribunals and NSA eavesdropping, the impeachment of President Clinton, state secrets privilege, and more.

"This book gets better with every edition. I have used it in my classes for years and will continue to do so."—Mark J. Rozell, author of *Executive Privilege and Power and Prudence: The Incremental Presidency of George H. W. Bush*

368 pages, Cloth \$40.00, Paper \$19.95



## Landmark Law Cases and American Society

Peter Charles Hoffer and N.E.H. Hull, series editors

## Little Rock on Trial *Cooper v. Aaron* and School Desegregation

Tony A. Freyer

"A riveting tale of struggle between southern segregationists and civil rights advocates, political intrigue, Cold War conflict, legal machinations, and the use of federal paratroopers to defend the rights of black Americans. Essential reading for anyone interested in understanding this critical episode in America's racial transformation."

—Michael J. Klarman, author of the Bancroft Prize-winning *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights*

274 pages, Cloth \$35.00, Paper \$17.95

## The Michigan Affirmative Action Cases

Barbara A. Perry

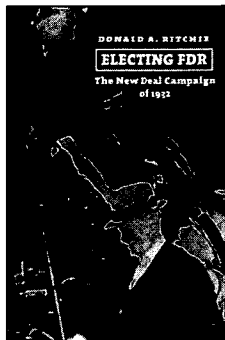
"An excellent book that captures our nation's efforts to provide everyone, through affirmative action, with the opportunity to achieve the American dream. . . . It also highlights the vision—and strategies—promoted by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor to see that dream realized."—Howard Ball, author of *The Bakke Case: Race, Education, and Affirmative Action*

"A splendid addition to the literature on race and law in American history with compelling portraits of the key characters involved in this story."

—Robert J. Cottrol, coauthor of *Brown v. Board of Education: Caste, Culture and the Constitution*

232 pages, Cloth \$35.00, Paper \$16.95

# KANSAS



## **Electing FDR**

### **The New Deal Campaign of 1932**

Donald A. Ritchie

"A lively and vivid account of a crucial election we take for granted today, though it was very much up for grabs at the time."—Allan M. Winkler, author of *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Making of Modern America*

"The best account of the most important presidential campaign of the twentieth century. Holds some surprising lessons for today's presidential candidates."—Patrick J. Maney, author of *The Roosevelt Presence: The Life and Legacy of FDR*

"A triumph and gem of historical storytelling."  
—Gil Troy, author of *See How They Ran*

*American Presidential Elections*  
280 pages, 14 photographs, Cloth \$29.95

## **See Government Grow**

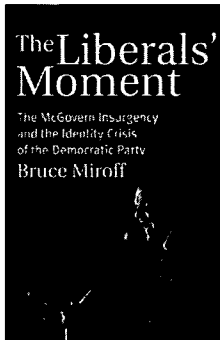
### **Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan**

Gareth Davies

"A splendidly researched and spirited exploration of federal education policies from the 1960s until the Reagan years. . . . Will force readers to revise their thinking about the course of late twentieth-century political history."—James T. Patterson, author of *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore*

"A splendid history . . . . Magisterial yet incisive, comprehensive but lively, at once scholarly and accessible."—Chester E. Finn, Jr., coauthor of *Is There Life after Big Government?*

352 pages, Cloth \$39.95



## **The Liberals' Moment**

### **The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party**

Bruce Miroff

"This is a deeply perceptive and stunningly fresh narrative of a major turning point in U.S. political history. A new liberal moment may be at hand. And Bruce Miroff's account of the McGovern campaign is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand both the promise and the pitfalls awaiting Democrats who stand up for their principles."—Michael Kazin, author of *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan*

"Brings to life the excitement and furor of a time when Americans were as divided over Vietnam as they are over Iraq today."—James MacGregor Burns, author of *Leadership and Running Alone*  
336 pages, 21 photographs, Cloth \$29.95

## **Rosalynn Carter**

### **Equal Partner in the White House**

Scott Kaufman

"A great read about a first lady who carved out a nontraditional role during transitional times in the nation's history. . . . Reveals new depths in its portrait of the purposeful and assured wife of our 39th president."—Mary Finch Hoyt, former press secretary to Rosalynn Carter and author of *East Wing: Politics, the Press, and a First Lady*

*Modern First Ladies*  
216 pages, 20 photographs, Cloth \$29.95

## **Mamie Doud Eisenhower**

### **The General's First Lady**

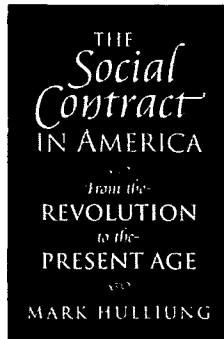
Marilyn Irvin Holt

"Painstakingly researched and superbly written, Holt's definitive biography captures the essence of Mamie Eisenhower."—Irwin F. Gellman, author of *The Contender: Richard Nixon: The Congress Years, 1946–1952*

"The first three-dimensional account of the wife of one of the leading figures of the twentieth century."—Fred I. Greenstein, author of *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader*

*Modern First Ladies*  
208 pages, 30 photographs, Cloth \$29.95

# KANSAS



## **The Social Contract in America**

**From the Revolution to the Present Age**

Mark Hulliung

"Hulliung's extraordinary new book on social contract theory in the United States is the finest contribution to this branch of study since Louis Hartz's celebrated *The Liberal Tradition in America*. Breathtaking in its range, this brilliant book throws invaluable light on the central idea which has animated American political thinking for 300 years. . . . Essential reading."—Patrick Riley, author of *Will and Political Legitimacy*

*American Political Thought*  
264 pages, Cloth \$29.95

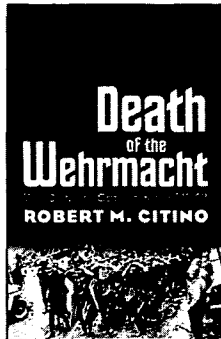
## **Making San Francisco American**

**Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906**

Barbara Berglund

"Describing urban and social transformations from the Gold Rush to the 1906 earthquake, Berglund's terrific cultural history of San Francisco provides a rich and decidedly non-triumphalist portrait of that West Coast city."—Stephen Pitti, author of *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Race, Mexican Americans, and Northern California*

304 pages, 39 photographs, Cloth \$34.95



## **Death of the Wehrmacht**

**The German Campaigns of 1942**

Robert M. Citino

"This is a winner across the board by one of the masters of operational history and solidifies Citino's position among the very best scholars who have written on the 'German way of war.' In particular, his treatment of the 1942 Russian campaigns is fully level with the best of David Glantz's work from the Soviet perspective, and he restores both Stalingrad and El Alamein to their rightful status as major turning points in the war."

—Dennis Showalter, author of *Tannenberg: Clash of Empires, 1914*

*Modern War Studies*  
424 pages, 40 photographs, 10 maps, Cloth \$34.95

## **The Big Red One**

**America's Legendary 1st Infantry Division from World War I to Desert Storm**

James Scott Wheeler

"An exceptionally fine work of scholarship, written with a storyteller's verve. *The Big Red One* is not just a vivid account of the nation's most venerable division, but a compelling yarn for anyone interested in the history of the U.S. Army."

—Rick Atkinson, author of *An Army at Dawn* and *In the Company of Soldiers*

*Modern War Studies*  
600 pages, 47 photographs, 33 maps, Cloth \$34.95

## **A Gallant Little Army**

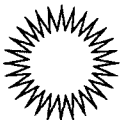
**The Mexico City Campaign**

Timothy D. Johnson

"The most detailed analysis to date of Winfield Scott's spectacular 1847 campaign to capture Mexico City. . . . Destined to become a classic."

—R. Bruce Winders, author of *Mr. Polk's Army: The American Military Experience in the Mexican War*

*Modern War Studies*  
384 pages, 14 photographs, Cloth \$39.95



# University Press of Kansas

Phone (785) 864-4155 • Fax (785) 864-4586 • [www.kansaspress.ku.edu](http://www.kansaspress.ku.edu)



### **The Spirit and the Shotgun** *Armed Resistance and the Struggle for Civil Rights*

Simon Wendt

"Simon Wendt's *The Spirit and the Shotgun* finally brings the story of armed self-defense into its rightful place in the history of the civil rights movement."—Renee C. Romano, Wesleyan University  
Cloth \$39.95

### **Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South**

Timothy James Lockley

"A comprehensive and challenging assessment of southern charitable practices. Viewing poor relief in terms of what the agencies did, Lockley downplays theory-laden approaches that focus exclusively on what laws and elites said."—T. Stephen Whitman, Mt. St. Mary's University  
Cloth \$59.95

### **Making a New South**

*Race, Leadership, and Community after the Civil War*

Edited by Paul A. Cimbala and Barton C. Shaw

"Rarely does one see a collection that is so unified in both theme and execution. This fresh and insightful volume will make a substantial contribution to historical scholarship on the New South."—Thomas H. Appleton, Jr., Eastern Kentucky University  
Cloth \$59.95

### **Race in the American South**

*From Slavery to Civil Rights*

David Brown and Clive Webb

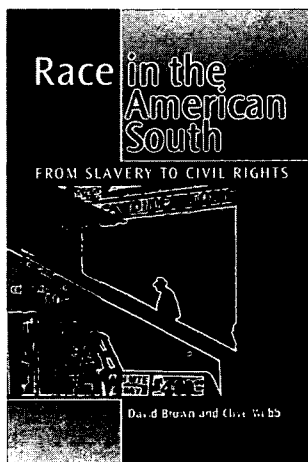
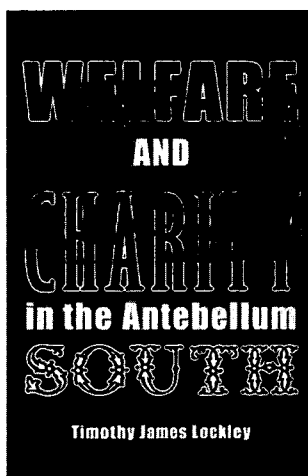
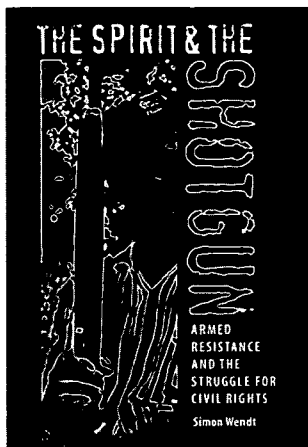
"Takes us on a sweeping synthetic analysis of an issue central to an understanding of American history. Little that is relevant seems to have escaped the attention of the authors."—Richard J. M. Blackett, Andrew Jackson Professor of History, Vanderbilt University  
Unjacketed cloth \$75.00 Paper \$24.95

### **Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement**

*White Supremacy, Black Southerners, and College Campuses*

Edited by Peter Wallenstein

"The first comprehensive study of the process of desegregation as it unfolded during the twentieth century at the flagship universities and white land-grant institutions of the south."—Amy Thompson McCandless, College of Charleston  
Cloth \$59.95



### **Colonial Encounters among English and Palestinian Women, 1800–1948**

Nancy L. Stockdale

"In this comprehensively researched study, Stockdale weaves a narrative of how British women abetted imperial projects in Palestine in several key historical periods ending with the British withdrawal and the creation of the Israeli state."—Garay Menicucci, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Unjacketed cloth \$59.95

### **U.S. Foreign Policy and Islamist Politics**

Ahmad S. Moussalli

"Shows the rich diversity of the Islamic movements and argues that the US should adopt a flexible and creative foreign policy toward these growing movements."—Mohsen M. Milani, author of *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution*  
Unjacketed cloth \$59.95

*Now in Paperback*

### **"The Ticket to Freedom"**

*The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration*

Manfred Berg

"An outstanding analysis of both the NAACP and the ongoing struggle for the right to vote."—*American Historical Review*  
Paper \$27.00

### **The African American Religious Experience in America**

Anthony B. Pinn

"This chronicle of the spiritual paths of African Americans through major denominations such as Islam and various Christian denominations as well as smaller groups such as Santería, includes perspectives on the impact that slavery and civil rights struggles have had on faith practices."—VOYA  
Paper \$25.00

**www.upf.com**

Visit our website for special deals and great new History titles or order toll free 1-800-226-3822.



Discover the World with Florida Books

**University Press of Florida**

Gainesville, Tallahassee, Tampa, Boca Raton, Pensacola, Orlando, Miami, Jacksonville, Fort Myers, Sarasota

## History from YALE

### THE FIRST DAY OF THE BLITZ

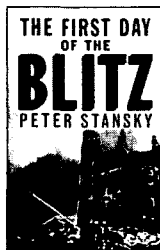
September 7, 1940

PETER STANSKY

"A lively and dramatic account. Stansky's conclusion, that the experiences of the first night of the Blitz were formative in initiating a social revolution in Britain, makes a real contribution to historical understanding."

—Sir Michael Howard

16 illus. \$24.00



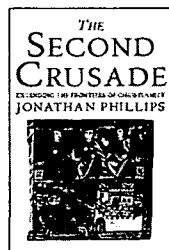
### THE SECOND CRUSADE

*Extending the Frontiers of Christendom*

JONATHAN PHILLIPS

"An excellent book. . . . Takes full account of both primary sources and the many debates in the secondary literature. No other book offers a modern synthesis of the subject in the light of recent developments in crusading studies."

12 illus. \$40.00



### THE GREAT PARTITION

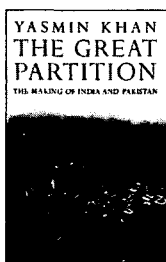
*The Making of India and Pakistan*

YASMIN KHAN

"[A] highly intelligent and moving reappraisal of the Partition, weaving together stories of everyday life with political analysis."

—Soumya Bhattacharya, *Observer*

16 illus. \$30.00



### THE VOICES OF THE DEAD

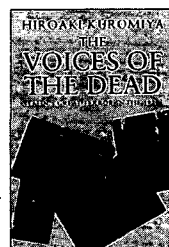
*Stalin's Great Terror in the 1930s*

HIROAKI KUROMIYA

"Kuromiya, one of the most ambitious and responsible historians of the Soviet Union, ably uses his understanding of Soviet institutions and practices to contextualize his extraordinary presentation of individual life and death during the Great Terror."

—Timothy Snyder

16 illus. \$30.00



### THE GREAT AWAKENING

*The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America*

THOMAS S. KIDD

"An informed and much-needed synthesis of the events that comprise the 'Great Awakening.' . . . Kidd's book will become the standard introduction to its subject."

—Philip F. Gura

15 illus. \$35.00

### HOTEL

*An American History*

A. K. SANDOVAL-STRAUSZ

"Sandoval-Strausz presents a highly creative history of the nineteenth-century first-class hotel, and develops important and stimulating interpretations of what hotels have meant to American business, culture, and racial politics."

—Paul Groth

58 b/w + 93 color illus. \$37.50

### HOW JEWS BECAME GERMANS

*The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin*

DEBORAH HERTZ

"Hertz's brilliant and sensitive account of Jewish conversion to Christianity in Berlin from the end of the seventeenth through the middle of the nineteenth century is proof that solid quantitative history (counting numbers) can be joined with subtle biographic narratives (telling stories)."

—Sander L. Gilman

31 illus. \$38.00

### MEDIEVALISM

*The Middle Ages in Modern England*

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

"This beautifully produced, generously illustrated book takes a panoramic view of the 'recovery' of the Medieval in English literature, visual arts and culture, from the mid-eighteenth century to almost the present day. . . . An ambitious, sweeping . . . [and] always interesting 'essay in cultural history.'"

—Rosemary Ashton, *Times Literary Supplement*

90 b/w + 20 color illus. \$45.00



YALE University Press • yalebooks.com

**Winner of the American Historical Association's 2006 Leo Gershoy Award  
and the University of Virginia's 2004 Walker Cowen Memorial Prize  
for an outstanding work of scholarship in eighteenth-century studies**

*New in Paper*

## **ENDING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION**

**Violence, Justice, and Repression  
from the Terror to Napoleon**

**Howard G. Brown**

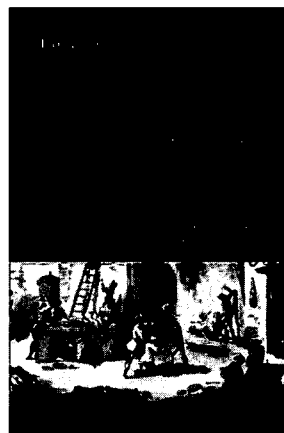
"Filled with critical insights, Brown's revisionist study utilizes an impressive array of archival sources, some only recently cataloged, to support his thesis that the French Revolution survived until 1802 and the Consulate regime. . . . This volume should be a priority for all historians and serious students interested in modern French history. Summing Up: Essential."—*Choice*

"What Brown has done is to put all historians of the French Revolution in his debt by the thoroughness with which he explores an important aspect of the complex and interrelated problems posed by any attempt to create a new social and moral order based on principles that could prove to be self-contradictory and were neither understood nor welcomed by a substantial proportion of the population."—*English Historical Review*

"This is one of the most important pieces of scholarship on the French Revolution since the 1989 bicentennial."  
—**David Bell, Johns Hopkins University**

For two centuries, the early years of the French Revolution have inspired countless democratic movements around the world. Yet little attention has been paid to the problems of violence, justice, and repression between the Reign of Terror and the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte. In *Ending the French Revolution*, Howard Brown analyzes these years to reveal the true difficulty of founding a liberal democracy in the midst of continual warfare, repeated coups d'état, and endemic civil strife. By highlighting the role played by violence and fear in generating illiberal politics, Brown speaks to the struggles facing democracy in our own age. The result is a fundamentally new understanding of the French Revolution's disappointing outcome.

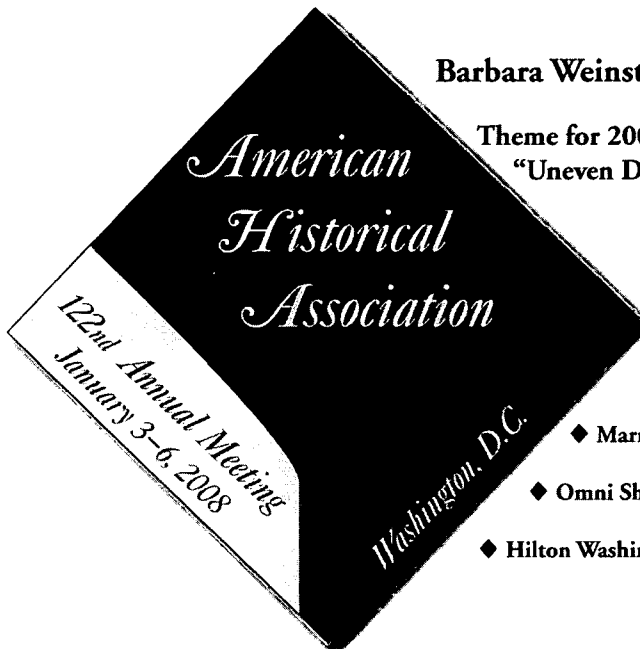
\$24.50 paper



**University of Virginia Press**

800-831-3406 \* [www.upress.virginia.edu](http://www.upress.virginia.edu)

Mark your calendars for the AHA's  
**122nd Annual Meeting**  
 January 3–6, 2008 ♦ Washington, D.C.



Barbara Weinstein, presiding

Theme for 2008:  
 "Uneven Developments"

♦ Marriott Wardman Park

♦ Omni Shoreham

♦ Hilton Washington

**Highlights Include:**

- ♦ Over 300 sessions
- ♦ Employment Opportunities
- ♦ Historic Tours of D.C.
- ♦ Professional Workshops
- ♦ Poster Session
- ♦ Networking Possibilities
- ♦ Exhibit Hall
- ♦ And More!

**Preregistration for the 122nd Annual Meeting has begun:**

- ♦ To preregister, and to find information on hotels, the Annual Meeting *Program*, and more, log onto the AHA web site at:

**[www.historians.org/annual](http://www.historians.org/annual)**





# Add YOUR two cents!

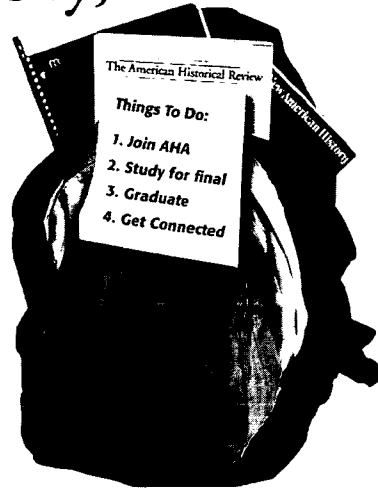


Participate in the AHA's new blog *AHA Today* at

## <http://blog.historians.org>

Students of history,  
connect with your peers!

Join the  
**American  
Historical  
Association**



Here are five great reasons to become a student member of the AHA:

1. INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGE WITH A DIVERSE COMMUNITY
2. GRADUATE SCHOOL, EMPLOYMENT AND CAREER RESOURCES
3. EXCLUSIVE INFORMATION ON GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS
4. DISCOUNTED ANNUAL MEETING RATES
5. PUBLICATIONS

Incorporated by Congress in 1889 for the promotion of historical studies, the **American Historical Association** is the largest historical society in the United States. The AHA provides leadership and advocacy for the profession, monitors professional standards, spearheads research in the field, provides resources and services to help its members succeed, and fights to ensure academic freedom and access to records. The AHA serves more than 14,000 history professionals.

Are **YOU** one of them?

**JOIN TODAY!** The AHA offers all of these benefits to students at the significantly discounted rate of \$36 per year. Visit our website:

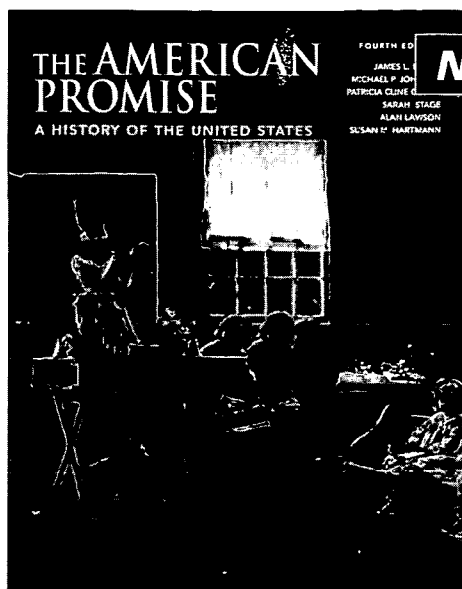
[www.historians.org](http://www.historians.org)

---

## Index of Advertisers

---

American Historical Association	1716, 41(a)–43(a)	Princeton University Press	22(a)–23(a) Cover 4
Bedford/St. Martin's	Covers 2 & 3	Stanford University Press	30(a)
Cambridge University Press	3(a)–5(a)	University of Arkansas Press	31(a)
Columbia University Press	6(a)	University of California Press	24(a)–25(a)
Cornell University Press	7(a)	University of Chicago Press	26(a)–29(a)
Duke University Press	12(a)	University of Illinois Press	32(a)
Indiana University Press	8(a)–9(a)	University of Nebraska Press	33(a)
Johns Hopkins University Press	10(a)–11(a)	University of Pennsylvania Press	34(a)
Knopf Academic	13(a)	University of Virginia Press	40(a)
McGill-Queen's University Press	14(a)	University Press of Florida	38(a)
Ohio State University Press	15(a)	University Press of Kansas	35(a)–37(a)
Oxford University Press	16(a)–17(a)	Yale University Press	39(a)
Palgrave Macmillan	18(a)		
Penguin Group (USA)	19(a)–21(a)		



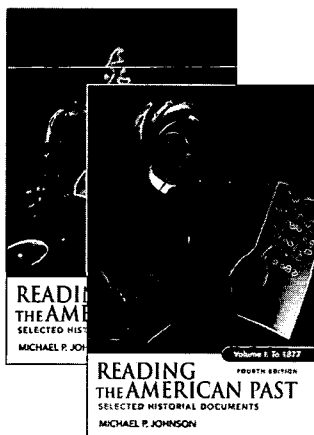
## **The American Promise** **A History of the United States** Fourth Edition

**James L. Roark**, *Emory University*  
**Michael P. Johnson**, *Johns Hopkins University*  
**Patricia Cline Cohen**, *University of California, Santa Barbara*  
**Sarah Stage**, *Arizona State University*  
**Alan Lawson**, *Boston College*  
**Susan M. Hartmann**, *The Ohio State University*

[bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

“I believe that, after only three editions, *The American Promise* is on its way to becoming a classic in American history college classrooms.”

— Paul Hudson, *Georgia Perimeter College*



## **Reading the American Past** **Selected Historical Documents** Fourth Edition

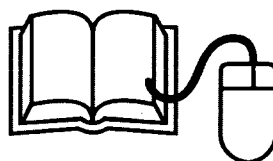
**Michael P. Johnson**, *Johns Hopkins University*

**FREE when packaged with *The American Promise*!**

## **Affordable Options**

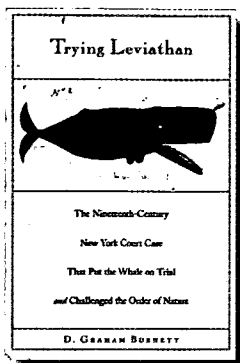
### **The American Promise e-Book**

At about half the price,  
students get more with  
our e-books.  
[ebooks.bfwpub.com](http://ebooks.bfwpub.com)



**you get more** [bedfordstmartins.com/history](http://bedfordstmartins.com/history)





## Trying Leviathan

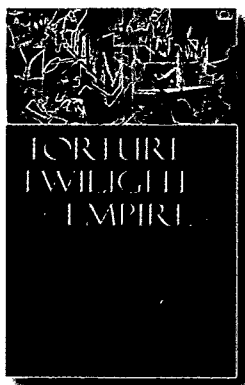
The Nineteenth-Century New York Court Case  
That Put the Whale on Trial and Challenged the Order of Nature

*D. Graham Burnett*

"I can't remember reading a more intelligent and well-written book than Graham Burnett's *Trying Leviathan*. He is a brilliant writer and he has transformed a nineteenth-century legal battle over the taxonomic classification of whales into a wonderful and engaging book."

—Richard Ellis, author of *Men and Whales*

Cloth \$29.95 978-0-691-12950-1



## Torture and the Twilight of Empire

From Algiers to Baghdad

*Marnia Lazreg*

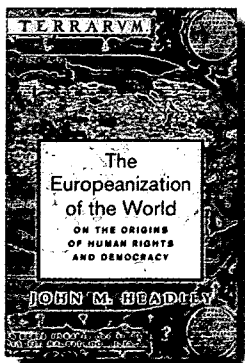
"This book interprets torture not as an incidental if frequent characteristic of neocolonial conflict, but as one of its major elements. Using the Algerian war as a case study, Professor Lazreg argues that to the French forces the psychological and political significance of their policy of torture was far greater than its operational significance. Her work is certainly pertinent to the present."

—Peter Paret, Institute for Advanced Study

*Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity*

Eric D. Weitz, series editor

Cloth \$29.95 978-0-691-13135-1 Due January



## The Europeanization of the World

On the Origins of Human Rights and Democracy

*John M. Headley*

"This is an important book. The argument that there is something unique about European civilization from a global perspective is highly relevant to contemporary political and cultural debate. The scholarship placing the sources of this uniqueness in the history of the European Renaissance as it encountered and conceptualized other worlds is of the first order."

—Joan-Pau Rubiés, London School of Economics and Political Science

Cloth \$26.95 978-0-691-13312-6



## Byzantium

The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire

*Judith Herrin*

"This book provides an introduction to Byzantium in a nonconventional fashion. It explores, in chronological order, basic questions about Byzantine history and society. I know of no other book that attempts this approach to the millennium-long history of Byzantium. Judith Herrin is a scholar at the top of her form."

—Michael Maas, author of *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean*

Cloth \$27.95 978-0-691-13151-1 Due January

Only available from Princeton in the United States and Canada